SOURCES OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
45
Edited by
Şinasi Tekin & Gönül Alpay Tekin

CENTRAL ASIAN SOURCES
IV

RASHIDUDDIN FAZLULLAH'S

Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles

A History of the Mongols
Part One

English Translation & Annotation by
W. M. Thackston

Published at
Harvard University
Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations
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Yayınlayanların Önsözü

Doğu Dilleri ve Edebiyatlarının Kaynakları dizisinin 45. ve *Orta Asya Kaynakları* alt dizisinin IV. cildi olarak İlhanlıların veziri olan Reşideddin Fazlullah'ın idaresinde bir heyetin hazırlamış olduğu meşhur Câmi'ü't-Tevârîh adlı 'Dünya Tarihi'ni ilk defa İngilizce olarak yayınlıyoruz.

Her zaman olduğu gibi meslekdaşımız Prof. Dr. Wheeler Thackston tercümesini büyük bir titizlikle, geniş açılamalarla hazırlamış ve ilk defa İngilizce olarak metnin tamamını bilim adamlarının istifadesine sunmuştur.

Câmi'ü't-Tevârîh, genel tarih açısından olduğu kadar 15. yy Osmanlı tarihi bakımından da çok önemlidir. 15. yy'ın başlarında Anadolu'nun kaderi henüz kesin olarak tayin edilmemişti. Diğer Anadolu beylikleri gibi Osmanlılar da Anadolu'da siyasî birliği kurmaya namzet idiler. Fakat bunda başarıya ulaşmak için sadece askerî ve iktisadî güç yeterli değildi. Diğer beylikler gibi bu işi üstlenen Osmanlı'nın, kitlelerin gözünde itibarlı olması gerekiyordu. İşte Osmanlı'ya bu itibarı, bu asâleti yani meşruluğu sağlayacak tek şey, asîl ve meşru bir boydan gelmiş olduğunun isbatı idi. Bu boy *Kayı* boyu, bunun da en güvenilir kaynağı Reşideddin'in eserindeki Orta Asya boyları ile ilgili bölüm idi.

Bilindiği gibi Yazıcızâde Ali adlı bir divan kâtibi, derleme bir Selçuk tarihi olan Oğuznâme adlı eserinin başına, Reşideddin'in mukaddimesindeki Türk ve Moğol boylarından bahseden kısmını tercüme edip koymuş ve bu eseri 1425 yılında II. Murad'a sunmuştur. Bununla Anadolu halkına iletilmek istenen mesaj şuydu: 'Meşru hükümdârınız Osmanlı soyundan gelenlerdir, çünkü bunlar asîl Kayı boyundandırlar!'

Ve böylece Yazıcızâde Ali, Reşideddin'in tespitlerini Anadolu halkına Türkçe olarak iletmekle Osmanlı'ya gerekli itibarı sağlamış oluyordu.

General Editors' Foreword

We are publishing, as the forty-fifth volume of the Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures and the fourth volume in the Central Asian Sources subseries, the famous world history, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, which was prepared by a committee under the direction of the Ilkhanid vizier Rashiduddin Fazlullah. Our colleague Prof. Thackston's translation, meticulously prepared as always and abundantly annotated, presents, for the first time in English, the entire text for the use of scholars.

From the point of view of fifteenth-century Ottoman history, the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* is of great importance as a general history. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the fate of Anatolia had not yet been definitively determined. Like other *beyliks* in Anatolia, the Ottomans were vying to establish political unity in Anatolia, and mere military and economic power was not sufficient for achieving success: it was also necessary to provide the rising Ottomans with prestige in the eyes of the masses. The only way to secure for the Ottomans this prestige, this "nobility"—i.e. legitimacy—was to prove that they came from a noble and legitimate tribe. The most trustworthy source on their tribe, the Qayi tribe, was the section in Rashiduddin's work about the tribes of Central Asia.

A chancery scribe named Yazıcızâde Ali translated the section in Rashiduddin's introduction that deals with the Turkish and Mongol tribes and placed it at the beginning of his general history of the Seljuqs, the *Oghuznâme*, which he presented to Murad II in 1425. The message intended to be conveyed thereby to the people of Anatolia was: "Your legitimate rulers come from the Ottoman family because they are from the noble Qayi tribe." And thus, by conveying Rashiduddin's evidence, in Turkish, to the people of Anatolia, Yazıcızâde Ali provided the prestige necessary for the Ottomans.

Jami' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles
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Section Two *(fasl-i duyum)*: A detailed history of every nation of the inhabited quarter of the earth

Chapter Two *(qism-i duyum)*: The auspicious history of the Sultan of Islam Öljäitü Sultan from the time this book was bound until the end of his life, to be appended

Tome Three *(mujallad-i siyum)*: Geography of the earth.

Text editions and translations of *Jami'u't-tawarikh*

Original Division	Modern Division	Text editions & printings	Translations
Tome I, Pt. 1	Vol. I, Pt. 1, The Turkic peoples	Berezin 1858–88 Romaskevich-Khetagurov-Alizade 1965 Karimi 1362/1983	Erdmann 1841 (German) Berezin 1858–88 (Russian) Yazijizada ca.1425 (Ottoman, intro. & chap. 1 only) Khetagurov 1952 (Russian)
Pt. 2, Chap. 1, Chap. 2, Sect. 1–3	Vol. I, Pt. 2, The History of Genghis Khan	Berezin 1868–88 Karimi 1362/1983	Anonymous Jalayirid ca.1600 (Chaghatay Turkish, selected portions only) Berezin 1868–88 (Russian) Smirnova 1952 (Russian)
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Pt. 2, Chap. 2, Sect. 11–17	Vol. III, The Ilkhans of Iran	Jahn 1940 (Ghazan) Jahn 1941 (Abaqa–Gaykhatu) Jahanbiglu 1336/1957 (pt. 3 of Ghazan Khan) Ali-zade 1957 Karimi 1362/1983	Quatremère 1836 (French, section on Hülägü) Arends 1957 (Russian)
Tome II, Pt. 2, Chap. 1	Vols. IV–VII, Histories of the nations of the world	Dabir-Siyaqi 1337/1958 (Ismailis) Dabir-Siyaqi 1338/1959 (Ghaznavids) Danishpazhuh-Mudarrisi 1338/1959 (Ismailis) Dabir-Siyaqi 1339/1960 (Franks) Blair 1995 (facsimile)	Klaproth 1833 (China) Jahn 1965 (India) Jahn 1969 (Oghuz) Jahn 1971 (China) Togan 1972 (Oghuz) Jahn 1973 (Israelites) Jahn 1977 (Franks) Jahn 1980 (India) Shukyurova 1987 (Oghuz)
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Viewing with perfect hindsight, and particularly in his capacity as vizier to the Mongol Ilkhans of Iran, Rashiduddin Fazlullah could interpret the Mongol conquest as a divinely ordained preface to the glorious renascence that would be brought about in the land of Iran after the Mongols' conversion to Islam. Rashiduddin's predecessors who witnessed the Mongol invasions were not so optimistic. The historian Ibn al-Athir prefaces his account of the Mongol conquest with the following words:

> I have been avoiding mentioning this event for many years because I consider it too horrible. I have been advancing with one foot and retreating with the other. Who could easily write the obituary of Islam and the Muslims? For whom could it be easy to mention it? Would that my mother had not given birth to me, would that I had died before it happened and been a thing forgotten. However, a group of friends urged me to record it since I knew it first-hand. Then I saw that to refrain from it would profit nothing. Therefore, we say: this deed encompasses mention of the greatest event, the most awful catastrophe that has befallen time. It engulfed all beings, particularly the Muslims. Anyone would be right in saying that the world, from the time God created humans until now, has not been stricken by its like. Histories contain nothing that even approaches it.[1]

Cataclysm or prefiguration of great things to come, the Mongol conquest of the thirteenth century left Iran with a new ruling dynasty. Eventually, like their cousins in China, the Ilkhans of Iran began the process of assimilating themselves to the civilizations of their subjects. As a good Iranian monarch and patron of learning, Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304) commissioned his vizier, Rashiduddin Fazlullah, to compile an aggregate history of all the peoples of the world. The first tome of this mammoth undertaking, which he entitled *Jami'u't-tawarikh (Compendium of Chronicles)*, is the history of the Turco-Mongolian peoples, their rise to power, the conquests of Genghis Khan, and the rule of his progeny. The second tome contains the histories of all other nations of the world, Persians, Arabs, Greeks, Chinese, Indians, and Franks.

Scarcely to be outdone in good works by his own master, Rashiduddin founded outside of Tabriz an *abwábu'l-birr*, a pious charitable foundation modeled on Ghazan Khan's complex at Shamb-i-Ghazan in Tabriz. Rashiduddin named his foundation Rab'-i-Rashídí, and it consisted of a tomb, a hostel for dervishes *(khánaqáh)*, a hospice for visitors *(dáru'z-ziyáfa)*, a hospital and pharmacy, a theological school, a repository and scriptorium for Korans and books of *hadith*, a school for orphans *(baytu't-ta'lím)*, a chapel for continuous recitation of the Koran *(dáru'l-hufffáz)*, and a library *(baytu'l-kutub)*. Fortuitously, an original copy of the document of incorporation in Rashiduddin's own handwriting has survived.[2] In an addendum to the original articles of endowment, Rashiduddin also added a scriptorium for copying his own works to ensure that they would weather the ages:

> I hereby stipulate that the superintendent of endowment have copied every year complete copies of the following books composed by me, as follows: *Majmú'a-i-Rashídiyya*, which consists of four books, *Tawzíhát*, *Miftáhu't-tafásír*, *Sultániyya*, and *Latáyif [al-haqáyiq]*—two copies, one in Arabic and one in Persian; *Jámi'u't-tawáríkh* in however many volumes the superintendent thinks proper, and such that they will not readily suffer damage—two copies, one in Arabic and one in Persian; *Ásár u ahyá*—two copies, one in Arabic and one in Persian; *Bayánu'l-haqáyiq*—two copies, one in Arabic and one in Persian; *Tahqíqu'l-mabáhis*, which was written in

[1] Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:358.

[2] *Vaqfnáma-i Rab'-i Rashídí: al-Waqfiyya al-Rashídiyya bi-khatt al-wáqif fí bayán sharáyit umúr al-waqf wa'l-masárif*, edited by Mujtabá Mínoví and Íraj Afshár (Tehran: Anjuman-i Áthár-i Millí, 2536 [1977]).

several volumes—one copy in Arabic and one in Persian; and *As'ila wa-ajwiba wa-ta'liqát*, which was written in several volumes—one copy in Arabic and one in Persian.

Of each of these, in accordance with the description given, every year one complete copy is to be written on large-size, fine Baghdadi paper of extremely good quality in a correct, clean hand. These are to be compared with the originals, which are housed in the library of the Rab'-i-Rashidi, in order that there be no mistakes or miscopyings.

The copies must be executed with all elaboration, just like the originals, and the bindings are to be made of goat-skin leather.

Wages for copying, materials, and supplies are to be provided from the income of half the property endowed to this charitable institution.

For the labor of copying, the superintendent must choose scribes who possess good, legible hands and who have the capability [to execute the labor]; he must likewise assure himself that at the end of a year these copies have been finished and bound without any delay.

The rooms in which the copyists sit and do the copying shall be chosen by the superintendent from among the rooms of the institution stipulated for persons and tasks.

When the copies are finished, they shall be brought to the large *suffa* in the *rawza*,[3] and each shall be placed on a raised platform between the pulpit and the *mihrab*, and there the following prayer for the donor shall be recited: "O God, inspirer of secrets..."

Let this prayer also be written at the end of each of the copies along with the following divine praise and words: "Praise be to God, the Omniscient King, whose grace is constant and uninterrupted, and prayers and salutations upon his prophet who was sent to all mankind, Muhammad, and upon the noble members of his house and his companions. This humble servant, who stands in need of his Lord's mercy, Fazlullah, son of Abu'l-Khayr, son of Ali, known as Rashid the physician of Hamadan—may God grant him a good reward—has, by God's granting of success, composed a memento for all who have insight and as a reminder for those who desire to remember, and I have had copies made, and I hereby stipulate that every year a copy be made of this book and the rest of the books composed by me, to be endowed to the Muslims of ___ city. It is hoped that the learned men there will explain and clarify to beginners what they find difficult until they understand perfectly and have no doubt or question unresolved. If any should find an omission or mistake therein, let him kindly correct the same."

Thereafter let the superintendent write on the back of the leaf on which these words have been written as follows: "This book, ___, has been written for the people of ___ city during the superintendence of ___ to be an endowment to them and, after them, to the generality of Muslims who reside there." Let everyone who becomes superintendent indicate his relationship to the endower, generation by generation,[4] so that the endower be not forgotten in the prayer.

Thereafter, let them show the copies to the cadis of Tabriz so that they may record their state in written form, sign their name, and turn the document over to the superintendent. Also, let there be in the possession of every cadi of Tabriz a document containing the writing of the superintendent, the overseer, and the supervisor, who is like the superintendent's deputy, or their deputies, so that year by year this thing may be duly recorded and there be no failure or irregularity.

It is also stipulated that henceforth every year the superintendent of the endowments shall send the copies that will have been completed to one of the cities of Islam, Arabic [copies] to Arab lands and Persian [copies] to Persian lands, beginning with the largest city and then the next largest as the superintendent sees fit, to be endowments there for the inhabitants of that city in accordance with the above-mentioned stipulations. In that city let them be deposited in a madrasa that has a teacher well-known and renowned for his skill in the branches of knowledge, to be chosen by the cadis, imams, and ulema, in order that students who so desire may read them with that teacher.

If anyone wishes to copy them, let the teacher take an appropriate deposit while the copy is being made and return it afterward. If anyone wishes to study [the books], let a deposit be likewise taken and returned afterward.

When [copies] shall have been sent to all the great cities, let them begin all over again and send them in the same order as they were sent before. When they are to be sent the second time, let them be placed in the great *suffa* of the *rawza* on a raised platform between the pulpit and the *mihrab*, and let the prayer be recited as stipulated before. Thereafter let them be sent. On the back of each copy sent to a city the stipulations that have been mentioned must be written.

Materials and supplies for these copies, as well as wages for copying, shall be furnished by the superintendent of the time as he sees fit.[5]

By the terms of this endowment, multiple copies of *Jami'u't-tawarikh*—at least two every year, one in Arabic and one in Persian—were to be produced. Of these, only four copies made during Rashiduddin's

[3] Although the internal layout of the Rab'-i-Rashidi can be extrapolated only from the description in the document of endowment, the "*suffa* in the *rawda*" was probably a raised and perhaps recessed area in the tomb part of the complex.

[4] As was customary with such endowed institutions, it would have been assumed that the office of superintendence would be inherited by Rashiduddin's progeny.

[5] Translated from *Vaqfnama-i Rab'-i Rashidi*, 237–41.

lifetime have survived. One is fragmentary and in Arabic; it consists of two fragments of one manuscript, one in the Khalili Collection and another in Edinburgh University Library, undated but assignable to A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314). Three other manuscripts are in Persian, and they are all in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi: H.1653, dated 714 (1314); H.1654, dated 717 (1317); and R.1518, also dated 717 (1317).[6] Now, for a work that was to be produced in multiple copies in two languages in perpetuity, there are singularly few copies extant today. What happened?

For all Rashiduddin's careful planning, he did not reckon, as he should have, with the almost invariable end met by Ilkhanid viziers. The vizierate under the Ilkhans was not what could be described as a good long-term career choice, although it was usually life-long. The early sixteenth-century historian Khwandamir describes Rashiduddin's fate as follows:

> Khwaja Rashiduddin Fazlullah was as clever as Aristotle and as wise as Plato. He knew the rational and traditional sciences to perfection and wrote constantly. Among the effulgences of his jewel-scattering pen, his *Jami'u't-tawarikh* is well known among historians. As has been reported previously, Khwaja Rashid attained the post of vizier during Ghazan Khan's time, and he enjoyed great good fortune until the end of Ghazan Khan's life. When Öljäitü Sultan took over the reins of rule, he showed the vizier more favor even than his brother had and raised his rank over that of anyone, and the just vizier promoted justice and equity among all the people, elite and common alike, and the learned enjoyed his favor particularly as he established schools and charitable institutions and placed in trust choice plantations and real estate for their upkeep. No one ever came away from the table of his generosity disappointed or deprived, and to this day the remnants of his charity remain in Iraq and Azerbaijan, and he is praised and extolled in prose and poetry for his liberality and beneficence. "The traces we leave behind are indicative of ourselves: gaze therefore upon our monuments."
>
> Toward the end of his life Öljäitü Sultan became quite intimate with Khwaja Alishah Jilan and made certain decisions without Khwaja Rashid's knowledge. This hurt the vizier, and he complained to the padishah, saying, "If your humble servant has precedence over Alishah in the office of vizier, then my advice should be followed. Otherwise he should be given autonomy in the administration and I should be his superior in other matters. At present Khwaja Alishah should have free reign in three areas, and I will concur: first, he should undertake to administer all divan affairs while I tend to accounts of years past; second, affairs that pertain to viziers should be relegated to me so that I may conduct them with the sultan's favor and assistance; third, the realm should be divided into two parts, each of which should be supervised by one of us."
>
> Öljäitü Sultan replied, "Khwaja Rashid and Khwaja Alishah are both worthy servants. Rashid is an aged and wise man, and Alishah is a young, competent man without equal. It is in the best interests of the empire that both should administer in concord, the one exercising compassion and the other reverence, and neither overstepping the bounds of harmony and agreement." In accordance with this command the two viziers agreed to a grudging truce and co-operated once again in the administration. However, when Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda died [in 1316] and Sultan Abusa'id came to the throne, the two viziers fell to quarreling again. Although Khwaja Alishah wanted to prove malfeasance against Khwaja Rashid, he was unable to achieve success.
>
> Around this time a group of employees in the divan went to Khwaja Rashid, as was their custom, and said, "If you permit, we will provoke an inquiry to prove Khwaja Alishah's malfeasance in a certain amount." Khwaja Rashid was much too dignified to participate in such a scheme and said, "I will tell Khwaja Alishah to satisfy you himself." Thus despairing of Khwaja Rashid, these people began to frequent Khwaja Alishah, with whom they schemed to put the good Khwaja Rashid in a bad light. Khwaja Alishah bribed Sultan Abusa'id Khan's deputies to turn the sultan against Khwaja Rashid, and they accused him of many faults before the padishah. Around the end of the month of Rajab 717 [September 1317] they had him dismissed from office. Amir Sevinch, although unhappy about the khwaja's dismissal, fell gravely ill around that time. That winter, when Sultan Abusa'id Khan had gone to Baghdad, Amir Sevinch died in the vicinity of Muhawwal on the 20th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [January 24, 1318].
>
> When the sun entered Aries the sultan returned to Sultaniyya, and Amir Chupan went to Azerbaijan to

[6] Other manuscripts of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, particularly those used in making the modern editions of the Persian text, include the following: Tashkent, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences, inventory number 1620, seventeenth century (JT_{RKA} manuscript ـ; JT_{AZ} manuscript A); Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Revan 1518, dated middle of Sha'ban 717/October 1317 (JT_{RKA} manuscript ـ; JT_{AZ} manuscript S); St. Petersburg, Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, V, 3, 1, dated 15 Muharram 810/July 22, 1407 (JT_{RKA} manuscript ـ; JT_{AZ} manuscript C); London, British Museum, Add. 7628, not later than 1433 (JT_{RKA} manuscript ـ; JT_{AZ} manuscript L); Tehran Museum, dated 27 Ramadan 1004/May 25, 1596 (JT_{RKA} manuscript ـ; JT_{AZ} manuscript J); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, sixteenth century (JT_{RKA} manuscript ـ; JT_{AZ} manuscript P); St. Petersburg, Institut Narodov Azii, D66, dated 4 Rajab 984/September 27, 1576 (JT_{RKA} manuscript ـ; JT_{AZ} manuscript B). No copies of the Arabic version of Tome One are known to exist.

hunt. While there he summoned Khwaja Rashid, who had been living in Tabriz since his dismissal, and said, "Your presence at the padishah's court is as necessary as salt in food. Without your good influence the affairs of civilians and soldiers alike are in shambles. Of course you must accept to serve again and administer the empire." Khwaja Rashid replied, "I have spent a lifetime in imperial service, and my youthfulness has turned to old age. The time of youth, which is the season for acquiring success, has ended, and the sapling of my youthful hopes and aspirations has been bent over by the cold autumn wind of weakness and infirmity.

As bent as a bow is my back because the arrow of dear youth has flown. / It is difficult for me to stand, and fate says, "Arise, for this house is no place to sit."

What I attained in the vizierate has been attained by no other vizier. Now thirteen of my sons have reached middle age, and it would be better for them to serve instead of me. I shall occupy myself with making up for things I have missed, and let my masters forget me."

No matter how much Khwaja Rashid insisted on remaining in retirement, Amir Chupan insisted that he accept to return to office, and in the end the khwaja acceded. When the news reached Khwaja Alishah and those who had plotted the vizier's downfall, they grew worried and bribed Abubakr Aqa, Amir Chupan's closest companion, to turn the amir against the vizier. Although Chupan Noyan liked Khwaja Rashid, he was so malleable that anyone could twist him however he wished. Finally Khwaja Rashid's enemies reported to Amir Chupan that Khwaja Rashid's son Khwaja Ibrahim, who had been Öljäitü Sultan's *sharbatdar*, had poisoned the padishah at his father's instigation and that was why Sultan Muhammad had died. Amir Chupan repeated this to Sultan Abusa'id, and two other amirs who had taken bribes testified to its veracity. Therefore an order for the vizier's execution was issued, and on the 17th of Jumada I 718 [July 17, 1318] in the vicinity of Uma in the village of Khashgudar, the executioner first cut off Khwaja Ibrahim's head in his father's presence. Then he stepped before Khwaja Rashid, who said to him, "Say to Alishah, 'You have had me killed for no crime. It will not be long before fate will requite you of me, and the only difference between us will be that my grave will be older than yours.' " Then the executioner cut the khwaja in two at the waist. The soldiers pillaged the Rab'-i-Rashidi, which belonged to Khwaja Rashid, and the amirs confiscated the khwaja's and his sons' property to the divan.

Mawlana Jalaluddin Qaliqi composed the following verse as a chronogram for Khwaja Rashid:

When the guide (rashid) *of the nation and religion departed for the next life, / The secretary of history penned for him: May he rest in peace.*[7]

Ghazan Khan died in 1304, just about the time the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* was being completed. Ghazan's brother and successor, Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda Öljäitü, told Rashiduddin to continue Tome One in Ghazan's name. The last date mentioned in our text is 705 (1305–6); the entire work, including the appendices, was completed in 710 (1310–11). The portion of the Rab'-i-Rashidi endowment document that deals with copying was executed in Dhu'l-Hijja 713 (March 1314)[8]—presumably copying began fairly soon thereafter—and Rashiduddin was put to death in 1318. There were thus only four years at most during which copies could have been produced before the destruction of the Rab'-i-Rashidi and an end to Rashiduddin's grand plans for his books. Even if we allow for copies to have been made before the provision in the document of endowment, when we take into consideration the inevitable ravages of time, it is little wonder that so few copies from Rashiduddin's lifetime have survived. Those that remain bear eloquent witness to the care that was lavished on production and illustration.

Rashiduddin does not list his sources as such, but he refers to Ibn al-Athir's history, *al-Kámil fí't-táríkh*. Even a cursory examination shows that he used Ibn al-Athir extensively for the history of the Islamic world, but he rearranged the material into running narratives instead of the strict year-by-year chronology to which Ibn al-Athir adhered. It is also obvious that Rashiduddin used Ata-Malik Juwayni's *Táríkh-i Jahángusháy (History of the World Conqueror)* for the Mongol conquest of Central Asia and the initial incursions into Iran.

For Mongolian history, in addition to having access to the knowledge and expertise of Bolad Chingsang, Qubilai Qa'an's Mongolian emissary at the Ilkhanid court, it is clear that Rashiduddin had some written material on Mongol history with which to work. He says more than once that there were scattered, unorganized leaves of Mongol history written "in Mongolian expression and script" kept in the treasury. The Mongols, he says,

> from age to age...have kept their true history in Mongolian expression and script, unorganized and disarranged, chapter by chapter, scattered in treasuries, hidden from the gaze of strangers and specialists, and no one was allowed access to learn of it. (text p. 18)

He also refers to the records of Mongol genealogy as the *Altan Daftar*, the "Golden Register," "which is always kept in the khans' treasury by great officers" (text p. 142). Whatever those "leaves of history" were, they were obviously closely related to the

[7] Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:199–201.

[8] Rashiduddin, *Vaqfnama*, 252.

source or sources of the *Manghol-un niucha tobcha'an*, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, for the record of Mongol legend and history found in the *Secret History* and that found in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* are too close to be coincidental, but they are different enough that the one could not have originated directly with the other. The Persian scribes who copied the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* were working with a text in a language they knew perfectly well but which was full of unfamiliar and bizarre-looking Mongolian names. They had little or no difficulty copying the Persian correctly, but they stumbled badly on the Mongolian names and terms. The same scribes who would never mistake a Muhammad (محمد) for a Mahmud (محمود) seem to have been incapable of keeping a Butu (بوتو) separate from a Buqu (بوقو).

The *Secret History of the Mongols* has an unusual history of transmission. The text as we now have it is in Middle (medieval) Mongolian, but it is written not in Mongolian script but in a phonetic transcription in Chinese characters with a parallel translation into Chinese. It is speculated that once a column of the Mongolian in Mongolian script may have existed, but if it did it has been lost. Chinese scribes who copied the Mongolian column of the *Secret History* were working with what would have been to them total nonsense. Now, simply because of the extra concentration involved, a skilled copyist can usually reproduce complete gibberish more faithfully than he can a meaningful text that has unfamiliar words in it, which is what the Persian scribes were working with. On this basis, it is reasonable and safe to assume that the text of the *Secret History* has been more faithfully reproduced than Rashiduddin's text. We have therefore taken the *Secret History of the Mongols* as representing a version of events—or at least of the people's names—that is "more correct" in that it is more trustworthily preserved than the Persian sources, and since the variants that show up in Persian manuscripts of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* often point to reconstructions of names that are either identical or very close to the names as they appear in the *Secret History*, we have emended the translation to make the names agree with the *Secret History* to the extent possible given their reconstructed spellings in Persian. This accounts for much of the burden of the notes that accompany the translation.

Since so much of the difficulty of the Persian text lies in the given names, it may not be out of place to devote a short discussion to the types of names that occur. In the first parts of the history the names are Mongolian and Turkic. In addition to all the names that mean "Happy" (Öljäitü), "Lucky" (Qutlugh), "Serene" (Örüg), etc., those that have to do with strength and power, like "Iron" (Temür); "Steel" (Bolad); "Bull" (Buqa), and a host of names designed to ensure that the child would survive, it was a Mongol custom, as it is and has been among many peoples of the world, for new-borns to be named after the first thing the mother sees after giving birth. We thus have Mongols and Turks named "Dog" (Noqai), "Kettle" (Qazan, Ghazan), "Mirror" (Tolui), "Three Old Women" (Üch Qurtqan), "Donkey Driver" (Kharbanda), etc. Among the Christian tribes and nations that joined Genghis Khan, there are Christian names like Cyril (Quril), George (Görgüz), Cyriacus (Qurjaquz), and Mark (Marghuz). The Mongols also named their children after recent conquests and battles; that is how Tämüjin (later Genghis Khan) got his name (see text p. 232). The various Qurumshis (for victories over Khwarazm), the Oruses (for victories over the Rus), the Majars (for victories over the Magyars), and probably most of the Sartaghs and Sartaghtais (for victories over the Sarts = Persians) were so named. Later, when the Mongols, particularly those in China, became Tibetan Buddhists, they adopted Buddhist names from Tibetan like Irinjin Dorji. In its Persian garb ایرنجین دورجی is a transcription of the Mongolian (which cannot tolerate an initial *r*), which came from the Tibetan *renchin r-dorje*, which in turn was either a translation or an exact equivalent of the Sanskrit रत्नवज्र *ratnavajra*. The name Qunchuqbal is also probably derived from the Tibetan *kun-tu-hjug-bral* 'freedom from sin,' the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit निरोध *nirodh*. In the east we encounter a very few Mongols with Chinese names, like Qubilai Khan's son Jimgim, which reflects an older pronunciation of the Chinese 真金 *chen chin* 'true gold.'

Unfortunately for us, just about the time the Ilkhans converted to Islam and began having normal Muslim names like Ahmad and Ali, with which copyists would have had no difficulty, the text ends. Properly speaking, all the "Qutluqs" in our text should be Qutlugh, and all the "Tuqluqs" should be Tughlugh, but given the apparent lack of distinction between postvocalic *q* and *gh*, spelling in Ilkhanid times was somewhat chaotic in this regard. Since it is not feasible to "correct" all the names in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, it was felt better to leave them as they are spelled in the text. I have tried, insofar as possible, however, to "iron out" the discrepancies in spelling in any one person's name, so if a particular "Tuqluq" appears later as "Tughluq," I have changed it to be consistent with the first spelling. In

the notes, when the "consonantal skeleton" of proper names has to be dealt with, a caret (^) indicates a dotless "tooth" in the Arabic script, i.e. A^LYKR is a transcription of ایلیکر.

Furthermore, in English we do not have the luxury of leaving a proper name for which we do not know the vowels as a series of vowelless consonants. When faced in Persian with an unfamiliar name like ترکر (*TRKR*), which could be pronounced any number of ways, the Persian reader mentally registers the consonants and then goes on without much ado. Since a normal English reader would not know what to make of *TRKR*, we are obliged to provide something more. In this case, a guess is better than nothing, and there are many guesses in this translation, but they are signaled as such in the notes.

Turkish and Mongolian terms, generally military, intruded massively into Persian during the Mongol period. There is, of course, nothing unusual in having a conqueror's vocabulary seep into a native language, as Norman French entered English. A few of these words, like the Norman element in English, became domesticated over time and are still used in Persian today, like *ghoruq* > *qoroq*, an area of limited access. Mostly, however, the Turco-Mongolian vocabulary of Persian was transient, and terms that were once very frequently used, like *yasamishi* (troop array), *olja* (booty), and *huljamishi* (swearing allegiance) have long since disappeared from Persian, not to mention those that were of less common occurrence. As frequently used as such terms may have been among the bureaucratic class in Rashiduddin's day, even then they were felt to be foreign—and were recognizably so—and are not only strange but meaningless to today's Persian speaker. To maintain the flavor of the original in its own time, I have left these terms in the text in Turkish or Mongolian and provided an English equivalent in parentheses. All such terms are fully defined in notes at the first instance and also in the glossary.

In the sections that deal with China there are several added complications. Since the vast majority of Western sources dealing with the Chinese part of the Genghisid empire were written before the adoption of Pinyin for transcribing Chinese, we have followed the older sources in using the Wade-Giles transcription except for identification of places in modern China, where Pinyin is used in conformity with modern maps and atlases. In the Wade-Giles transcription *t'*, *ts'*, *p'*, *ch'*, and *k'* stand (more or less) for our *t*, *ts*, *p*, *ch* and *k*, while *t*, *ts*, *p*, *ch*, and *k* are pronounced like the English *d*, *dz*, *b*, *j*, and *g* respectively (i.e. a name like Cheng-ting is actually pronounced "Jeng-ding" and *chou* sounds like "Joe," while K'ai-p'ing is pronounced "Kai-ping").

The Chinese *t'* is generally transcribed into Persian as ت (sometimes ط, both pronounced *t*), as in تاینفو Tayanfu for 太原府 T'ai-yüan fu, while the Chinese *t* is spelled with either د (*d*) or ت (*t*), as in دایدو Daidu for 大都 Ta(i) Tu and تونك كينك Tung Ging for 東京 Tung-ching. Normally the distinction between *p* and *p'* is observed in Persian (باوجيو Bao-jiu for 保州 Pao-chou, and ليوپان Liupan for 六盤 Liu-p'an). Although *k* (ك) could be distinguished from *g* (گ) in Persian, it was common practice in manuscript copying to disregard the distinction altogether, and the distinction between *j* (ج) and *ch* (چ) was made only intermittently and inconsistently. It is accepted practice to transcribe Chinese according to received modern Mandarin pronunciation; Rashiduddin's informants, however, lived at the end of the thirteenth century and used northern Chinese (Cathaian) pronunciation. The two do not always coincide, particularly with palatals and gutturals. Modern *ch'i* almost always shows up as *ki* in Persian (كوكي Gau Ki for 高琪 Kao Ch'i), and modern *chi* is often a *gi* (كم جيو Gim Jiu for 錦州 Chin-chou and كينك *ging* for 京 *ching*). Modern *hs* shows up sometimes as *s* (e.g., سيمالی Simali for 洗馬林 Hsi-ma-li) and sometimes as *q* (e.g., Qamping for 咸平 Hsien-p'ing). The Chinese *h* is either *kh* (خوجانفو Khojanfu for 河中府 Ho-chung fu) or *q* (قاجو Qaju for 河州 Ho-chou). Final *-m* had not yet become *-n*, as in كيم *gim* for 金 *chin*. And we have the added complication of Chinese words, titles, and names that have come to Persian through a Mongolian filter, in which case almost all bets are off (e.g., Persian جونك *juwang* < Mongolian *juwang* < Chinese 元 *yüan*; Persian سون تيجيو Sön-tijiu < Mongolian Söndiiwu < Chinese 宣德府 Hsüan-te fu, where, in addition to the progressive sound changes, the *fu* designation was changed to *chou*). In all sections of the translation that deal with China and Chinese names, I have given a transcription of the Persian with the Chinese equivalent in square brackets, e.g., Gim Jiu [Chin-chou]. Interestingly, in every instance in which Rashiduddin and Marco Polo record the same names, they both record the Persian version of the name, like the Persian Tayanfu, which is Marco Polo's "Taianfu," for T'ai-yüan fu; the Persian Khojanfu, Marco Polo's "Cacionfu," for Ho-chung fu; and the Persian Kenjanfu, which is Marco Polo's "Quengianfu," for Ching-chao fu, which is better known by its more recent name, Hsi-an (Sian).

Had he so chosen, Rashiduddin could have availed himself of Arabic vocabulary and been very precise in the definition of groups of various sizes.

Instead, he opted to use one word, *qawm*, for all groupings. He does not, therefore, distinguish among nations, tribes, or clans, although he occasionally uses the word *shu'ba* 'branch' for a branch of a family tree. When the English terms 'nation,' 'tribe,' and 'clan' are used, they are dictated by sense and by the necessity to introduce some variety into the text. The Naiman, for instance, were a large confederation, and they would certainly have qualified to be designated a nation. The Borjiqin, on the other hand, were a small family grouping who would not be called anything more than a clan in English. The reader should bear in mind that Rashiduddin does not distinguish these groupings in any way.

In a text that deals largely with the world conqueror Tämüjin, a word must be said concerning his title, "Genghis Khan," and our use of the conventional English spelling instead of attempting to reconstruct a more "correct" original. The most frequently defended speculation for the origin of the "Genghis" part of the title is that it was *Chinggiz*, which, it is thought, like the ~~ᠲᠠᠯᠠᠢ~~ *dalai* (the Mongolian for ocean) in the Dalai Lama's title, may ultimately have had some connection with the Turkish *tengiz* 'sea, ocean' (which is the modern Republican Turkish *deniz* and shows up as the personal name Tänggiz and Dänggiz in our text). True, an initial *t-* could have been affricated in Mongolian to *ch-* before a high front vowel *(tengiz > chengiz > chingiz, chinggiz)*, but, unfortunately, at the stage at which *t* became *ch*, a final *z* would have been an original *r*, i.e. *chinggiz* would have been derived from *tengir*, not *tengiz*.[9] On text p. 127 Rashiduddin gives his version of the etymology. He states that *ching* in Mongolian means strong, which is true, and that the plural of *ching* is *chingiz*, which is not true. There is, for certain words, a Mongolian plural in *-s ~ -z*, but there is no *-iz* plural and never has been. Rashiduddin thinks that the "plural" was used to make the title more grandiose, i.e. he thinks *chinggiz khan* means "khan of the strong," and he draws a parallel with the Persian *shahanshāh*, which does mean "king of kings." In sum, it is far easier to use the recognized and time-honored English "Genghis" than it is to worry about what the original Mongolian may have been, particularly when we have it only in Persian, which obscures so much of the name that it is impossible to tell precisely what Rashiduddin and his contemporaries may have said. It is clear only that they usually wrote the name as چنگیز, and sometimes as چنککیز, and they probably pronounced Chingíz or Chinggíz. Finally, one can do no better than to quote Doerfer:

> Es hat im Mo[ngolischen] eine Tabuisierung von Herrschernamen nach deren Tode gegeben.... Wenn aber überhaupt irgendwo Tabuisierung eines Names angebracht war, und wenn sie überhaupt irgendwo die Chance hatte, sich definitiv durchzusetzen, dann doch wohl bei dem Names des *Cinggis*, des größten Herrschers, den die Mo. überhaupt hervorgebracht haben. Die Lösung ist also: Es gibt keine Lösung, wir können den Namen überhaupt nicht kennen, und daher auch nicht etymologisieren. Daher dürfte auch heute noch (und wird vielleicht für immer) BANZAROVs Wort gelten: этимология его остается такой же загадкой, какой она была сто лет тому назад 'die Etymologie dieses Names bleibt dasselbe Rätsel, das es vor hundert Jahren war.'[10]

It should be obvious that the modern Persian pronunciation "Changíz" and the modern Turkish rendering as "Cengiz" are not justifiable on any grounds except as convention. The Persian pronunciation probably has resulted from an association with *chang* 'claw.'

This translation is not meant to take the place of the Persian texts available. There is only so much a translator can do in attempting to reconcile massive textual variants. For philological study nothing can take the place of the actual texts, and to facilitate comparison with editions of the Persian text I have incorporated references throughout the translation. The numbers given in square brackets and bold face refer to the Karimi edition (*Jámi' al-tawárikh*, edited by Bahman Karímí in two volumes, Tehran: Iqbál, 1362; JT_K in the notes); this edition has the advantage of presenting the text of the entirety of Tome One in two companion volumes, although it lacks manuscript variants. The "M" numbers in square brackets in the first part refer to the 1965 Moscow edition (*Джами' ат-таварих*, volume 1, part 1, edited by A. A. Romaskevich, L. A. Khetagurov, and A. A. Ali-zade, Moscow: Главная Редакция Восточной Литературы, 1965; JT_{RKA} in the notes). The "M" numbers in square brackets in part two, chapter two, section four refer to the 1980 Moscow edition (*Джами' ат-таварих*, volume 2, part 1, edited by A. A. Ali-zade, Moscow: Главная Редакция Восточной Литературы, 1980; JT_{AZ} in the notes). The "B" numbers from section five through section eleven refer to Blochet's edition (*Djami el-tévarikh: Histoire générale du monde*, edited by Edgar Blochet, Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1911; JT_{Bl} in the notes). The "A"

[9] See Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* 1:315.

[10] Ibidem.

numbers from section twelve to the end refer to Alizade's 1957 Baku edition (*Джами'-ат-таварих: Сборник Летописей*, volume 3, edited by A. A. Ali-zade, Baku: Azärbayjan SSR Elmlär Akademiyasï Näshriyyatï / Издательство Академии Наук Азербайджанской ССР, 1957; JT_{AZ} in the notes).

There are two dating systems used simultaneously in this text, Turco-Mongolian solar years and Islamic lunar years. The solar years (Year of the Horse, Year of the Monkey, e.g.) were taken from the Chinese, and they occur in twelve-year cycles. Chinese and Turco-Mongolian years begin on the new moon nearest the fifteenth degree of Aquarius. The fifteenth of Aquarius falls on the fourth or fifth of February; adjusting for the nearest new moon would mean plus or minus fifteen days, i.e. the year begins in late January or early February. These years thus correspond closely to Western years, with a slight overlap. A chart of the cyclical Sino-Turkic years and their Christian equivalents for the period covered by this work is given on p. xxix. Islamic lunar dates, which have no convenient correspondence with solar years, have been converted to their Western equivalents.

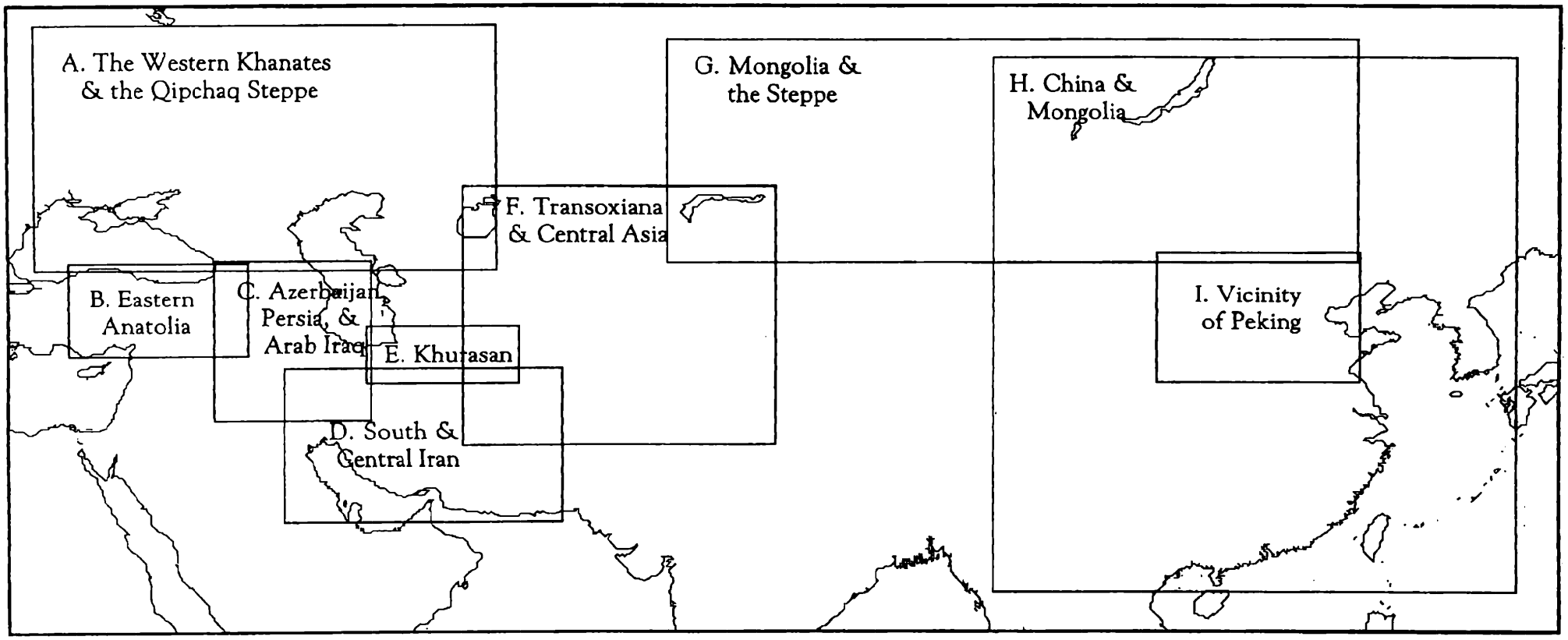
Illustrations were planned for various sections of the book, and they are referred to in the text. There was to be a portrait of every ruler on his throne surrounded by his wives, sons, and commanders. Unfortunately, few of the illustrations survive.

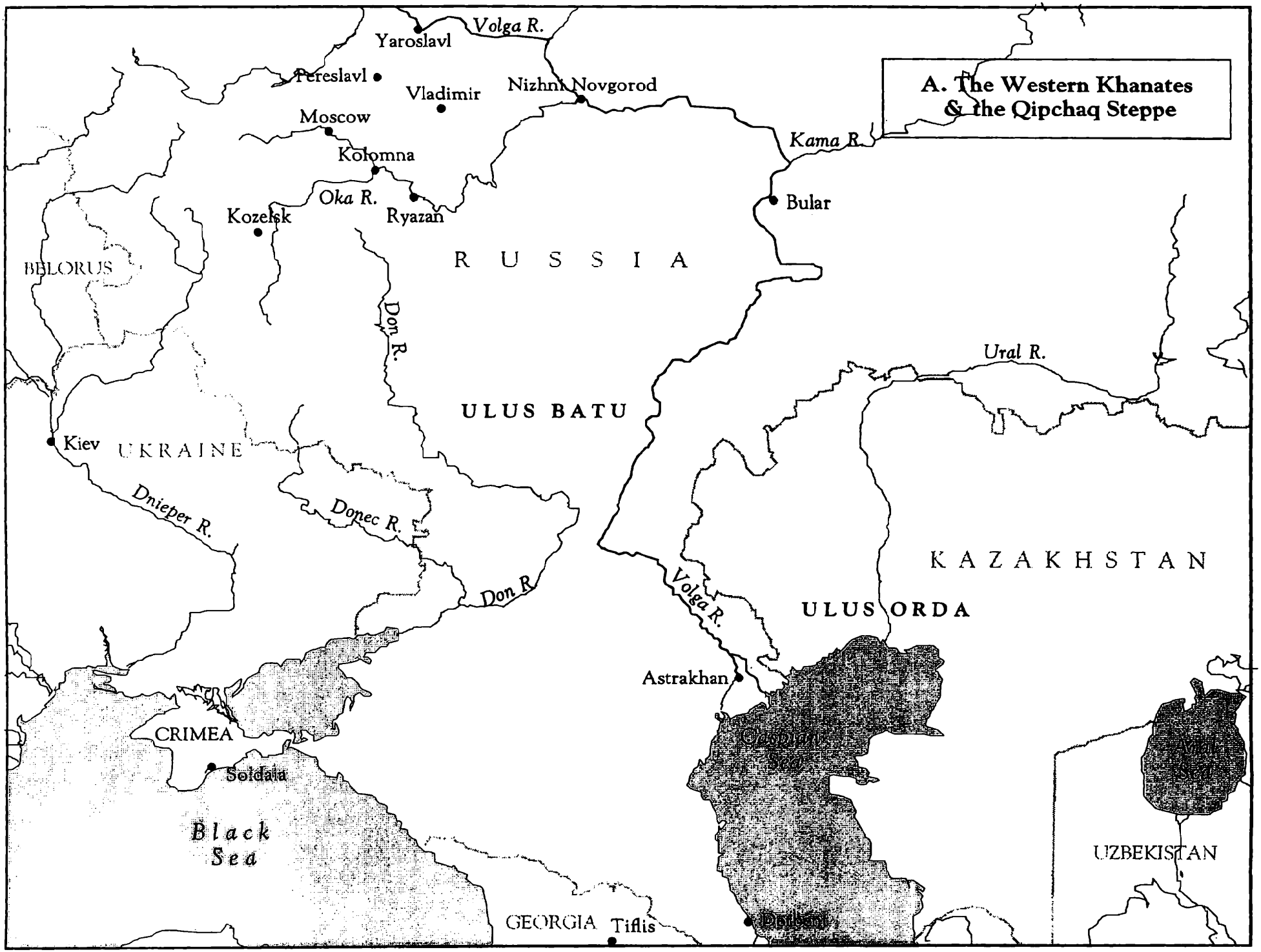
The modern division of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, which was proposed by E. G. Browne and adopted by the Russians and others in subsequent editions, has been shown in the table of contents. Otherwise I have left the division into tomes, parts, chapters, and sections as Rashiduddin intended. The new division, while good and rational on certain grounds and successful in equalizing the vast differences in length among the sections, is too Iranocentric. Rashiduddin did not treat the Ilkhanids—and they did not see themselves—as anything other than what they were, successors to Genghis Khan. The sections on them should not, therefore, be presented as a departure from Part Two, which is Genghis Khan and all his successors, but very much a part thereof.

A final note on the perennial bugaboo of transcription and transliteration. Mongolian names are transcribed, as noted above, as they appear in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, with the occasion slight alteration because of the Persian-script rendering of those names. The only departure from the normal transcription of Mongolian is the use of *ä* for *e* (i.e. Bärkä instead of Berke), a practice not unknown to Mongolianists. Since in this work we have so many names of so many different origins—all of which are represented in the Perso-Arabic script—I saw no profit in representing similar Mongolian and Turkish names and words with different systems of transcription, particularly since it is often difficult or impossible to tell whether a given word is coming from Turkish or Mongolian or a combination of the two. In addition, I have a personal aversion to representing with the vowel *e* anything that is written in the Arabic script with an *alif*. Thus, all words and names of Turkish or Mongolian origin are transcribed uniformly with the vowels *i*, *u*, *ü*, *o*, *ö*, *a*, and *ä*. The *e* vowel I have reserved for the older Persian vowel *e* (the "*majhúl* y") and for certain Turkic names and words that are written in the Arabic script with a y to represent *ē*. Persian and Arabic words and names are transcribed as normally transliterated but without the added confusion of dots and macrons. I am confident that "Ali," "Ahmad," and "Mahmud" will be recognizable for what they are without resorting to marks that are unnecessary for those who know and meaningless for those who don't.

Since I am fairly helpless in the face of Chinese, and I did not have another lifetime to learn enough simply to check the accuracy of Rashiduddin's informants in what amounts to only a few pages in this work, I was very fortunate to have the assistance of Drs. Kenneth Chase and Jiger Janabel, both of whom have been extraordinarily generous with their time and knowledge of the Chinese language and Chinese history and helped me through the relevant sections of the *Yüan shih* and *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*. My thanks are also due, as always, to the editors of this series, Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin, for their never-failing encouragement and support. For his help with Armenian and Russian I extend gratitude to my colleague, Professor James Russell. For graciously assisting in proofreading, thanks go to Gulnora Aminova and Yonggyu Lee; and for unstinting help in chores of every description, I proffer my gratitude to my student and assistant Ali-Reza Korangy.

I hope that, whatever its failings may be, this translation will succeed in presenting in a uniform version the great work of Rashiduddin and his colleagues to an English-reading audience, and that it may be of use to historians and those interested in all the various parts of the world that were influenced to one degree or another by the Mongol conquest and its aftermath. ~


A. The Western Khanates & the Qipchaq Steppe
G. Mongolia & the Steppe
H. China & Mongolia
F. Transoxiana & Central Asia
B. Eastern Anatolia
C. Azerbaijan, Persia, & Arab Iraq
E. Khurasan
I. Vicinity of Peking
D. South & Central Iran


A. The Western Khanates & the Qipchaq Steppe
Yaroslavl
Volga R.
Pereslavl
Vladimir
Nizhni Novgorod
Moscow
Kama R.
Kolomna
Oka R.
Bular
Kozelsk
Ryazan
BELORUS
RUSSIA
Don R.
Ural R.
ULUS BATU
Kiev
UKRAINE
Dnieper R.
Donec R.
Don R.
KAZAKHSTAN
Volga R.
ULUS ORDA
Astrakhan
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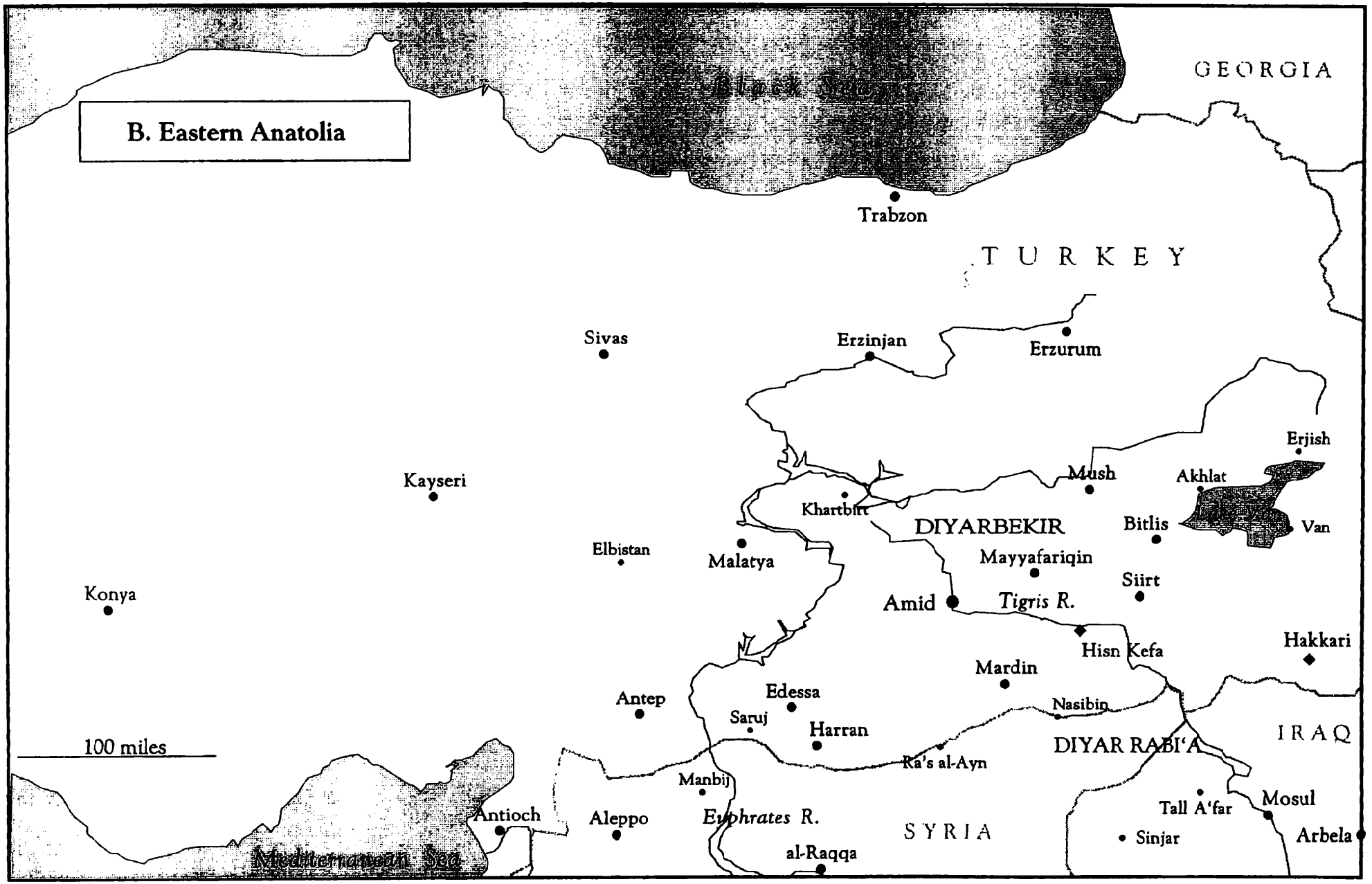
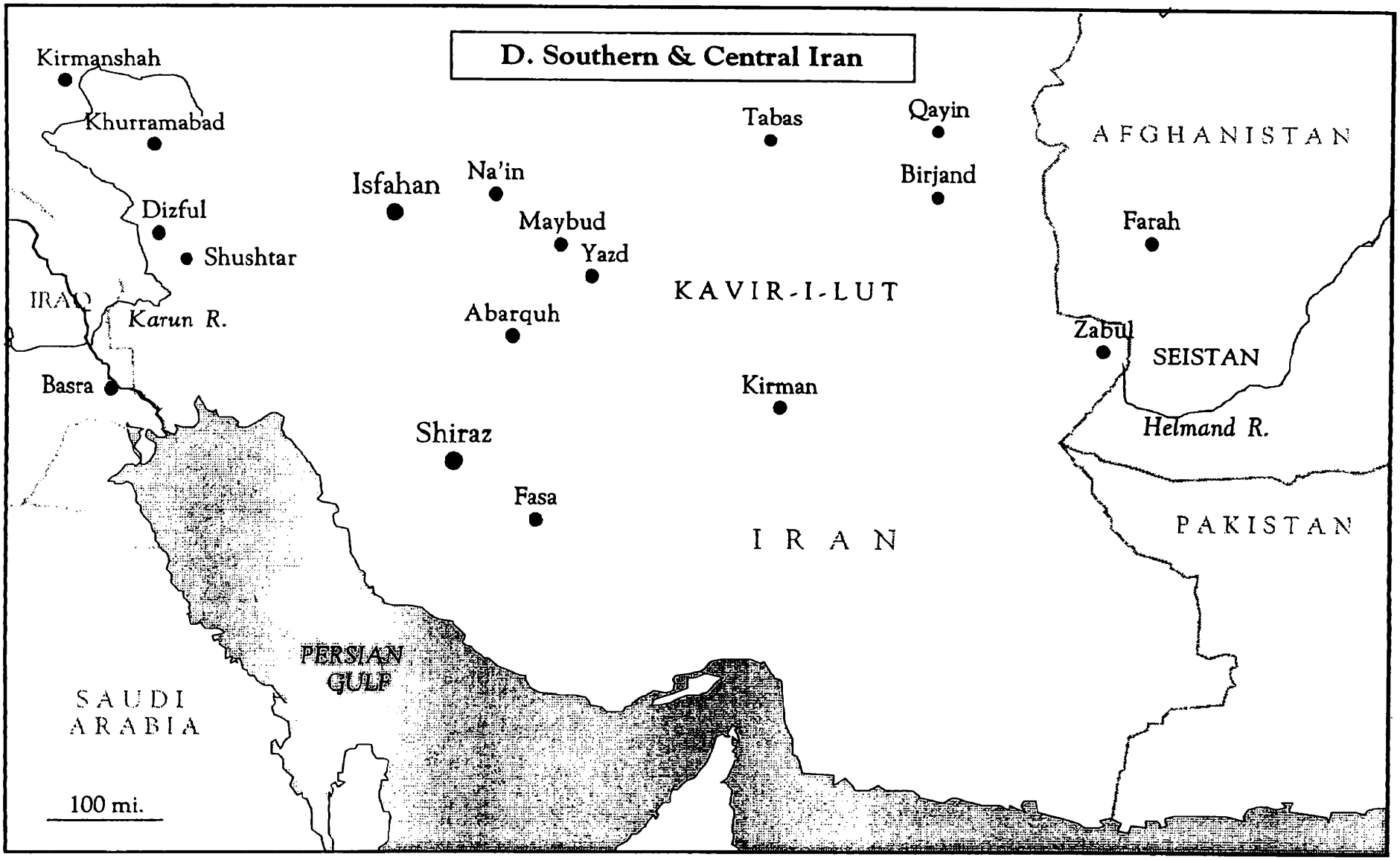
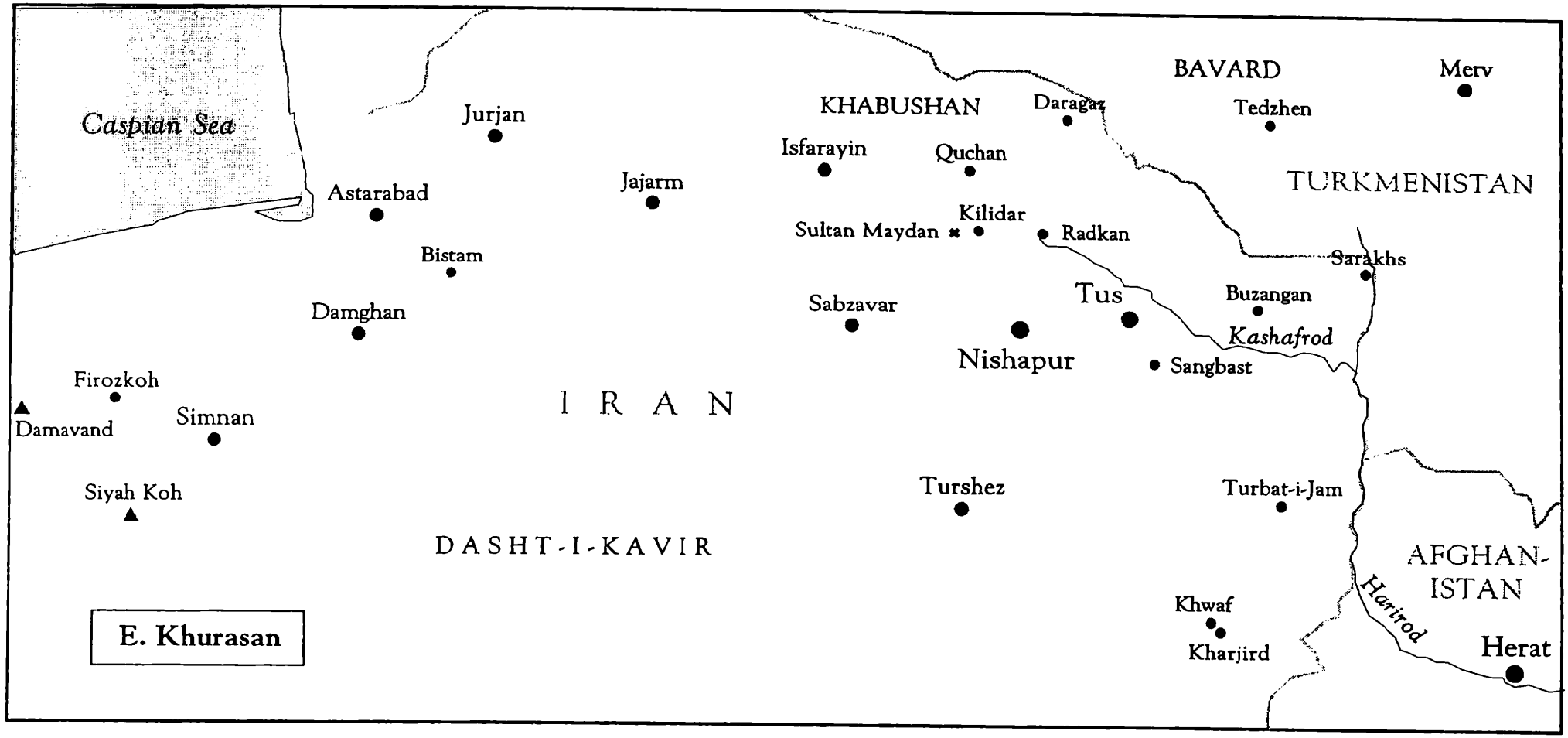
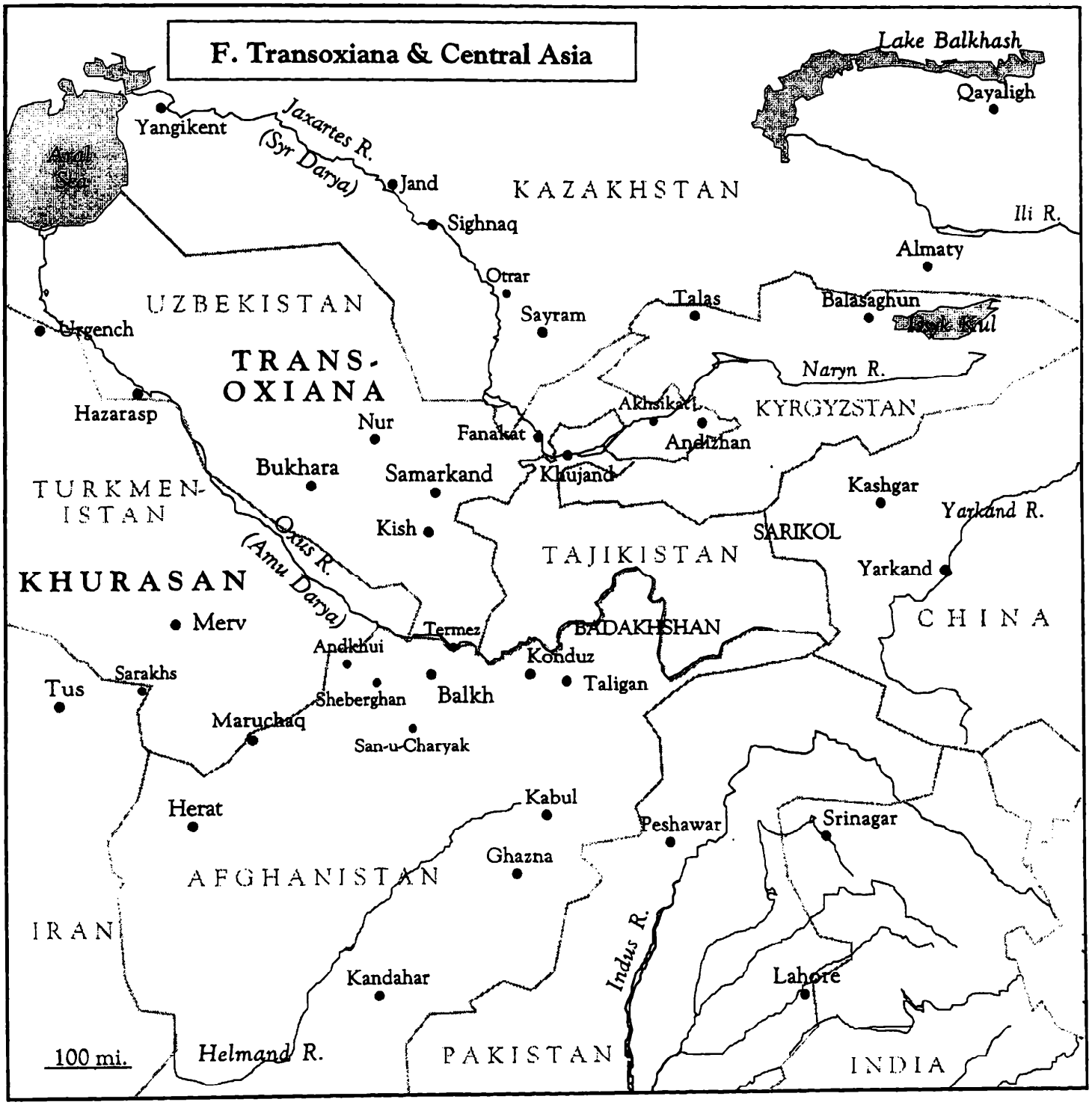
Soldaia
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Black Sea
UZBEKISTAN
GEORGIA
Tiflis
Derbent

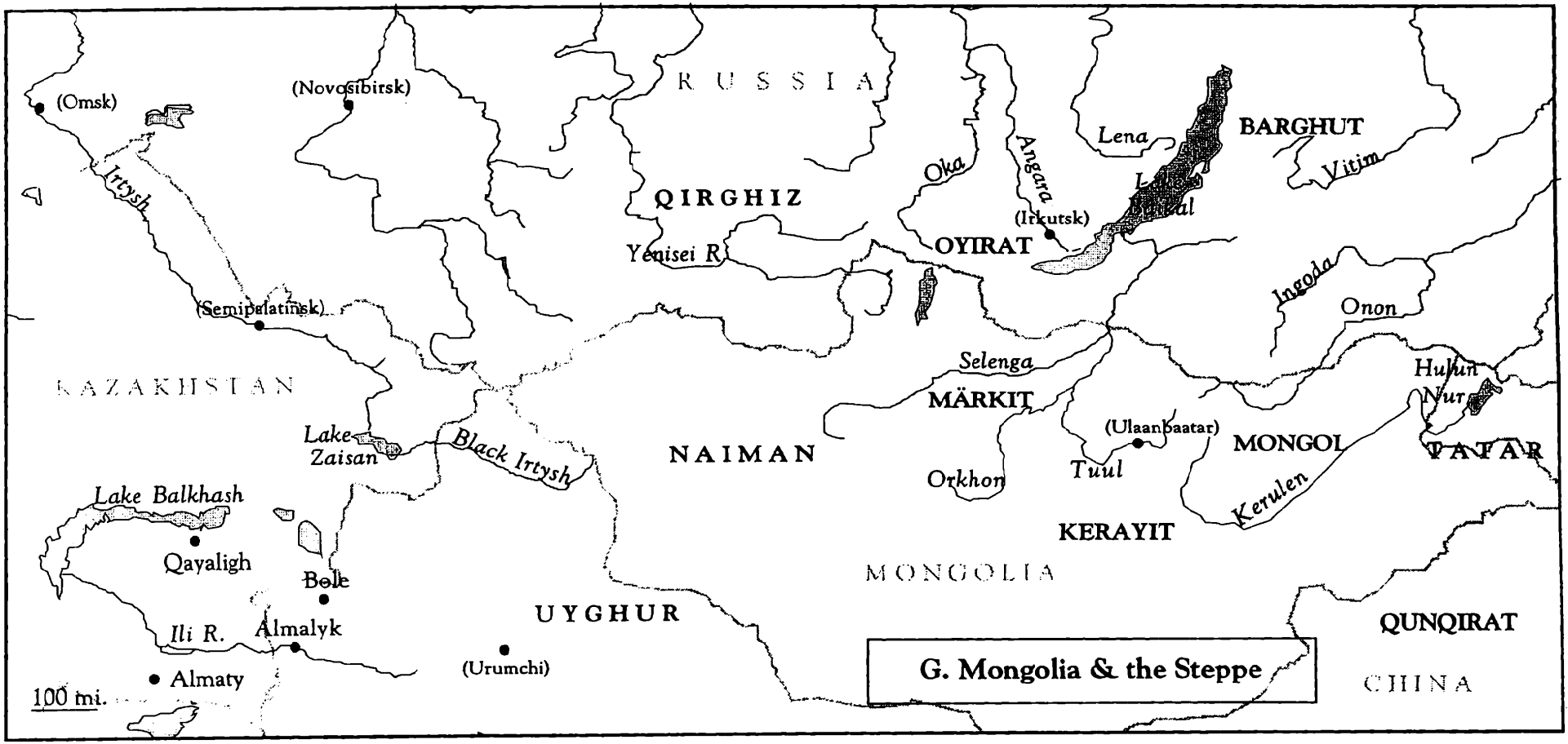

B. Eastern Anatolia
Black Sea
GEORGIA
Trabzon
TURKEY
Sivas
Erzinjan
Erzurum
Erjish
Kayseri
Mush
Akhlat
Khartbirt
DIYARBEKIR
Bitlis
Van
Elbistan
Malatya
Mayyafariqin
Siirt
Konya
Amid
Tigris R.
Hisn Kefa
Hakkari
Mardin
Antep
Edessa
Nasibin
Saruj
Harran
IRAQ
100 miles
DIYAR RABI'A
Ra's al-Ayn
Manbij
Tall A'far
Mosul
Antioch
Aleppo
Euphrates R.
SYRIA
Sinjar
Arbela
Mediterranean Sea
al-Raqqa

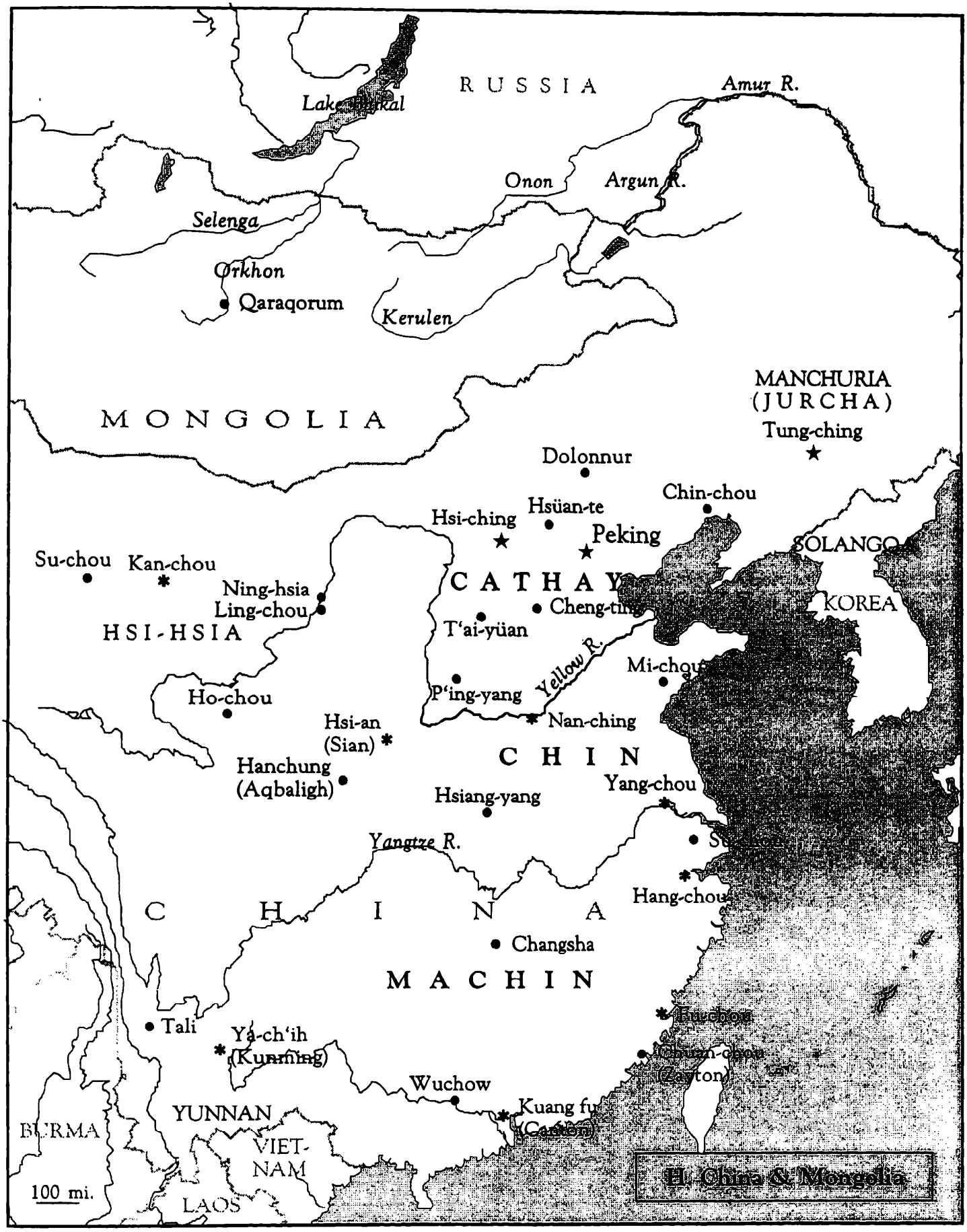
GEORGIA
RUSSIA
Tiflis
Derbent
C. Azerbaijan, Persia, & Arab Iraq
ARMENIA
Ganja
Shemakha
Barda
ARRAN
Dwin
Baku
AZERBAIJAN
TURKEY
QARABAGH
Nakhichevan
Bilasawar
MUGHAN
Aras R.
AZERBAIJAN
Caspian Sea
Khoy
Marand
Bitlis
Lake Van
Van
Salmas
Tabriz
Ardabil
Siirt
Sarab
Hakkari
Urmia
Maragha
Hashtrod
GILAN
Rasht
Tigris R.
Ushnaviya
SYRIA
Zanjan
Tall A'far
Qara Dagh
Sultaniyya
Mosul
Arbela
Abhar
MAZANDERAN
Sinjar
Sujas
Qazwin
Damavand
Karaj
Tihran
Ray
KURDISTAN
I R A N
I R A Q
Sawa
Varamin
Hamadan
Qum
Ana
Qasr-i-Shirin
Khanaqin
Kirmanshah
Nihawand
al-Hadithah
ARAB
IRAQ
Burujird
P E R S I A
(PERSIAN
IRAQ)
Kashan
Euphrates R.
Khurramabad
Hit
Baghdad
WASIT
Isfahan
Kerbela
al-Hilla
al-Nu'maniyya
LURISTAN
Najaf


D. Southern & Central Iran
Kirmanshah
Khurramabad
Dizful
Shushtar
IRAQ
Karun R.
Basra
Isfahan
Na'in
Maybud
Yazd
Abarquh
Shiraz
Fasa
Kirman
Tabas
Qayin
Birjand
KAVIR-I-LUT
AFGHANISTAN
Farah
Zabul
SEISTAN
Helmand R.
PAKISTAN
I R A N
PERSIAN GULF
SAUDI ARABIA
100 mi.


Caspian Sea
Jurjan
Astarabad
Jajarm
Bistam
Damghan
Firozkoh
Damavand
Simnan
Siyah Koh
I R A N
DASHT-I-KAVIR
KHABUSHAN
Daragaz
Isfarayin
Quchan
Sultan Maydan
Kilidar
Radkan
Sabzavar
Nishapur
Tus
Sangbast
Turshez
BAVARD
Merv
Tedzhen
TURKMENISTAN
Sarakhs
Buzangan
Kashafrod
Turbat-i-Jam
AFGHAN-
ISTAN
Harirod
Khwaf
Kharjird
Herat
E. Khurasan

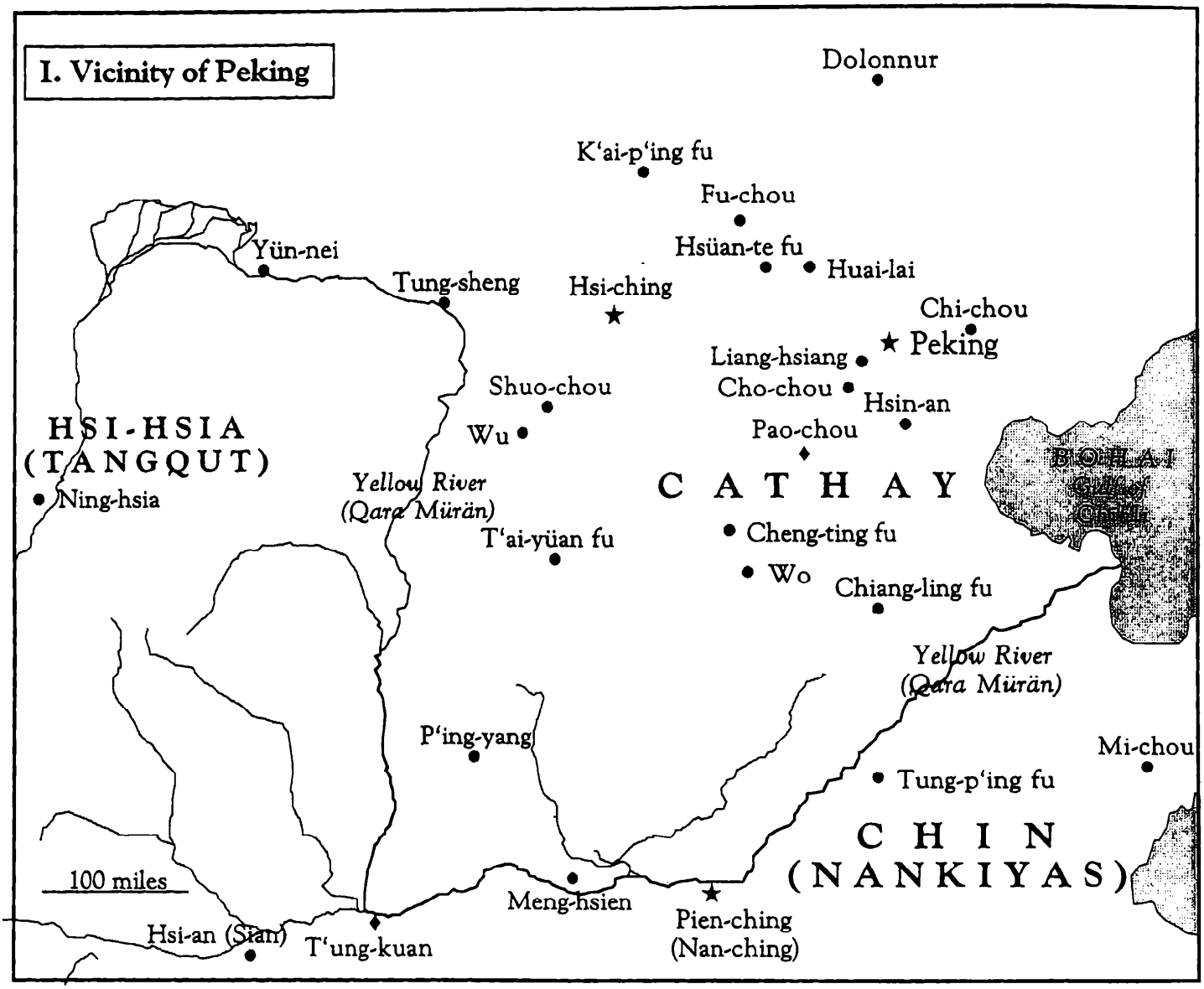

F. Transoxiana & Central Asia
Lake Balkhash
Qayaligh
Aral Sea
Yangikent
Jaxartes R.
(Syr Darya)
Jand
KAZAKHSTAN
Ili R.
Sighnaq
Almaty
Otrar
UZBEKISTAN
Talas
Balasaghun
Issyk Kul
Sayram
Urgench
TRANS-
OXIANA
Naryn R.
Akhsikat
KYRGYZSTAN
Hazarasp
Nur
Fanakat
Andizhan
Bukhara
Samarkand
Khujand
Kashgar
TURKMEN-
ISTAN
Yarkand R.
Kish
SARIKOL
Oxus R.
(Amu Darya)
TAJIKISTAN
KHURASAN
Yarkand
Merv
CHINA
Termez
BADAKHSHAN
Andkhui
Konduz
Sarakhs
Taligan
Tus
Sheberghan
Balkh
Maruchaq
San-u-Charyak
Kabul
Herat
Peshawar
Srinagar
Ghazna
AFGHANISTAN
IRAN
Indus R.
Kandahar
Lahore
100 mi.
Helmand R.
PAKISTAN
INDIA


(Omsk)
(Novosibirsk)
RUSSIA
Irtysh
QIRGHIZ
Yenisei R.
Oka
Angara
Lena
BARGHUT
Vitim
(Irkutsk)
OYIRAT
Ingoda
Onon
(Semipalatinsk)
KAZAKHSTAN
Selenga
MÄRKIT
Hulun Nur
Lake Zaisan
Black Irtysh
NAIMAN
(Ulaanbaatar)
MONGOL
TATAR
Orkhon
Tuul
Kerulen
Lake Balkhash
KERAYIT
Qayaligh
Bole
MONGOLIA
Ili R.
Almalyk
UYGHUR
QUNQIRAT
(Urumchi)
Almaty
100 mi.
CHINA
G. Mongolia & the Steppe



★ Capitals of the Chin Empire

✱ *Shengs* ("moving secretariats") of the Mongols

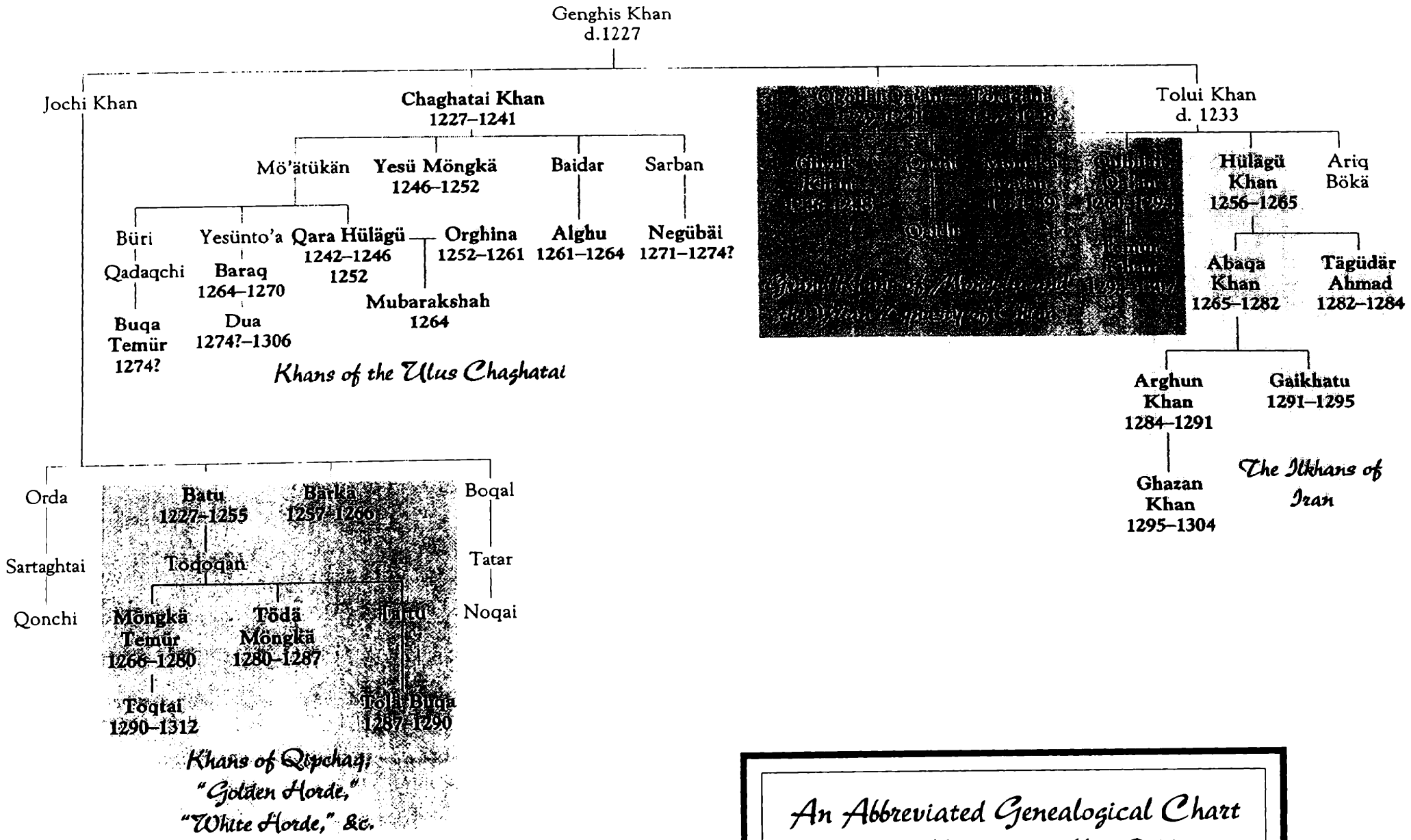

I. Vicinity of Peking
Dolonnur
K'ai-p'ing fu
Fu-chou
Hsüan-te fu
Huai-lai
Yün-nei
Tung-sheng
Hsi-ching
Chi-chou
Peking
Liang-hsiang
Shuo-chou
Cho-chou
Hsin-an
Wu
Pao-chou
HSI-HSIA
(TANGQUT)
Yellow River
(Qara Müren)
CATHAY
BOHAI
Gulf of
Chihli
Ning-hsia
T'ai-yüan fu
Cheng-ting fu
Wo
Chiang-ling fu
Yellow River
(Qara Müren)
P'ing-yang
Mi-chou
Tung-p'ing fu
CHIN
(NANKIYAS)
100 miles
Meng-hsien
Pien-ching
(Nan-ching)
Hsi-an (Sian)
T'ung-kuan

Cycles of the Sino-Turkic Years with Corresponding Christian Years

Pig *(Qaqai/Tonquz Yil)*	1155	1167	1179	1191	1203	1215	1227	1239	1251	1263	1275	1287	1299
Rat *(Quluqana Yil)*	1156	1168	1180	1192	1204	1216	1228	1240	1252	1264	1276	1288	1300
Buffalo *(Hükär Yil)*	1157	1169	1181	1193	1205	1217	1229	1241	1253	1265	1277	1289	1301
Leopard/Tiger *(Bars Yil)*	1158	1170	1182	1194	1206	1218	1230	1242	1254	1266	1278	1290	1302
Rabbit *(Taulai/Tavushqan Yil)*	1159	1171	1183	1195	1207	1219	1231	1243	1255	1267	1279	1291	1303
Dragon *(Luy Yil)*	1160	1172	1184	1196	1208	1220	1232	1244	1256	1268	1280	1292	1304
Serpent *(Moghai Yil)*	1161	1173	1185	1197	1209	1221	1233	1245	1257	1269	1281	1293	1305
Horse *(Morin/Yunt Yil)*	1162	1174	1186	1198	1210	1222	1234	1246	1258	1270	1282	1294	
Sheep *(Qonin Yil)*	1163	1175	1187	1199	1211	1223	1235	1247	1259	1271	1283	1295	
Monkey *(Bechin Yil)*	1164	1176	1188	1200	1212	1224	1236	1248	1260	1272	1284	1296	
Rooster *(Tavuq Yil)*	1165	1177	1189	1201	1213	1225	1237	1249	1261	1273	1285	1297	
Dog *(Noqai Yil)*	1166	1178	1190	1202	1214	1226	1238	1250	1262	1274	1286	1298	

Months of the Turkic year:

Chaqshapat/Aram Ay (first month)
Ikindi Ay (second month)
Ütünch Ay (third month)
[Törtünch Ay] (fourth month)
Shün Ay (fifth month)
Altinch Ay (sixth month)
[Yetinch Ay] (seventh month)
Säksinch Ay (eighth month)
Toqsunch Ay (ninth month)
Onunch Ay (tenth month)
Biryegirminch Ay [Ulugh Ay] (eleventh month, winter solstice)
[Kichik Ay] (twelfth month)



An Abbreviated Genealogical Chart of Genghis Khan and His Offspring

اسامی

والقاب فرزندان شش پسر اوغوزکه

سنه را بوزوق وسنه را اوجوق گویند

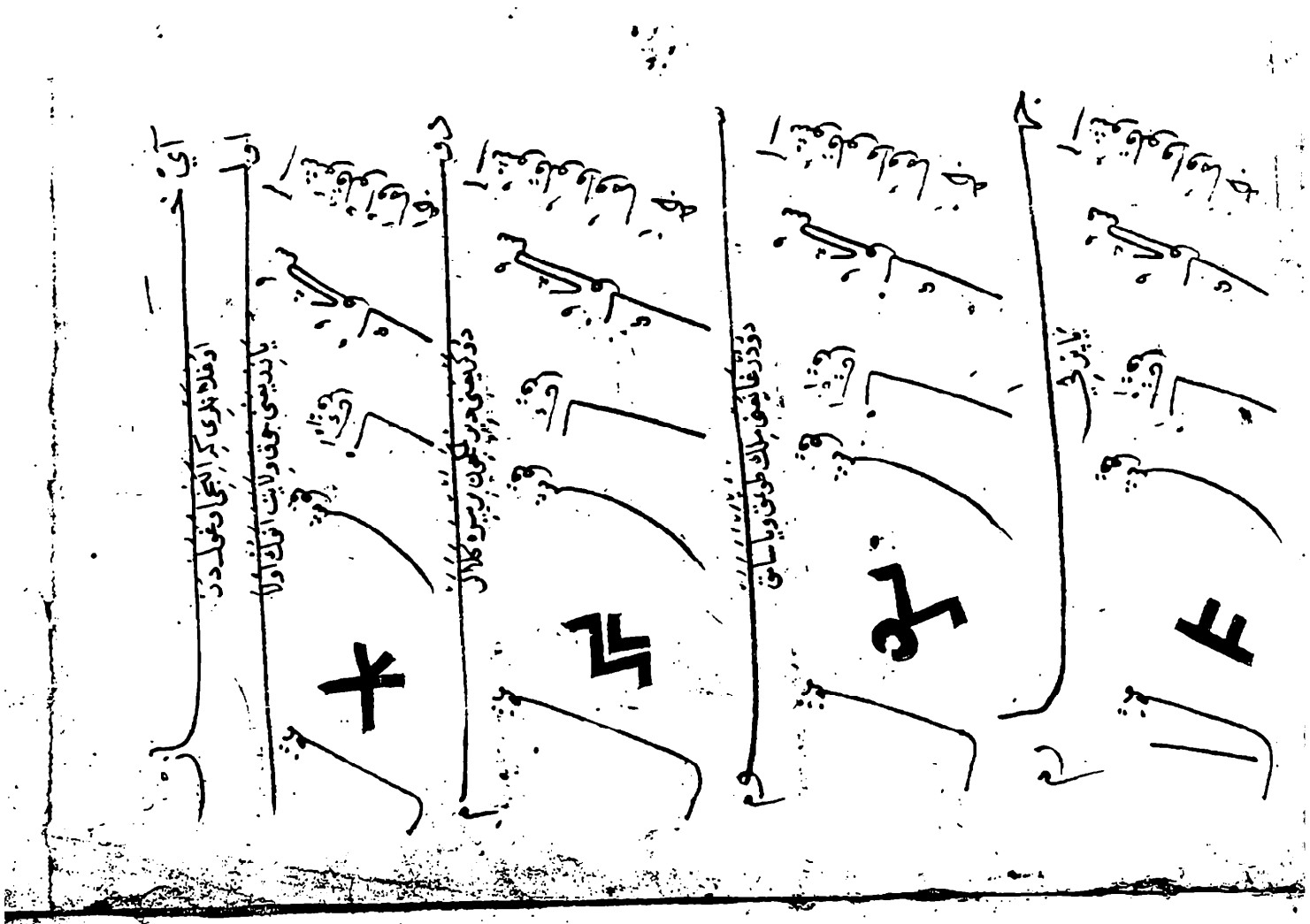
وتمغا واویقور جانوران وانداماء

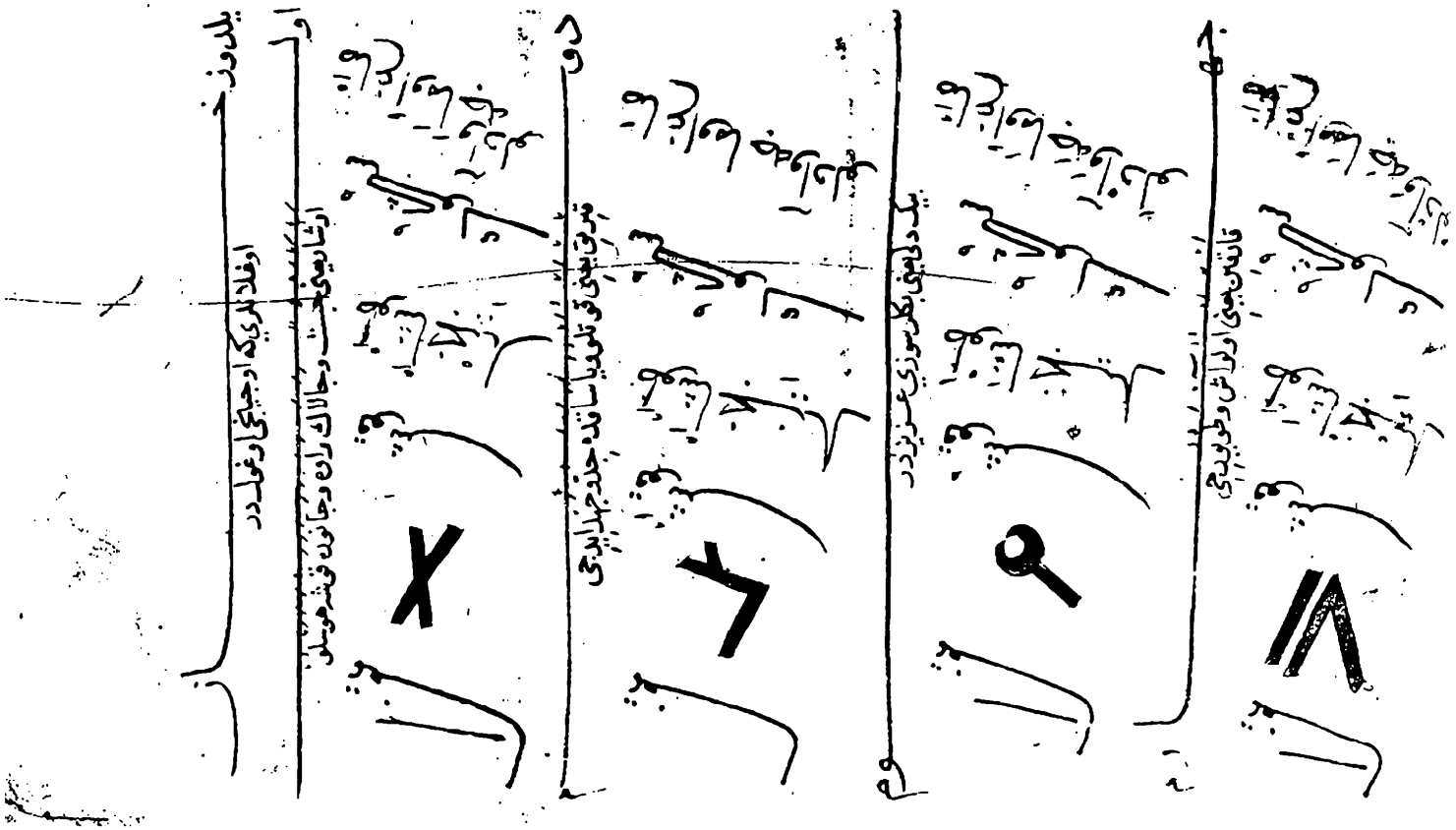
گوشتکه بایشان مخصوص است

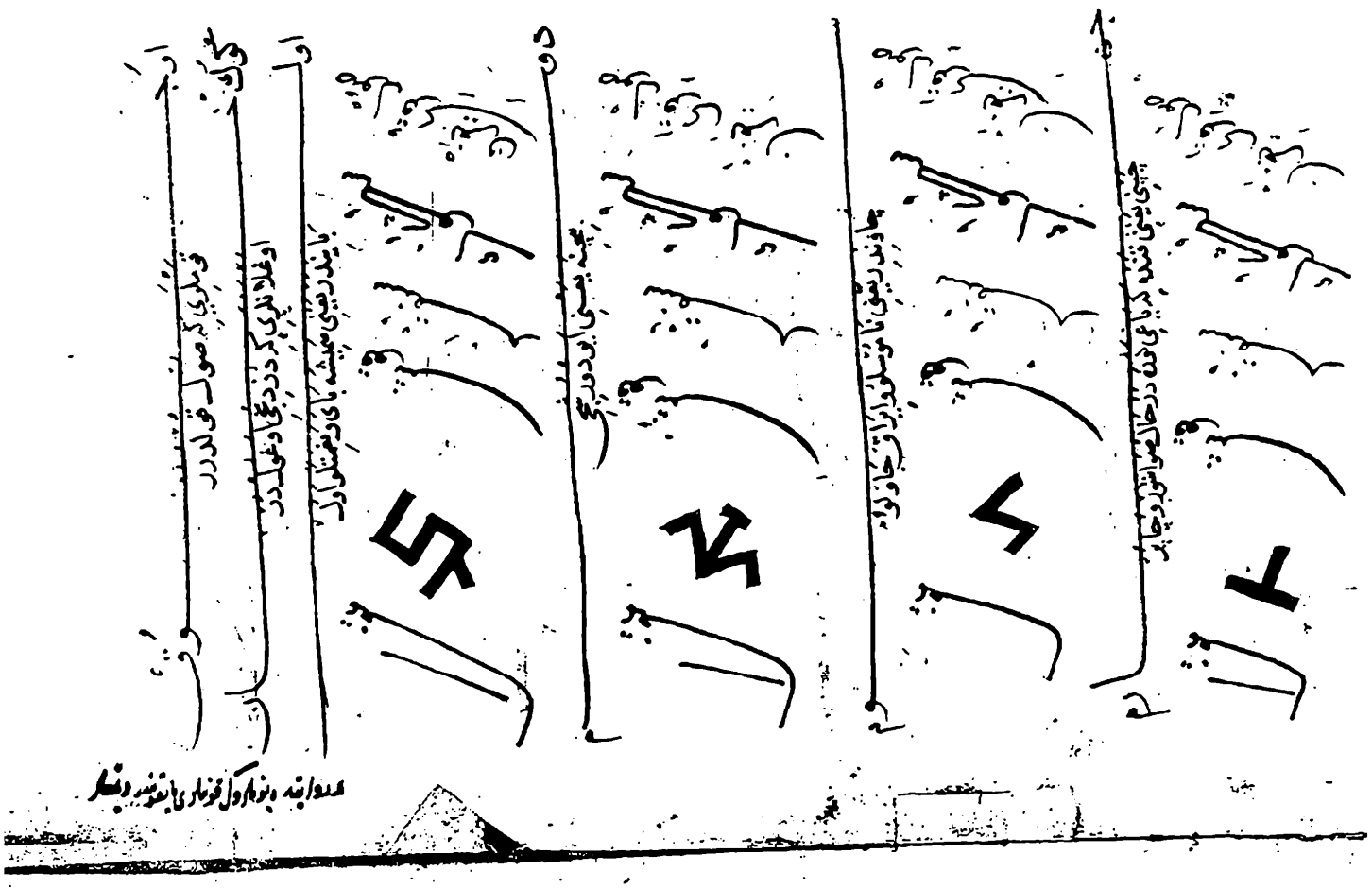
شول موجب اوزره که ینگی گنتلو

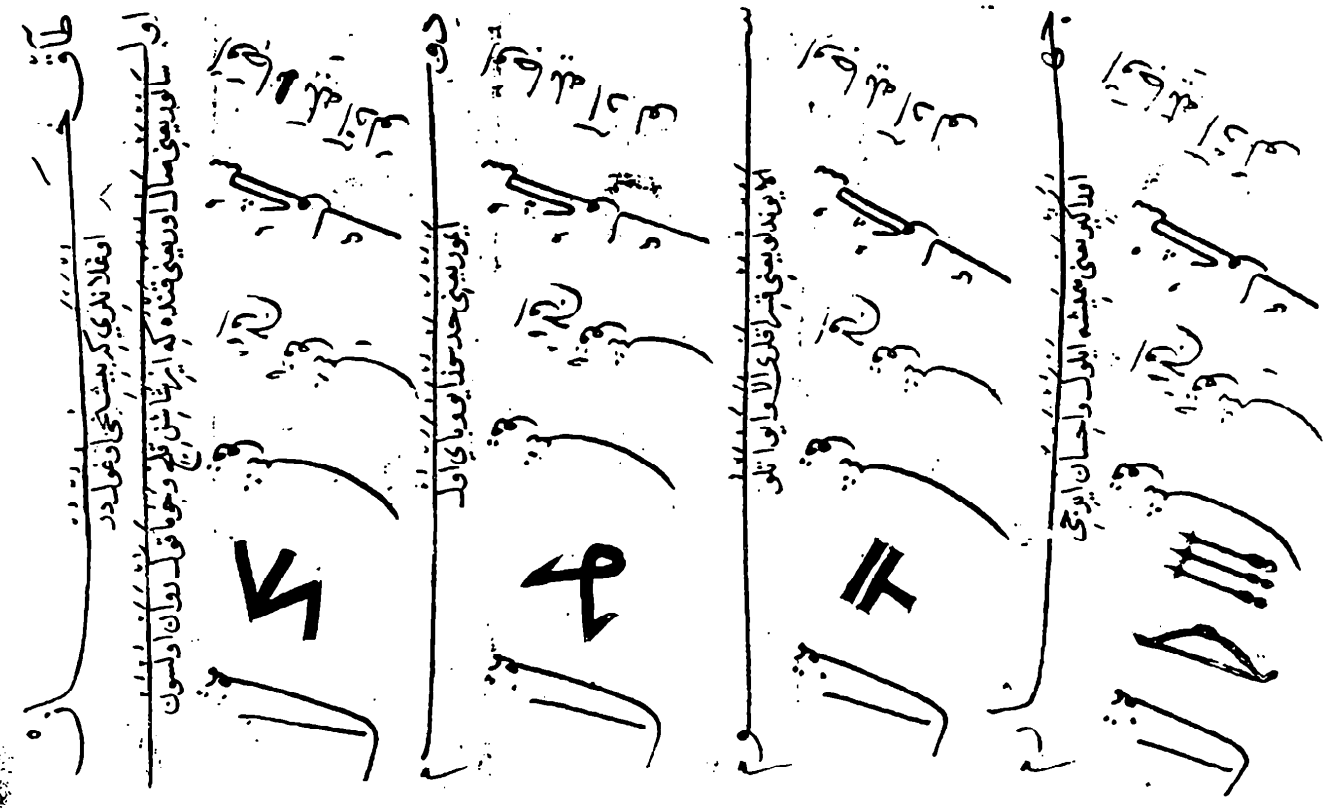
ازفیل خواجه معین الدین اوغوز بگندی

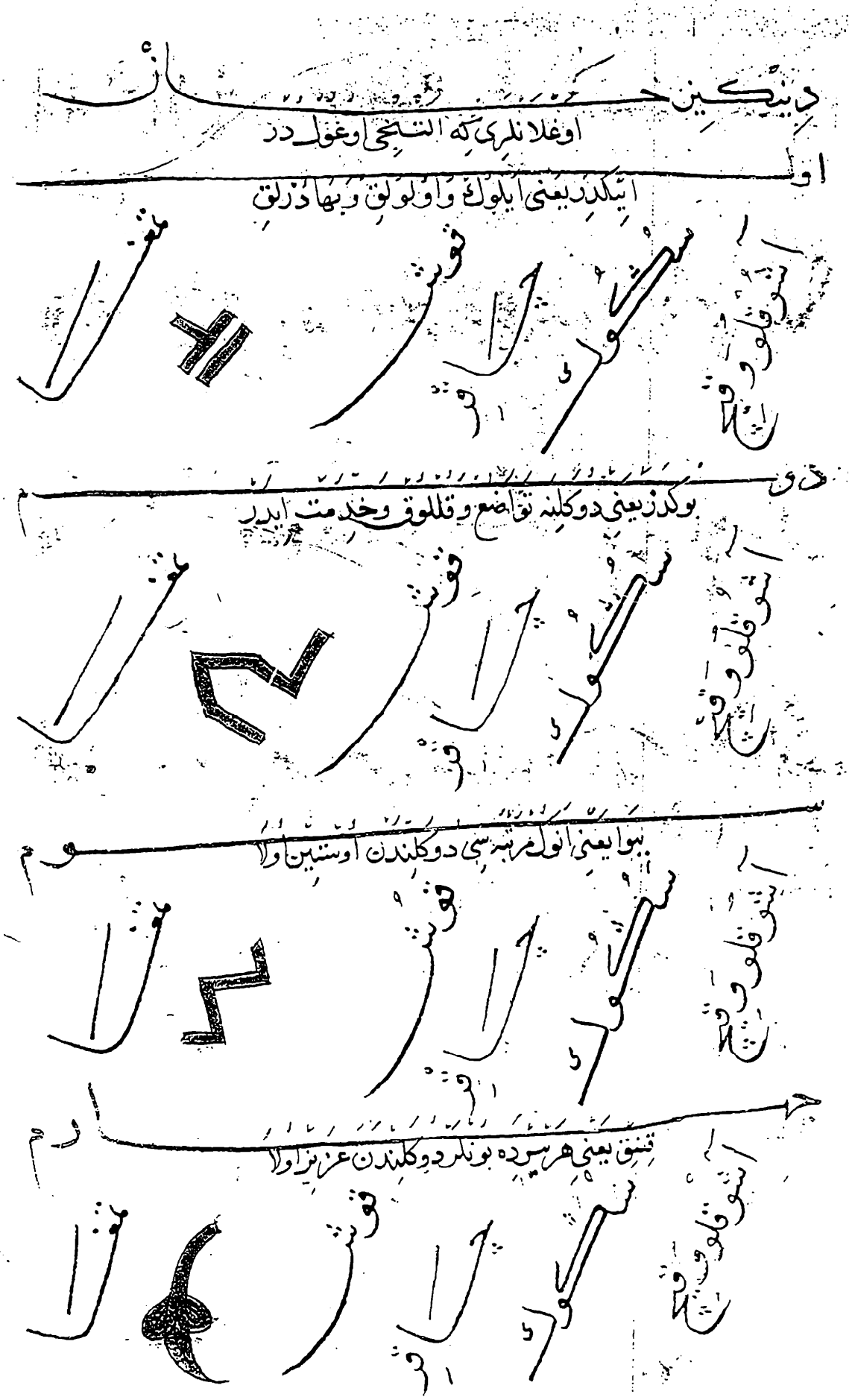
دعا الدین بو موجبنجه که ذکر اولنور

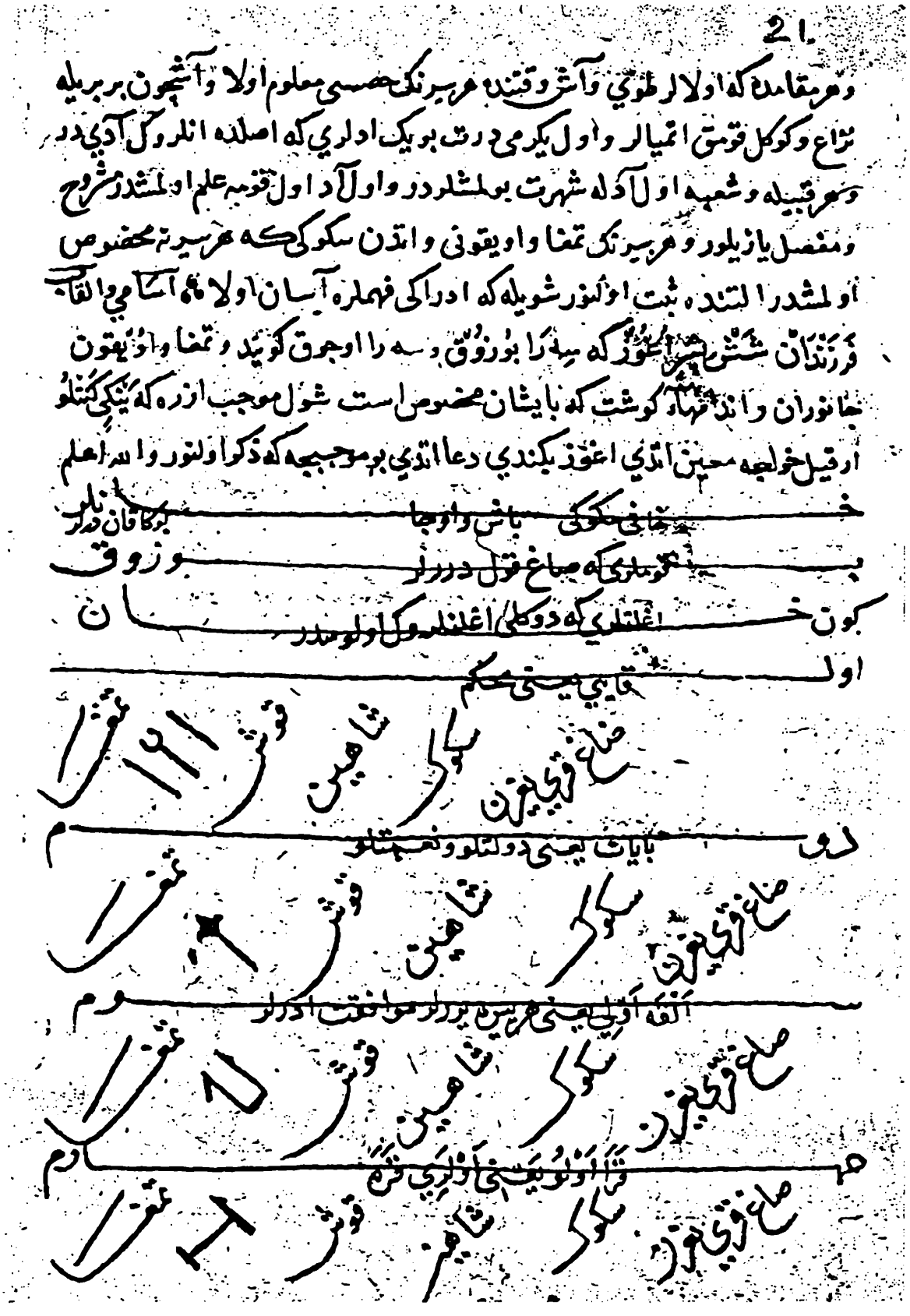


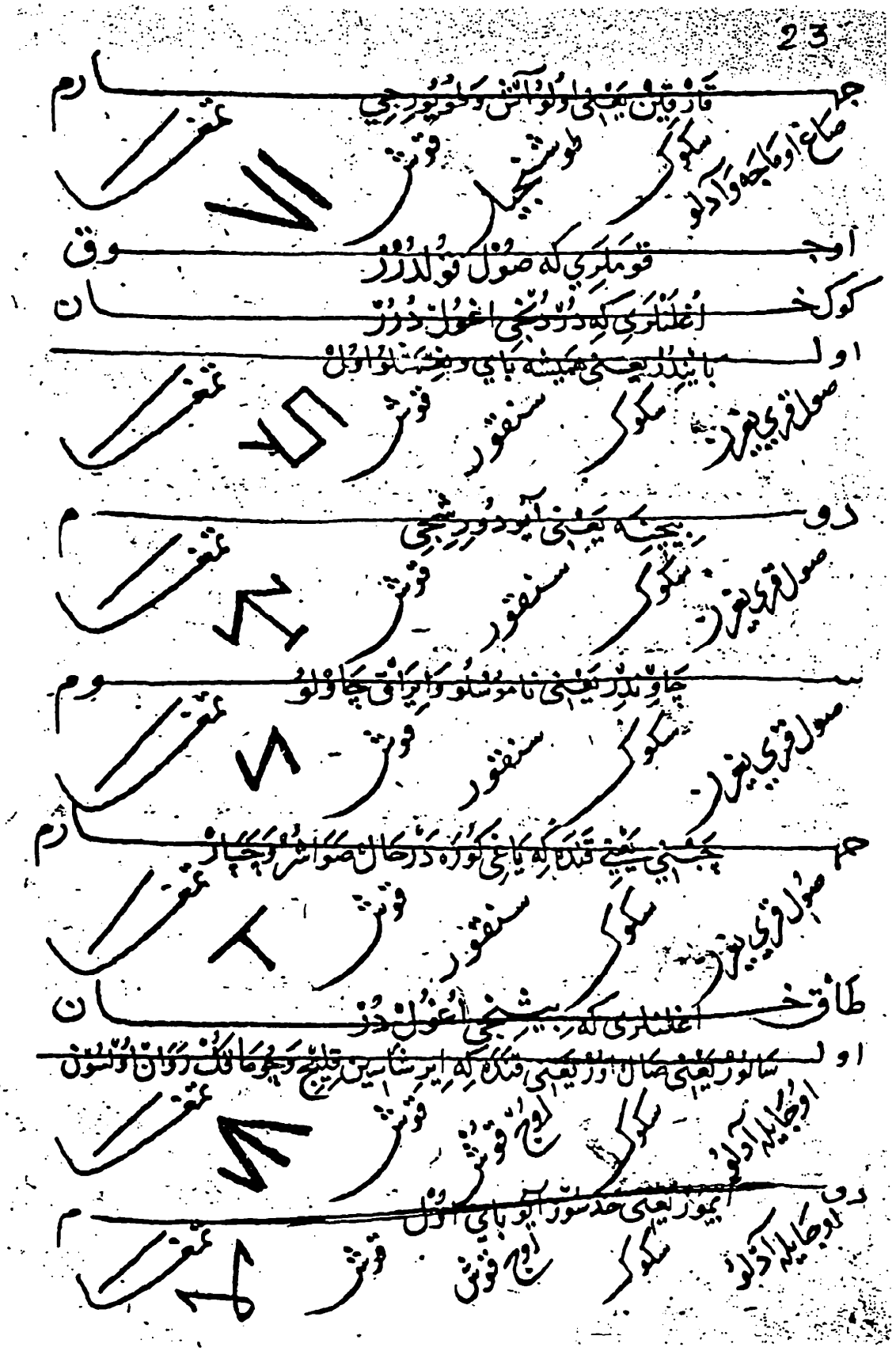




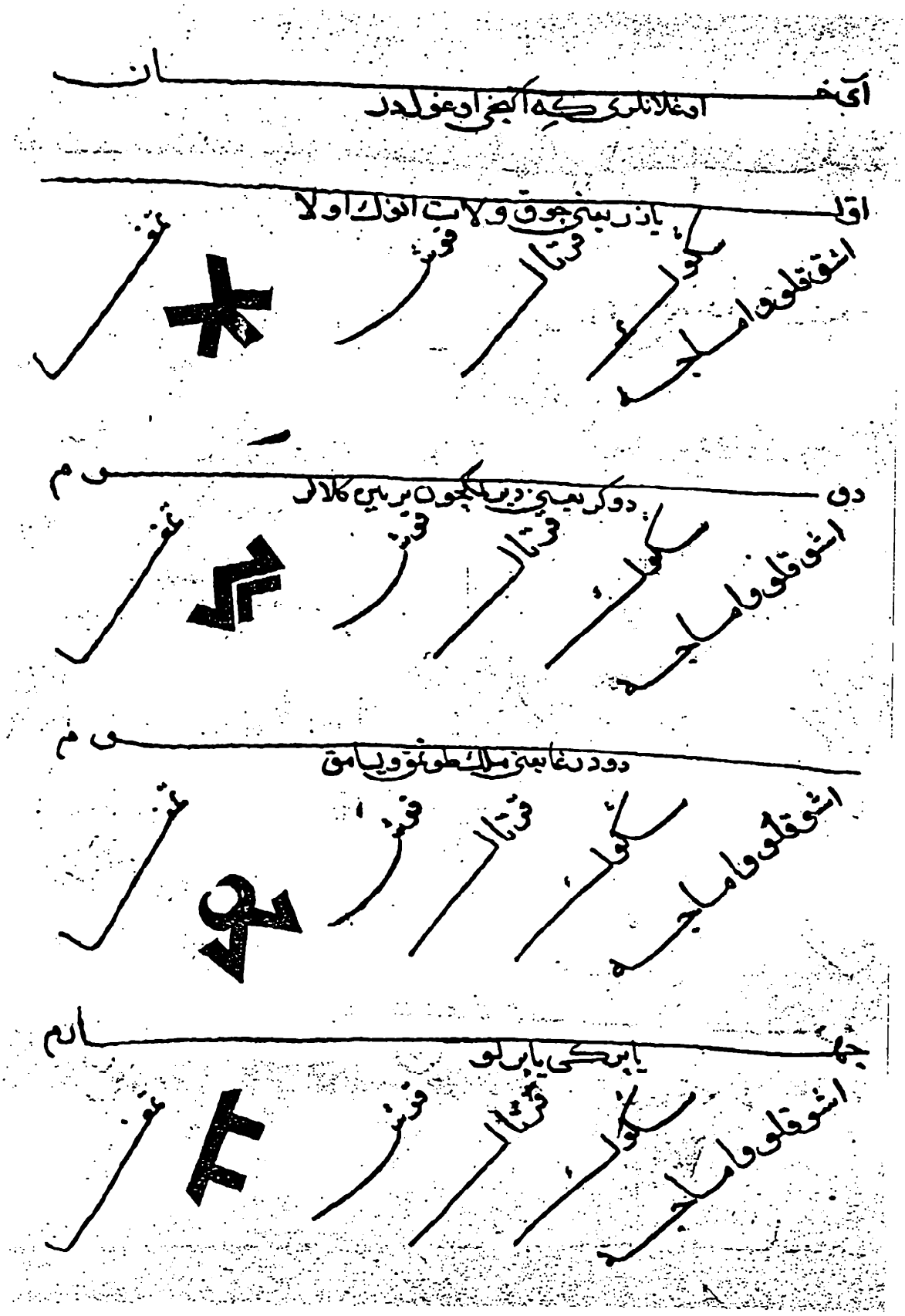


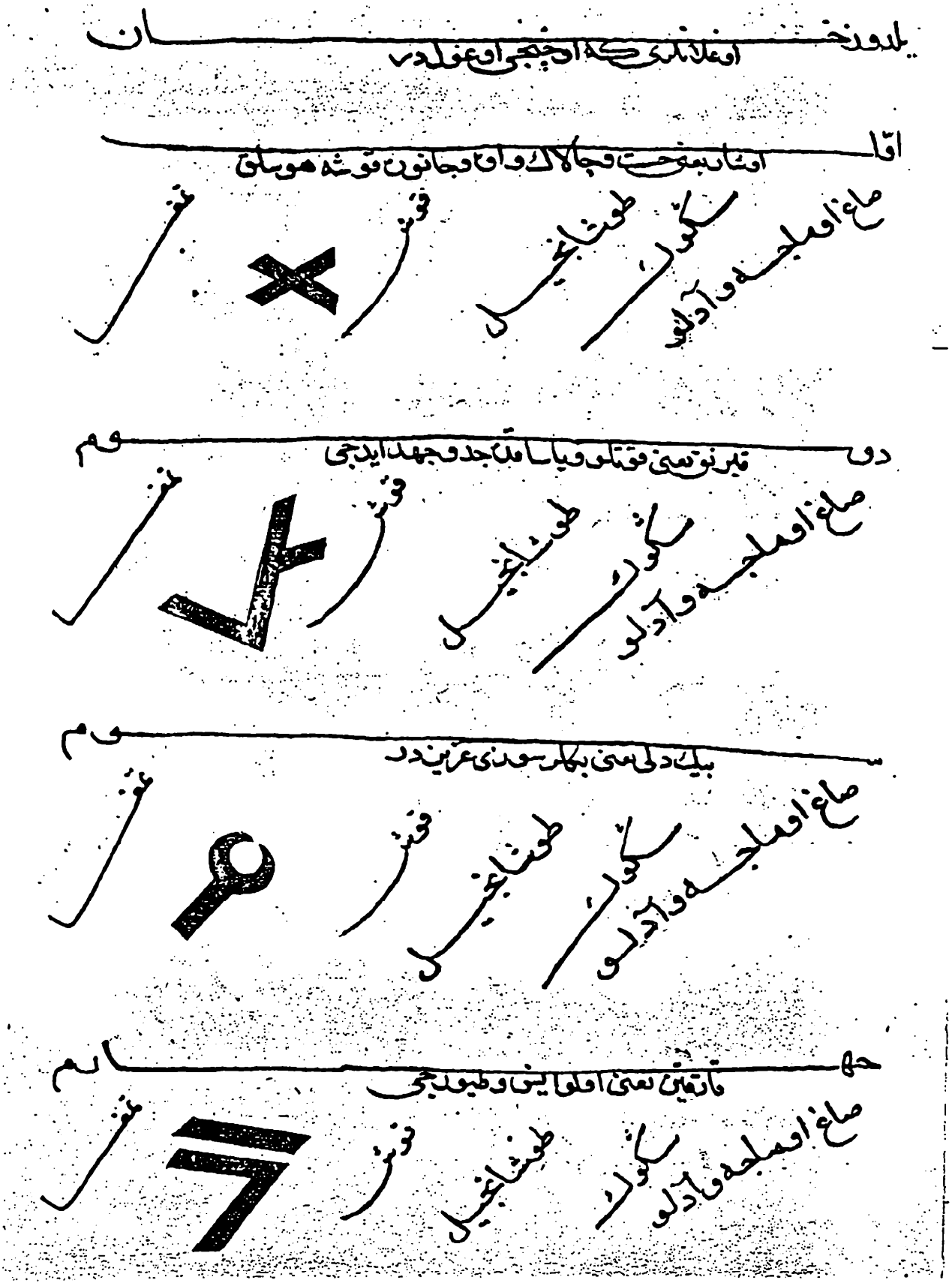

اوغلانلری که التنجی اوغولدر
ایکدر یعنی ایلوك واولولق ویها دزلق
یوکدز یعنی دوکلنه تواضع وقللوق وخدمت ایدر
بیو یعنی اولمزسه دوکلندن اوستین اولا
قنق یعنی هرییده بونلردوکلندن عزیز اولا

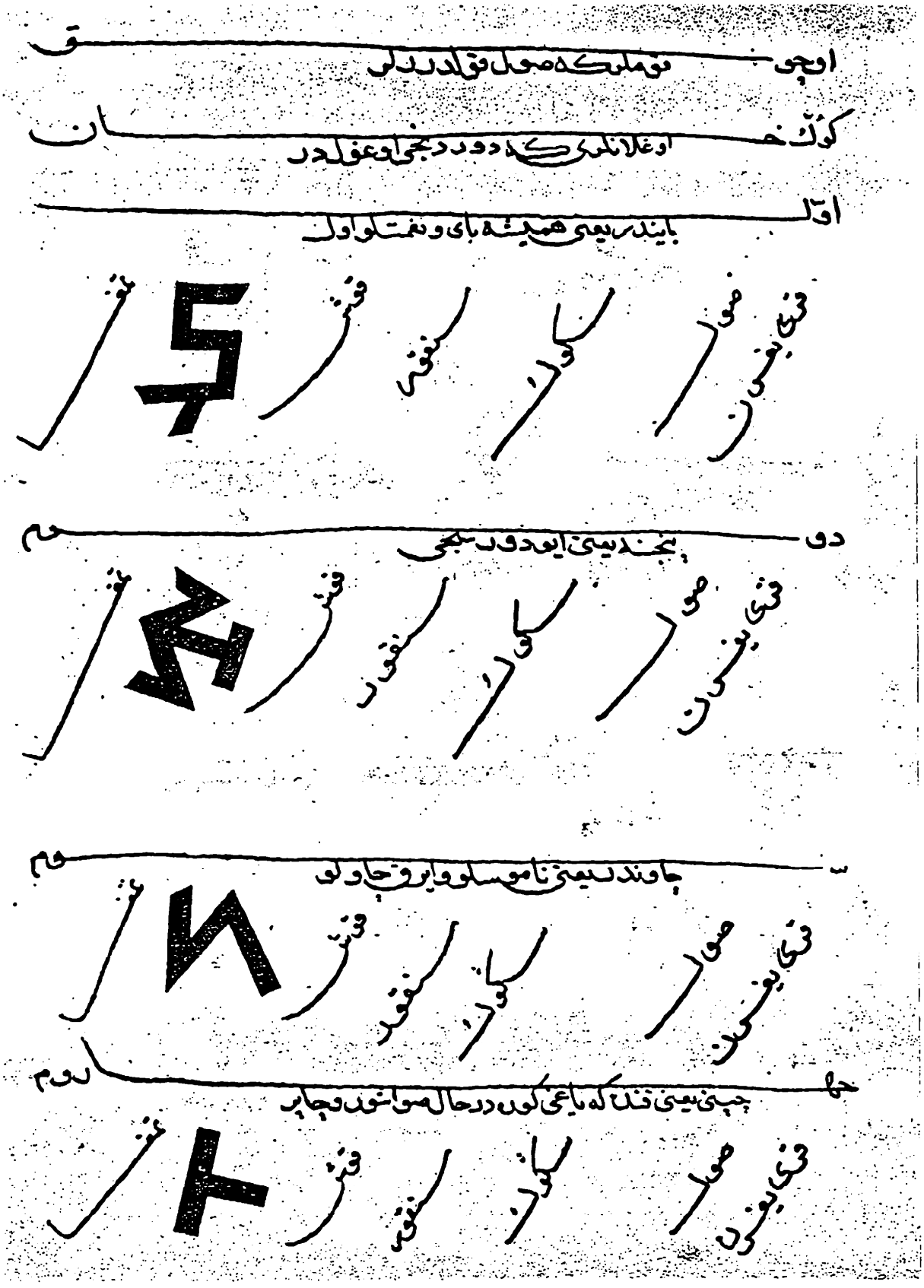




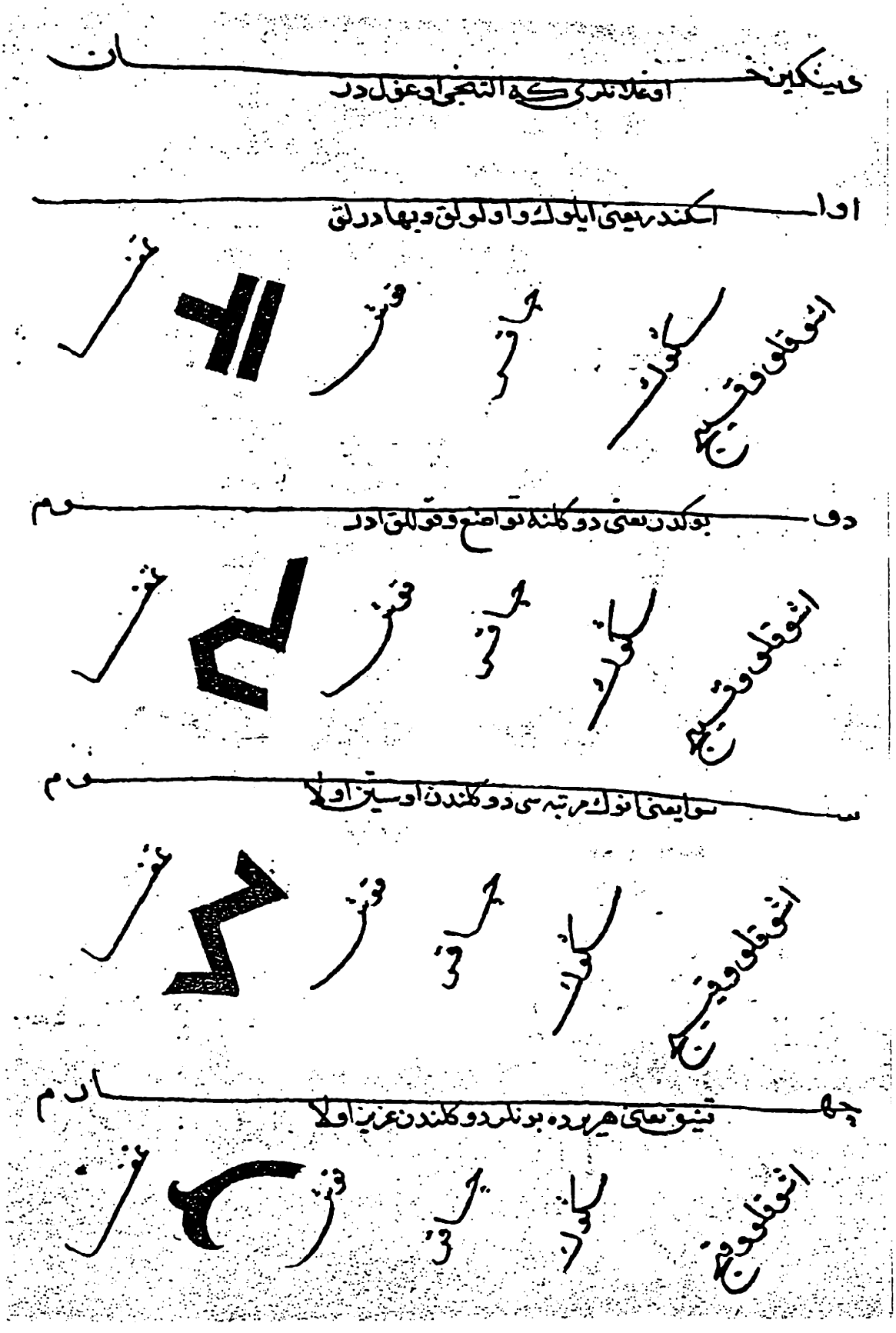
24
اوجايلم آدلو
اوجايلم آدلو
اشوقلو وقچ
اشوقلو وقچ
اشوقلو وقچ
اشوقلو وقچ

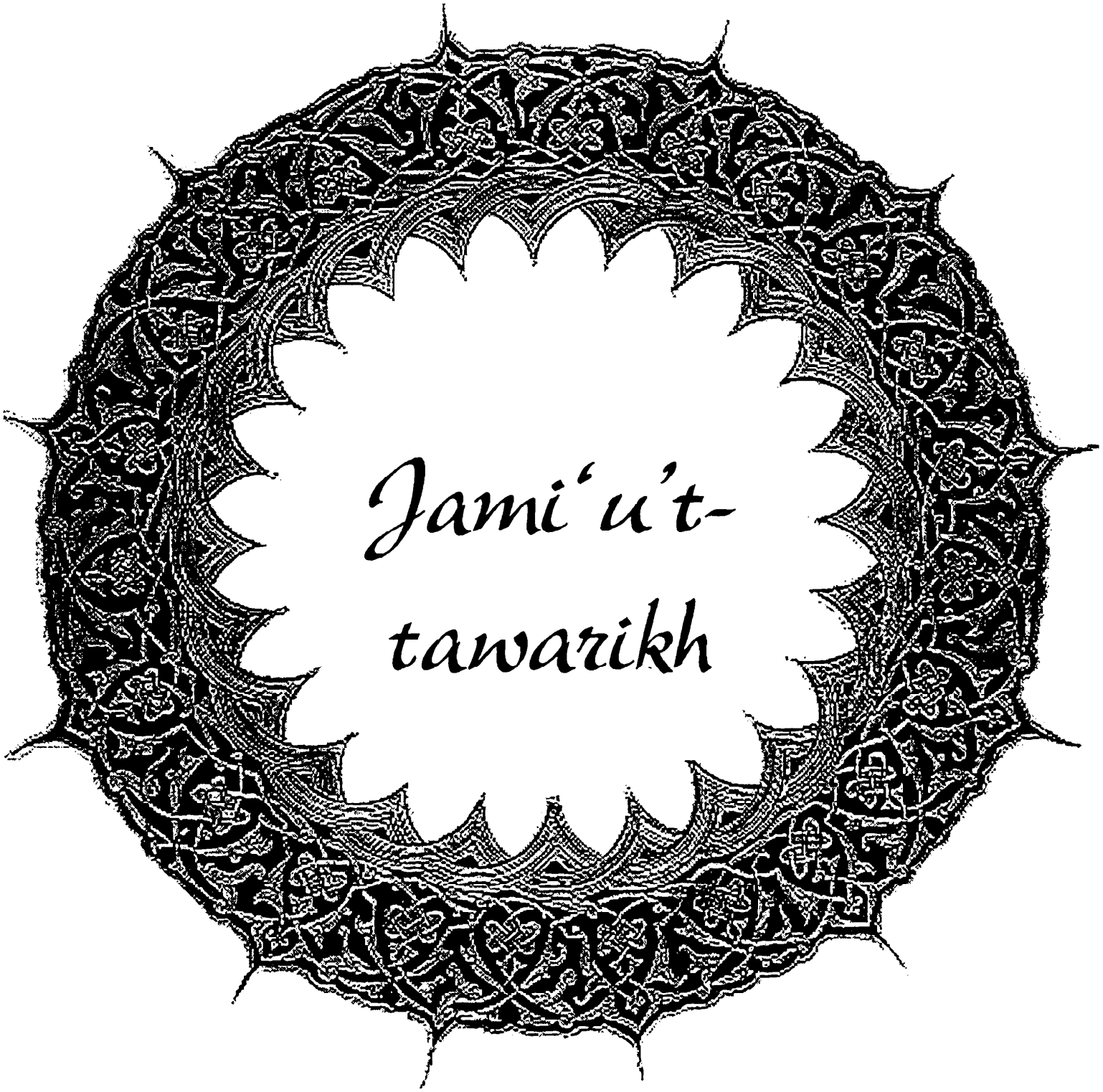





اوچی
کوک خان
اوغلانلری کدوددنجی اوغلدر
اول
بایندر یعنی همیشه بای و نعمتلو اول
دو
بجندیعنی ایودوستجی
سه
چاوندیعنی ناموسلو و ایروچاولو
چهار
چپنی یعنی قندکه یاغی کون درحال موانخود دچاپر

طاق خانات
اوغلانلری که بشبخی اوغول در
اول
مالدیمعنی مال اودیمعنی قند که ایکیسی قاچ دیو مافوق بعضان اولدن
دی
اودیمعنی خدسوز ایودیای اول
سی
الایوندلو یعنی فقرا قلری آل وایوآتلو
جهارم
اوتاکیمعنی هیزم ایلوک واحیان اوجی




Jami'u't-
tawarikh

PREFACE

THE REASON for prefacing this introduction and writing this foreword is that prior to now a rough draft of this book, which contained the history of the world-conquering monarch Genghis Khan, his glorious fathers and forebears, and his illustrious offspring, was, as will be explained in the dedication, [M2] organized and arranged by command of Sultan Sa'id Ghazan Khan from miscellaneous folios and scrolls and various registers and notebooks. Even during his reign, which was the object of jealousy of the reigns of Dara, Ardavan, Afredun, and Anoshirvan,[1] clean copies were made of some of the rough drafts, but before the copying was completed and the penning of this section could be commenced, the falcon of that just monarch's pure spirit responded to the call **O thou soul which art at rest, return unto thy lord, well pleased with thy reward, and well pleasing unto God**,[2] and took flight on the eleventh of Shawwal 703 [May 17, 1304] in the vicinity of Qazwin, leaving behind the cage of its noble shell and making its nest in the heights of paradise **in the assembly of truth, in the presence of a most potent king.**[3] [2]

Since his might was greater than that of the world, highest paradise became his place. / May thousands of blessings from God pour down every instant upon his spirit.

Five or six years prior to his death, Ghazan Khan had promulgated a pious, wise, and affectionate will, in which he reaffirmed the heir designate. He had had it written intelligently and eloquently and declaimed in the presence of all the ladies, commanders, ministers, and grandees of court; and he was most insistent in encouraging all to observe its fine points. In accordance with this will, his magnificent brother...Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda Khan[4]—may his

[1]Dara, Ardavan, Afredun (Fredun), and Anoshirvan were all kings of Iran. Afredun re-established the line of kings from the usurper Zahhak; Dara was the king whose assassination paved the way for Alexander; Ardavan was an emperor of Iran of the Arsacid line; Anoshirvan the Just was a Sassanian. Their stories are all contained in Firdawsi's *Shahnama*.

[2]Kor. 89:27f.

[3]Kor. 54:55.

[4]Here are given Khudabanda's titles and epithets. They vary between constant titles and nonce epithets. Since they are very impressive in Persian, with each two forming a rhyming pair, but mostly sound awkward or ridiculous in English, they have been relegated to this note and are given in the original Persian with an English equivalent: *sultán-i a'zam* (Most Mighty Sultan), *qá'án-i akram* (Most Noble Qa'an), *shahansháh-i islám* (Emperor of Islam), *málik-i riqáb-i anám* (Master of the Necks of All Peoples), *ílkhán-i a'dal* (Most Just Ilkhan), *jahánbán-i akmal* (Most Perfect Keeper of the World), *válí-i aqálím-i kámkárí* (Governor of the Climes of Success), *jámi'-i tafásíl-i bakhtyárí* (Compendium of the Details of Good Fortune), *shahsuwár-i mayádín-i dínparvarí* (Royal Cavalier in the Fields of the Nurture of Religion), *shahryár-i mamálik-i dádgustarí* (Prince of the Realms of Justice), *mumahhid-i qawá'id-i farmánravái* (Layer of the Foundations of Rule), *mushayyid-i*

reign continue forever—inherited the throne of the sultanate and became possessor of the crown and seal of world rule. He is the ultimate goal of the appearance of Genghis Khan's state, the one promised to ward off sedition from the Muslim community, noble being angelic in quality, a felicitous monarch of auspicious ascendant, the pillars of whose monarchic structure Saturn places in the scales of perfection, in whose regal name Jupiter seals the register of the kingship of all realms of the inhabited quarter of the earth, [3] to do battle with whose unruly enemy Mars draws his dagger from the scabbard of revenge, with the radiance of whose world-adorning mind the earth-illuminating sun beautifies its light-filled countenance, in harmony with whose celebratory banquet Venus tunes her harp, to arrange whose administration Mercury unfailingly sees to every jot and tittle, [M6] and to broadcast whose splendid characteristics to the ends of the earth the moon girds its loins with its halo.

The kingdom was illuminated by him, religion became strong through him, the throne was ennobled by him, and fortune was rejuvenated.

mabání-i kishvargushái (Builder of the Structure of World Conquest), *markaz-i dáyira-i gítísitání* (Center of the Circle of World Domination), *madár-i nuqta-i sáhibqirání* (Circumference around the Point of Auspiciousness), *zubda-i fawá'id-i takwín u ibdá'* (Cream of the Benefits of Creation), *khulása-i natáyij-i ajnás u anwá'* (Best of the Offspring of All Types and Sorts), *básit-i bisát-i amn u amán* (Spreader of the Carpet of Safety and Security), *muwattid-i asás-i islám u islámián* (Reinforcer of the Foundation of Islam and Muslims), *muzhir-i shi'ár-i sharí'at-i nabawí* (He Who Makes Manifest the Slogans of the Prophetic Law), *muhyí-i marásim-i millat-i mustafawí* (Reviver of the Customs of the Mustafavid Nation), *mamba'-i zulál-i lutf-i láyazálí* (Fountainhead of the Limpid Waters of Eternal Lovingkindness), *matla'-i hilál-i fayz-i zuljalálí* (Rising Point of the Crescent Moon of Divine Effulgence), *manzúr-i nazar-i tawfíq-i rabbání* (Focus of the Gaze of Lordly Success), *makhsús bi-'ináyat u ta'yíd-i yazdání* (Singled Out for Divine Favor and Assistance), *pádisháh-i dínpanáh* (Padishah Who Gives Asylum to Religion), *sáya-i lutf-i iláh* (Shadow of God's Kindness).

After messengers arrived and heralds had delivered the news, the imperial retinue set out under God's protection from Khurasan, where the victorious camps had been, for Persia and Azerbaijan, the seat of the sultan's throne and the banners of the kingdom.

Fortune before and luck behind, impeccability in his heart and victory at his side.

In his perfect princely concern and abundant imperial feeling, he constantly dispatched messengers to reassure all his servants and retainers, and they gave out the good news of his imminent arrival. Thus he placed the balm of affection on hearts that had been wounded, and all, thus encouraged and gladdened, raced out in droves to greet him and attain the felicity of kissing the ground before him. On Monday, the second of Dhu'l-Hijja of the year mentioned above [July 6, 1304], he arrived in the City of Islam, Ujan, at the magnificent *ordu*.[1]

Into the sphere of fortune came successfully and triumphantly that princely asylum, that sun of princes. [M8]

All the princes and princesses joined the court, and the voice of fortune cried out from behind the curtain of the unseen:

O time, good news! Once again from the celestial sphere of kingship the sun of the east has risen above the horizon of might and majesty. [4] */ The falseness of tyranny and the envier of Islam is manifest; the proof of justice and the world-conquering prince has arrived. / For the world, religion, fortune, injustice, and sedition have arrived support, refuge, a friend, extermination, and annihilation. / The garden of fortune had withered, but it was refreshed when the water of his justice arrived to cause it to grow and flourish.*

For several days serious matters were looked into, the best policy for the state

[1] For *ordu* and all such Persian, Turkish, and Mongolian words in the text, see the glossary.

was investigated, conditions for stability and organization were achieved, and the qualifications for awareness and security were met. After that, a large *quriltai* was held, and at the most auspicious hour, at dawn, on Monday the fifteenth of Dhu'l-Hijja 703 [July 19, 1304]

Under favorable auspices and auspicious star, replete with good luck and felicity, / Like Jamshed the shah sat upon the throne, men and fairies loins girt before him. / In his service were seated and standing in lines battle-scarred commanders and princes of renown. / The celestial spheres having entrusted to him their turning, the world gave its labors to his command.

The truth is that from the creation of the world and the beginning of Adam's progeny, in no generation has the throne of rule been graced by anyone possessed of such auspiciousness, for former monarchs have subdued most of the realms of the world by dint of blood-stained sword and fortress-conquering mace, and even if some have attained [the throne] through inheritance, [M10] it did not happen without contest or dispute, particularly during the days of the Mongols, when is it clear and patent to all how much strife, unrest, and disorder have occurred in every revolution, how much blood has been spilled by glittering sword with the outbreak of the fire of sedition, how many heads have rolled, how brisk the market of pillage and plunder have become while all sorts of goods lie in a slump, how many grand and noble families have been exterminated and reduced to naught by massacre and rapine until after all that a royal enthronement would take place. Even so, for a long, long time the basis of the throne would be shaky, and every day something would happen to cause distress and unrest, and no stability could be achieved. When the turn of rule came to his regal reign and the days of his ever-increasing fortune, the architect of eternal divine favor and the painter of godly felicity designed the foundation of the edifice of his good fortune in **[5]** such a way that, without the dust of untoward events being stirred up by the steed of the celestial spheres, and without a drop of blood being spilled upon the ground from the cloud of the sword by the wrathful hand of fate, the broad expanse of the realm of security, cleansed of all fears and dangers and organized on perfect and polished law, came under the control of the deputies of His Majesty the Sultan, and the pearl-shedding pen scribed these lines on the page of the age:

O spreader of equity, during the days of your justice no blade has stuck its head out from the scabbard. / During your reign the world has become such that until doomsday 'blade' is of no use as anything but as a rhyming word in panegyrics of you. [M12]

For these reasons it is clear and obvious that the selection of His Majesty the Emperor for divine favor is of a special sort, and the basis for this special favor is very firm and stable. One of the learned men of the age, who is the Sahban of the time in eloquence and the Hassan of the era in his panegyrics of His Majesty, contemplated the meaning of the letters of his blessed name in accordance with the dictum "Titles descend from heaven" and versified it as follows:

Last night I contemplated the name of Shah Kharbanda[1] *for a time, / Thinking perhaps there is a meaning in this name of which the reader is unaware. / While I was thus perplexed, a voice came to me, saying, "O well-wisher of the happy king, / There is a meaning*

[1]Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda Öljäitü's given name was Kharbanda ('donkey-driver,' see translator's introduction). When he acceded to the throne, since 'donkey-driver' was not considered an appropriate name for a ruler, it was changed to Khudabanda ('slave of God,' a Persian translation of the common Arabic Muslim name Abdullah).

in the letters of this word that is quite appropriate to the king. / Add up one by one the values of the letters of 'Shah Kharbanda' / So that you may know that the meaning is 'the special shadow of the Creator.' / There are nine letters in one, and fifteen in the other, and they are equivalent in numerical value.[1] */ You'd say that name is nine marvelous oyster shells stuffed with pearls five and ten, / Or else this royal name is a talisman cast upon the door of God's treasury." / When I realized th mystery of this name, my mind was put at ease. / I comprehended the meaning and said, "Long live Shah Kharbanda! / May the sun of his majesty and rule shine eternally from the celestial sphere."* [6]

After congratulations were offered, he had an investigation made of his brother Sultan Sa'id Ghazan Khan's *yasaq* and *yosun*, of his customs and habits, and a review of his issuance of orders was made. In fraternal devotion and affection and in complete appreciativeness and manliness he saw that it was proper for all the commanders and ministers to remain in office as they had been, [M14] and he reaffirmed them all in their posts, with the administration of the realm in the same manner and fashion with no change or alteration. All were convinced that

With his organization the affairs of the realm are such that only in beauties' tresses can anyone discover disorganization.

Therefore, when the various sections of this history, rough draft and clean copy, were perused by the royal personage, by virtue of his perfect intelligence, vast knowledge, and imperial perspicacity he made major corrections and reorganizations, and since the whole thing went to clean copy during his felicitous reign, it seemed proper that it be in his blessed name and that the beginning of the book be adorned with his royal titles. By virtue of his pleasing qualities and innate manliness he did not allow it but said, "Let it be completed still in the name of Sultan Sa'id Ghazan Khan, and let the dedication be adorned by his titles." In accordance with the royal command, that is how it is being written.

Since the Padishah of Islam has a constant interest in various sciences and the arts of history and storytelling and spends most of his felicitous time acquiring various accomplishments, after reading and correcting this history he said, "Until now no one at any time has made a history that contains the stories and histories of all inhabitants of the climes of the world and the various classes and groups of humans, [M16] there is no book in this realm that informs about all countries and regions, and no one has delved into the history of the ancient kings. [7] In these days, when, thank God, all corners of the earth are under our control and that of Genghis Khan's illustrious family, and philosophers, astronomers, scholars, and historians of all religions and nations—Cathay, Machin, India, Kashmir, Tibet, Uyghur, and other nations of Turks, Arabs, and Franks—are gathered in droves at our glorious court, each and every one of them possesses copies of the histories, stories, and beliefs of their own people, and they are well informed of some of them. It is our considered opinion that of those detailed histories and stories a compendium that would be perfect should be made in our royal name, and it should be written in two volumes along with an atlas and gazetteer and appended to the history so that the aggregate of that book would be peerless and include all sorts of histories. Inasmuch as the opportunity is at hand, and the composition of such a memorial, the likes of which no kings have ever possessed, is possible, it must be completed

[1] "Sháh Kharbanda" has nine letters in the Arabic script; *sáya-i kháss-i áfarínanda* ('the special shadow of the Creator') contains fifteen letters; the numerical value of both phrases is 1,167.

without neglect or delay so that it may cause our name and fame to endure."

As ordered, all the learned and reliable people of the nations mentioned above did research, made extracts from the contents of their ancient books, and penned another volume on the histories of all inhabitants of the climes. Yet another volume of atlas and gazetteer was added and appended to this blessed history. The totality was entitled *Compendium of Chronicles*, and the details, stories, and legends it contains, as well as how they are arranged, are given in the table of contents, which will follow immediately after this preface. [M18]

[On the nature of history]

It is absolutely true that no historian has ever witnessed with his own eyes the events and things of which he writes and reports. Furthermore, those who deal with events and incidents, which are the stuff of history, have not heard of these things directly but write and speak of them through the tradition of transmitters.

Now tradition is of two sorts. One is *uninterrupted*, which leads to knowledge and of which there is no doubt, just as we know, through *uninterrupted* tradition, of the existence of the prophets, monarchs, and famous people who lived in prior generations and of the existence of distant cities like Mecca, Cairo, and other far-away places. Although we have never seen them, we know of them in a manner that admits of no hesitation. All religions and faiths are based on this *uninterrupted* sort of tradition. [8] In some instances such uninterrupted tradition has weight with the generality of people, and in other instances only with a particular group.

The second sort of tradition is *periodic*. This is the sort isolated individuals read and may be true or false and may be subject to variance or debate. Most stories and accounts that people tell are of this *periodic* sort. Through experience it is palpably certain that if a person to whom an event happened yesterday recounts it today, he will certainly not remember it as it was but will change and alter his expression and words at every gathering in which he retells it. It is for this reason that, despite the fact that in religious matters the greatest of precaution has been taken, there is much variance—so much so that even some reports of the Prophet's sayings are considered dubious owing to differences among narrators. Ancient scholars, having done much research, [M20] selected some, which they call *sihah* (true), while the rest are left in the realm of doubt, hesitation, and abeyance. Most of the differences of opinion among religious leaders on legal matters is due to this. Furthermore, it is not right to reject disputed things, for in religion a person who rejects may go astray.

It is therefore certain that the histories of so many different peoples and long periods of time cannot be verified absolutely, and the traditions that have been and still are being handed down are neither equal nor in agreement. As a matter of course, every one recounts a thing as it has come to him through uninterrupted tradition or as he has heard it, and it often happens that a transmitter adds to or subtracts from his report according to whim. If he does not tell an absolute lie, he colors his expression in a way that leads to variance. Since the implementation of the divine way is as has been mentioned, and human nature has been fashioned in this manner, then anyone who thinks he can report otherwise is muddle-headed and wrong-thinking. This being so, if a historian tries to write only what is verifiable and incontrovertible, then he can introduce absolutely no story whatsoever, for anything he introduces has been narrated by some group or other of great men who witnessed it, heard it related by others, or read it in old books—in any case,

as has been mentioned, it will be subject to controversy. If for this reason they give up writing and speaking, thinking, "God forbid, people might object or disapprove," then of course all tales, narratives, and incidents in the world **[9]** will be abandoned, and the generality of people will be deprived of the benefit they might derive therefrom. Therefore, it is the duty of historians to take the stories and narratives of every nation and group, [M22] however those people have recorded and reported them in their own books, and to relate and rewrite them from the well-known and current books of those nations based on accounts of the most reliable people—and "the responsibility be upon the narrator."

Now that it has been explained that every group and class of people relate and hand down accounts of their history according to their own beliefs, and that they will naturally prefer their own beliefs to anyone else's and will exaggerate the truth thereof, it is not possible for all people to be unanimous in all cases. This is obvious to everyone. When a historian narrates from different peoples, there will doubtlessly be a difference in his words and some people in some places and stories will differ, but the good and bad, or the fault and virtue, will not rebound upon him, for he, as has been said, is recounting the history of others. As a matter of course a real verification is impossible to make, as has been said. Inasmuch as all are agreed that uninterrupted tradition is given weight and accepted—and although Muslim uninterrupted tradition is the most reliable of all—nonetheless, the basis of the accounts of various peoples cannot be laid on that. Therefore, perforce everything that is related by any group must be considered reliable, for we have said over and over that it carries weight either with the generality of people or with a particular group, and that which is related periodically may possibly be true or false. A historian's duty, as we have said, must be to extract and write from what reliable people have said and from reliable standard books. If he makes any change therein according to his own imagination, it will become positively worthless and incorrect.

The reason I have said all this is that when this poor one was ordered to compose this *Compendium of Chronicles,* I copied out everything I found written in the well-known books of every nation, everything that was known to every tribe through uninterrupted tradition, [M24] everything that the wise and learned of every group had reported according to their belief—all this I copied out without change or alteration, and it is possible, due to my own failure to comprehend or to my misunderstanding of a narrator, that some things may have slipped by. Nonetheless, I was desirous of **[10]** making a most concerted effort in my selection of stories, but it was not possible to make much headway in that regard, for everyone knows that great talent and expertise in all branches of knowledge are necessary for such a labor, and I did not see these things in myself. Given a long period of time in one's youthful years and with total leisure, these things can be accomplished, but I began this labor at the end of my years of maturity.

When this poor one was brought to the imperial court as a deputy and ordered to deal with important administrative matters, although I did not have the capacity for such a great labor, and the strength of my intellect and mind was insufficient, to comply with the order it was imperative to occupy myself with it and to exert myself to the utmost. Since my strength of mind was inadequate to that, how could it have been adequate to gather histories, which is one of the greatest of all tasks?

For the aforementioned reasons, and with the excuses offered, I place my hope in the general kindness of the great ones who will

peruse this book, hoping that wherever there is a mistake or slip, they will cover it with forgiveness and disregard, correct it, add whatever they consider appropriate, and excuse this poor one who labors under an order. [M26]

Although the histories of some peoples who are infidels and idolators are nothing but fabulous concoctions and erroneous myths unacceptable to the rational mind, they too have been included so that those of insight may take heed and so that the people of Islam and faith may, by reading it, become informed of the corrupt beliefs of those in error and thereby avoid those things and give thanks for the blessing of correct guidance and the light of faith, which is the ultimate of all divine gifts and bestowals.

When this servant of the state wrote these words on his own shortcomings and a justification of himself and other historians, and included them in the introduction to the *Compendium of Chronicles*, it was submitted to His Majesty. When it came before the august gaze, he was kind enough to deign to say, "That which has been reported and written by miscellaneous persons prior to this may have contained additions or deletions, but they are to be excused according to what you have mentioned, and you too will be similarly excused. The grand deeds and branches of the family that have been recorded from Genghis Khan's time down to the present—and that was the major goal and what is the most useful to us—are all correct and true, **[11]** and no one can object to it. No one has ever written or recorded the likes of this, and those who are aware of these stories and of every portion of those pages, are in full agreement and cannot deny it. No one has ever written a history more carefully researched or clearer than this."

Since it so pleased the Padishah of Islam, I rendered thanks to God Almighty. Although I know myself to be deficient in all regards, since it was acceptable to such a majesty and was received with a gaze of acceptance and pleasure, how can I express my gratitude? God willing, its benefit will reach all those who seek to profit from and look into it. [M28]

May God, in His kindness, keep this slave-rewarding monarch forever in the shadow of His mercy. **[12–13]**

❁

The contents of this book, which is the Compendium of Chronicles, in three tomes.

Tome One was ordered completed in this time by the Shahanshah of Islam Öljäitü Sultan—may his kingship last forever—in the name of his brother Sultan Sa'id Ghazan Khan.[1] It consists of two parts.

Part One is an exposition of stories of the appearance of the Turkic nations and how they branched off into various tribes and an explanation of the fathers and forefathers of every tribe in general, and it consists of an introduction and four chapters.

The introduction contains the geography of some of the places inhabited by the Turks and a list of the names and epithets of each division of that nation, insofar as has been ascertained.

[1] Hence the official name of Tome One of *Jami'u't-tawarikh* is *Táríkh-i mubárak-i Gházání*.

Chapter One contains stories of the nations of Oghuz, the grandson of Abulja Khan, Japheth the son of the Prophet Noah, and of the clans of his uncles who were with him. There is a mention of his lineage and branches. **[14]**

Chapter Two is on the Turkic tribes that are now called Mongols but which in times past had other names and epithets and each had a leader and commander.

Chapter Three is on the Turkic tribes who have also had separate monarchs and leaders but who do not have a close relationship to the tribes mentioned in previous chapters.

Chapter Four is on the Turkic tribes that were anciently styled Mongol. This chapter contains two sections, one on Dürlükin Mongols and the other on the Niru'un Mongols.

Part Two is on the rule of Mongol, Turkic, and other monarchs and contains two chapters.

Chapter One is on the fathers and forefathers of Genghis Khan. It consists of ten sections, (1) Dobun Bayan, (2) Alan Qo'a and her three sons, (3) Alan Qo'a's son Bodonchar, (4) Bodonchar's son Dutum Mänen, (5) Dutum Mänen's son Qaidu Khan, (6) Qaidu Khan's son [Bai] Singqor, (7) [Bai] Singqor's son Tumina Khan, (8) Tumina Khan's son Qabul Khan, (9) Qabul Khan's son Bartan Bahadur, and (10) Bartan Bahadur' son Yesügä Bahadur.

Chapter Two is on the history of Genghis Khan and his illustrious offspring, some of whom became qa'ans in every age, [others of whom] did not attain a specific rulership, along with a summary history of the rulers of the world who were contemporary with them down to the present. There are sections (1–3) on Yesügä Bahadur's son Genghis Khan, (4) Genghis Khan's third son Ögödäi Qa'an, who was his heir, (5) Genghis Khan's eldest son Jochi Khan and his family, (6) Genghis Khan's second son Chaghatai Khan and his family, (7) Genghis Khan's fourth son Tolui Khan, the heir to his *yurts*, (8) Ögödäi Qa'an's eldest son Güyük Khan, who became qa'an after his father, (9) Tolui Khan's eldest son Mänggü Qa'an, **[15]** (10) Tolui Khan's son Qubilai Qa'an, (11) Qubilai Qa'an's son Temür Qa'an, who is monarch at this time, (12) Tolui Khan's son Hülägü Khan who became padishah in Iran, (13) Hülägü Khan's son Abaqa Khan, (14) Hülägü Khan's son Tägüdär Ahmad, (15) Abaqa Khan's eldest son Arghun Khan, (16) Abaqa Khan's son Gaikhatu Khan, (17) Arghun Khan's son Sultan Ghazan Khan, who became ruler after Gaikhatu Khan,[1] and (18) the auspicious enthronement of the Padishah of Islam, Arghun Khan's son Öljäitü Sultan.

[1]The portion of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* included in the present translation ends here. Of Section Eighteen and the projected Tome Two, the only part known to have been written is Chapter One of Part Two, the histories of the various nations of the world, generally referred to as "appendices" in the text. Of the history of Öljäitü, neither the early history up to the time of writing nor any of the projected later additions is known to exist.

Tome Two was commissioned by the Shahanshah of Islam Öljäitü Sultan in his own regal name. It consists of two parts.

Part One is the history of the Sultan of Islam from his birth until the present, when this book is being bound.

Part Two consists of two chapters.

Chapter One consists of two sections.

Section One is a summary history of all the prophets, caliphs, and monarchs of all nations from the time of Adam until the present, the year 704 of the Hegira.[1]

Section Two is a detailed history of every nation of the inhabited quarter of the globe.[2] Although some of this material has already been recorded in previous sections, it is mostly what has not been included and cannot be found there. Another part is the history that had not been discovered by the ancient rulers and historians of this realm and of which they were unaware. **[16]** During this imperial era, by royal command, the books of every nation were acquired, and the wise of every group were summoned, and insofar as possible that which was ascertained was written down. That is the history that has been recorded here.

Chapter Two is on the history of the Sultan of Islam Öljäitü Sultan from the time that this history is bound in the month of ___ in the year 70_. Through the limitless years that will be his reign historians who are and will be in attendance at court will write it and append it to Tome Two.

Tome Three is an exposition of the shapes of the climes and routes through realms. To the extent it has been possible to verify, that which was known before in these realms, recorded in registers, and illustrated, as well as what the wise and learned of India, Chin and Machin, Franks and others have discovered in books during this royal era and reported after verification, has been included in the third tome.[3]

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[1]The year 704 (A.D. 1304–5) is taken from JT_{RKA} 37; JT_K gives "seven hundred," spelled out, with the last digit missing.

[2]Sections One and Two consist of the following histories: the ancient kings of Iran and Arabia; the history of the Israelite prophets, which has been edited and translated by Karl Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rasid al-Din* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973); the history of the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslim world; the history of the Oghuz Turks, which has been edited and translated several times (for which see the bibliography); the history of China, which has been edited and translated by Karl Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rashid ad-Din* (Vienna: Bohlau, 1971); the history of the Franks, which has been edited and translated by Karl Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rasid al-Din* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977); and the history of India, which has been edited and translated by Karl Jahn, *Die Indiengeschichte des Rasid al-Din* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980). The portions of this section that are contained in a particularly fine illustrated manuscript copy now in the Khalili Collection have been published in facsimile by Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World* (Oxford and New York: Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1995.

[3]No trace of Tome Three has ever been found. If it actually existed, it may have been subsumed, as was much of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, into the *Majmu'a*, Hafiz-i-Abru's history and geography of 1415.

TOME ONE OF THE COMPENDIUM OF CHRONICLES

Abundant praise and laud and endless thanks and gratitude be to the unqualifiable Creator who brings into being by fiat, and countless prayers and unending salutations be strewn over the majesty of prophecy and mighty court of the leader of all prophets, the greatest of all saints, Muhammad the Chosen, and upon his house and pure offspring, his companions in migration, his helpers, his followers, and his partisans.

It must be realized that the magnitude of the infinite divine essence is not such that it can be spoken of or written about by a frail, weak servant. Although all creatures and beings of the worlds above and below, from the moon to the fish,[1] from the throne of heaven to the expanse of the earth, both those that speak and those that are silent, both those that are animate and those that are inanimate, first and last, inwardly and outwardly, express their laud and praise of their creator and nourisher—

Every thing extols God in its own tongue, / animals with their mute tongues, humans through rational speech. / Know that the praise of plants is their increase. What is the confession of inanimates? Their very being, / For in every thing is a sign of him that indicates that he is one.

The condition of those who love the beautiful awesomeness of the divine and that of those who yearn for the limpid waters of intimate union, who are wayfarers on the path of seeking and travelers in the desert of quest, must be like a thirsty man who wishes for water constantly, while awake and while asleep, and who can never be given enough to drink to assuage his thirst. What does such a thirsty person know of the sweetness of the Euphrates or the Nile or the limpidity of Tasnim or Salsabil?[2] How can he know what it is like to plunge to the depths of an endless sea? Likewise, how can every one of those yearning lovers [M42] undertake to praise the divine as he ought and discharge his gratitude for the good things the lord provides?

How can they see your handicraft in a piece of sheep fat? How can they render thanks to you for a piece of meat? / Neither can the intellect fathom your infinite depth nor can the mind reach the limit of your perfection. / No one can conceive of the vastness of your perfection. Other than you yourself, where is he who can attain your perfection?

This being so, confession of one's inability and admission of one's shortcoming are themselves the ultimate acts of thanks, gratitude, laud, and praise. When, on the

[1] "From the moon to the fish," *az máh tá máhí*, a common expression with an irreproducible pun in Persian. The fish is an allusion to the cosmological behemoth upon whose back stands the bull on whose horns the world rests.

[2] Tasnim and Salsabil are the names of two fountains in paradise. See Kor. 83:27 and 76:18.

night of his ascension, the lord of all creatures, the quintessence of all existing things—upon whom be the best of prayers and most perfect of salutations—passed beyond this world and the next and stood **two bows' length** away [from the presence of God],[1] he admitted his inability and said, "I cannot praise you to the extent that you can praise yourself." Firdawsi of Tus put this in verse as follows:

You are the height and the depth of the world. I know not what you are. You are whatever you are.

This notwithstanding, he has, through his kindness and compassion, created models of most of his qualities and characteristics and revealed to those lovers from among the people of mysticism the beauty of his tremendousness: **we will show them our signs in the regions of the earth, and in themselves**.[2] He has opened the gates of compassion and loving kindness to the people of the world and placed before elite and common alike a table filled with good things so that every person and every thing may partake according to his ability and all may share in the effulgence of his infinite bounty.

No servant despairs of your kindness. He who is accepted by you can only be eternally fortunate.

God's hidden mysteries are such that not everyone's imagination and comprehension can attain them. If that which has been understood and comprehended by philosophers and scholars were revealed to the common folk and the ignorant, some would not be able to accept the truth because they lack the capacity while others would not be able to accept it because of the differences of opinion and beliefs among religions and nations and disdain for following anybody else. They would then fall into denial. [M44] That is why it is divinely ordained that only tokens of those mysteries be revealed so that the people of the world may witness them with their own eyes and so that no one may deny them, and so by that means they may recognize the necessary object of worship, know his power and other attributes, and believe. Such persons adopt the characteristics of those who attain everlasting life through acts of charity and faithful sincerity. They are remembered for their goodness over all the earth and throughout time, like Abraham, the friend of God, who, alone among all his polytheistic and idolatrous kith and kin, became a monotheist worshipper of God and took on divine characteristics and godly attributes. As is well known in tales and oft mentioned in histories, one of his noble characteristics and qualities was a natural generosity, an innate virtue. In accordance with the poetry that says,

If it is within your grasp, do not be timid, for you can subdue what is within your grasp,

he always kept food on his table, and no traveler or wayfarer was denied his bounty. On account of the sincerity and affection he had for God, he was called "Friend of God."[3] As is written in books, in order that his sincere faith might be proven and confirmed before the people of the world God afflicted and tested him by ordering him to sacrifice his beloved child, Ishmael.[4] Abraham immediately submitted to God's order and quickly summoned Ishmael, to whom he said, **O my son, I saw in a dream that I should offer thee in sacrifice: consider therefore what thou art of opinion I should do.** In reply he said, **O my father, do what thou art commanded: thou shalt find me, if God please, a**

[1]Kor. 53:9.

[2]Kor. 41:53.

[3]*Khalílulláh*, Abraham's Arabic epithet, equivalent to the Biblical אוהב of 2 Ch. 20.

[4]It is a commonplace—though by no means the only—Islamic interpretation that the son Abraham was ordered to sacrifice was Ishmael, the progenitor of the Arabs, and not Isaac. The son is not mentioned by name in the Koranic narrative.

patient person.[1] [M46] When Abraham saw Ishmael's submission, he hastened in all sincerity and earnestness to bind his tender hands and feet and lay him face down on the earth. Then he calmly placed a gleaming knife across his throat in order to carry out the sacrifice in accordance with the rituals of his religion. As is recorded, every time the knife touched his throat it turned away and refused to cut. When Abraham had complied with all the necessary stipulations of obedience and God had shown the people that his pure intention and sincere trust were so great that he would not withhold from God a child he had been granted after living eighty years in childlessness, God sent Gabriel to Abraham with a ram to redeem Ishmael and to prevent him from killing his son. To him he said, **Now hast thou verified the vision. Thus do we reward the righteous.**[2]

Commentators have interpreted in several ways why God afflicted and tested Abraham and what the ultimate intention of divine wisdom was in this case, but what is the most in conformity with reality and reason is that, regardless of how obvious to God Abraham's generosity, friendship, and sincerity were, he wanted him to put them into practice so that he would be worthy of reward. Although the Prophet is reported to have said, "Deeds are by intentions," what he meant was that the correctness of an action is dependent upon the intention; otherwise, so long as intentions are not coupled with action, no deed is done, and an individual is not worthy of reward since reward and punishment are meaningless for uncommitted good and evil. A command without efficient or effective cause is far from justice and wisdom, and this is confirmed by the Koranic text [M48] that says, **And that nothing shall be imputed to a man for righteousness, except his own labour.**[3] It is therefore incumbent that a person put his sincere intention into practice in order that the Creator, in his mercy, compassion, and kindness, may give him a reward in accordance with the text, **God may recompense them according to the utmost merit of what they shall have wrought, and may add unto them of his abundance a more excellent reward,**[4] and **he will double it unto him manifold.**[5] Therefore God wanted Abraham, who, alone among all his peers, had become a believer and a monotheist and had garbed himself with good qualities, to put into practice his sincerity with regard to generosity so that as recompense in the best way, instead of one child, so many tribes and branches of his progeny and stock would appear, and in accordance with the text, **We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a book and wisdom; and we gave them a great kingdom,**[6] so many thousands of prophets, saints, rulers, and kings would come into existence from among his progeny. Thereby the people of the world would realize that worshipping God and taking on divine characteristics result in incalculable reward. Therefore no hesitation or apprehension would remain, and they would make every effort to attain that felicity instead of practicing heedlessness, timidity, and sloth. Abraham the Friend of God charged his children to keep an orderly record of the genealogical tree of their sons and grandsons, generation after generation, and not to allow other nations to intermarry with them so that their lineage would remain free of the very suspicion of admixture and so that every one of his descendants would know his fathers and forefathers in detail.

Since they have maintained this practice

[1] Kor. 37:102.
[2] Kor. 37:105.
[3] Kor. 53:39.
[4] Kor. 24:38.
[5] Kor. 2:245.
[6] Kor. 4:54.

until now, it is clear and obvious to those of knowledge that, from the time Abraham's sons began to beget and multiply until today, [M50] which has been nearly four thousand years, all the prophets, kings, and elite of religions and nations have been—and will continue to be until doomsday—of his progeny. The most outstanding member of that family, the sun of the celestial sphere of that dynasty, the title page of the register of prophets, the greatest and best of all existing things, the quintessence of all creatures, seal of the prophets and best of apostles is Muhammad Messenger of God—upon whom and upon whose house be prayers and salutations. God sent him to all creatures and promised him that all people in the world would follow his religion. It was the divine will from all eternity that if in every era and epoch controversy befell the people of Islam, or if they swerved a hair's breadth from the path of the ancient law, which is the straight and narrow way, they would deserve chastisement that would wake them from their sleep of heedlessness, sober them up from the drunkenness of pride, and renew the firm foundations of Islam in such a way that it would be an object of jealousy to all past generations in bygone years. Divine favor ordained from all eternity that the chastisement of the Islamic peoples would be at the hand of a nation that would be monotheistic and God-fearing, not polytheistic or enemies of religion. In the end the strengthening and ordering of the affairs of the nation would be achieved through the might of those terrifying peoples, and through the blessing of an innate disposition to monotheism [M52] they would enter the religion of Islam and command all people to comply with its divine commandments and strictures. They too would constrain themselves with the judgments of the law and force themselves to comply with the duties it imposes. Indeed, Islam would reach a point through their might and power that no polytheist would dare to criticize Islam. From east to west all would become Muslim unhypocritically, and the inimitable message of the Prophet would never be effaced regardless of the passage of days, months, and years. Indeed, the longer time passed, the firmer the foundation would become, and the sounder the bases and principles would be. Until the end of the world and the extinction of time, the star of that state would be in constant ascendance toward the zenith, and moment by moment the victories achieved by that nation would be on the increase. An incontrovertible proof of the truth of this assertion is that after the pillars of Muslimism were shaken by cataclysms, and the structure of order was undermined by catastrophes brought by time, so many great rulers arose from among the sons and descendants of the Emperor of the World, Genghis Khan, the all-conquering, irresistible monarch, the likes of whom the Creator had never brought forth in any era or epoch, a star-blessed, world-conquering emperor the likes of whom the celestial sphere with all its thousands of eyes had never seen. Each one subdued climes and brought so many cities and towns without number under his command that the vast expanse of the kingdoms of the world from east to west and from north to south is in the grasp of their might and power, and their command flows like the wind in every direction and to every part of sea and land, over the souls and lives of humans and the djinn. In this era, which is the year two and seven hundred of the Hegira, in the realm of the land of Iran, which is the quintessence of the inhabited quarter of the earth, [M54] the monarchy and imperial throne belong to...Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan.[1]

[1] Another page of titles: *pádisháh-i jahán* (emperor

Among Genghis Khan's progeny, who are the lords of the rulers of the earth and the age, he has perfect knowledge and wisdom, abundant intellect and native ability, great might and magnitude, remarkable courage and perspicacity, justice and equity, generosity and kindness, extreme competence in administration, and expertise in ruling. He propagates the Yosun and Yasaq and patronizes the arts, and he is the envy of all princes. The necks of the unruly of the world are held in check by obedience to him; all are tamed to his orders; with his insightful intelligence, the most minute point of knowledge or wisdom is not hidden behind a veil of doubt. With his perfect eloquence, master philosophers and mystics have no opportunity to raise questions or give answers. He is acquainted with the arts of etiquette and various rare crafts of the age.

His comprehending psyche speaks with proof an answer to each and every problem the intellect fails to comprehend. [M56] *If he wants, he can show the way by night to the incapable if he raises the veil from before the intelligent mind.*

All of his regal attention is focused upon laying the foundations of justice and refortifying the structures of clemency and mercy for the generality of the subjects and all classes of people. He spends all his hours acquiring the paraphernalia of a good name and success. Through the influence of the Muhammedan miracle, through the purity of his enlightened breast, he chose the religion of Islam and caused all his soldiers, some of whom were Mongol monotheists and others of whom were of idolatrous and polytheistic nations like the Uyghur et al., to convert to Islam. Like Abraham the Friend of God he sought to be free from the infidels, with his own hand he smashed all the idols, and he totally blocked the way to infidelity and polytheism. He ordered heralded throughout all parts of the realm: **Our people, obey God's preacher: and believe in him.**[1] Therefore they broke the idols and tore down the idol-temples, building mosques and houses of worship in their places. Everything that was abominable and heretical he has eradicated, and moment by moment he issues new orders to elevate the name of Islam and make firm the religion and principles of the law. He continues to magnify the peoples of Islam more and more, as all people in the world can witness.

The market of religion became brisk when the king of the world Ghazan Khan adopted the religion of the prophet. / He laid a new foundation for the propagation of the pure law; he completely abolished the customs of polytheism, infidelity, and heresy.

It follows upon these introductory remarks that [M58] the reason God wanted to elevate the might and glory of Genghis Khan, his forefathers and ancestors, and his children and offspring and to raise the condition of that family was to strengthen the religion of Islam and propagate the law, since from one monotheistic generation so

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of the world), *sultán-i salátín-i zamán* (sultan of the sultans of the age); *mádda-i amn u amán* (essence of safety and security), *khulása-i naw'-i insán* (quintessence of the human race), *básit-i 'adl u ihsán* (spreader of justice and beneficence); *váris-i sarír-i sulaymání* (inheritor of the Solomonic throne), *ráfi'-i livá-yi musalmání* (raiser of the banner of Muslimism); *durr-i daryá-yi kámkárí* (pearl of the sea of success), *mihr-i sipihr-i bakhtyárí* (sun of the sphere of fortune); *muzhir-i amr-i iláhí* (manifestor of the divine order), *musdir-i fayz-i námutanáhí* (issuer of infinite grace); *málik-i mamálik-i tawfíq* (possessor of the kingdoms of success), *sálik-i masálik-i tahqíq* (treader of the paths of actualization); *Jamshed-i khwarshed-tal'at* (the Jamshed of solar countenance), *kháqán-i kayván-rif'at* (emperor as lofty as Saturn); *shahansháh-i a'dal* (most just king of kings), *jahánbán-i akmal* (most perfect ruler of the world); *málik-i riqáb-i anám* (possessor of the necks of all people), *pádisháh-i islám* (emperor of Islam); *sáya-i iláh* (shadow of God), *násir-i dínilláh* (succourer of God's religion).

[1] Kor. 46:31.

many nations and tribes have branched off, whose numbers

are beyond counting and cannot fit into the strictures of record or report.

The quintessence of those renowned tribes and great clans was the World-Seizing Emperor Genghis Khan, and the quintessence of his children and progeny—to whom the sultans of the world and crowned heads among humanity have placed rings of servitude in their ears and thrown the stole of thralldom over their shoulders—is the king who gives asylum to the world, Sultan Mahmud Ghazan (may his kingdom last forever). It is therefore incumbent to explain how they came to enjoy God's favor and to express the history and conditions of the branches of those tribes.[1]

A mention of the composition of the book entitled Ghazanid History.[2]

It is not concealed from the minds of the intelligent and perspicacious or those possessed of vision and insight that *history* consists of recording and arranging. For every strange incident and marvelous unusual event that happens and is recorded in registers and on folios, the wise call the beginning of that event its *date*, and the extent and quantity of time can be known thereby. Therefore, the beginning of every nation and every state has a fixed *date*, and what event has ever been more magnificently appropriate for making it a *date* than the beginning of Genghis Khan's rule? [M60] In a short span of time he conquered many of the kingdoms of the world through his piercing insight, his never-failing strategy, his perfect perspicacity, and his great policies, and he wrathfully trampled and consigned to annihilation evildoers who were like Pharaoh in their natures and like Zahhak in their deeds, each of whom, puffed with the wind of pride, said, "I and none but me." **[17]** Having made the world face one direction, having made all hearts of one mind, and having swept the domination of overbearing tyrants and the injustice of aggressors from the circle of kingdoms, he bequeathed it to his renowned offspring and mighty descendants. To their eternal and everlasting happiness and felicity the celestial spheres took vows and promises.

It is the custom of wise men and scholars to record the dates of the important events, both good and bad, of every time so that thereafter they may serve as examples to their insightful descendants and followers, so that in ages to come they may know the conditions of the past, and so that the names of renowned monarchs and successful princes may thereby remain forever on the face of the pages of time, for with the passage of days and months and through long ages and years untoward events may efface and erase them.

The course of time, long as it is, causes words to fall from one's hand.

An example of the truth of this assertion is that despite the vast kingdom that Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna acquired, with its effulgence of pomp and abundant wealth, innumerable possessions, treasure troves beyond counting, paraphernalia of success and the good things of this world, today his good name and renown remain solely because of the poetry of Unsuri and Firdawsi and the writings of Utbi.[3]

In this world the good relics of Mahmud of Ghazna's career have remained bound by

[1]This section lacking in JT_K; taken from JT_{RKA}.

[2]I.e. Tome One of the *Compendium of Chronicles*.

[3]Unsuri is the very well-known Ghaznavid court poet who was at the courts of Sultan Mahmud and his son Sultan Mas'ud and who died in 1039; Firdawsi is, of course, the author of the *Shahnama*, which was commissioned by Sultan Mahmud and completed in 1010; Utbi is Abu-Nasr Muhammad al-'Utbi (d. ca. 1040), author of *al-Yamini*, which has been described as "a turgid history" of the Ghaznavids Amir Sabuktagin and Sultan Mahmud (see Storey, *Persian Literature* 1:250).

rhyme. [M62]

Hence it can be known that poets and historians are the best propagandists.

One nation has been called "Turks" since ancient times, and they dwell in territories the length and breath of which stretch from the Oxus and Jaxartes to the farthest reaches of the east and from one end of the Qipchaq Steppe to the end of the territory of Manchuria and Cathay. In those places they live in the mountains, valleys, and plains, for they are not accustomed to residing in villages and cities. Being far away from the land of Iran, they are little mentioned in the histories of the ancients. Indeed, in only some books is the merest mention of them introduced, and no people of experience have been located to recount in detail their history as it was. Although all the tribes and branches of the Turks and Mongols resemble each other, and although they all originally had one name, the Mongols were one type of Turk, and there are great differences among them, **[18]** as will be explained for each one in the proper place. Another result of this difference is that their stories and history have not reached these parts in a verifiable manner.

When the khanate and rule of the world came to Genghis Khan and his glorious offspring, all the kingdoms of the inhabited quarter of the globe submitted to him—Chin and Machin, Cathay, Hind and Sind, Transoxiana and Turkistan, Syria, Anatolia, As, Rus, Circassia, Qipchaq, Kilar, and Bashghurd, which more or less represent from the east to the west and from the north to the south. [M64] In past times some of the great men of the age and erudite of the time have recorded the world conquest and rule of Genghis Khan and his offspring at variance with the way it happened and contrary to the belief of the Mongol princes and commanders, but this was due to a lack of knowledge of the history of that time and of the magnificence of those events.

However, from age to age, they have kept their true history in Mongolian expression and script, unorganized and disarranged, chapter by chapter, scattered in treasuries, hidden from the gaze of strangers and specialists, and no one was allowed access to learn of it. This continued until this era, when the imperial crown and throne of Iran, which are coveted by all the rulers of the world, were ennobled by the blessed being of the Padishah of Islam, Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan—may his kingship last forever. In his highmindedness he focused his blessed attention upon arranging and organizing it and issued a royal decree for this servant of the Ilkhanid state, the compiler of this arrangement, Fazlullah son of Abu'l-Khayr known as Rashid, physician of Hamadan, to take the original histories and genealogies of all the Turks who resemble the Mongols, chapter by chapter, and arrange the tales and stories about them that are preserved in the royal treasuries, some of which were deposited with His Majesty's commanders and courtiers. Until now no one has had access to them altogether, and no one has had the felicity to put them together in an arrangement, every historian having related a bit of it without knowing the truth of the situation, having taken it from the mouths of the vulgar however he pleased or felt like, without anyone's having verified the truth. After ascertaining which were true and sifting and poring over them, I should organize and arrange them with polished phrases and then publish these "precious virgin brides of history," [M66] which had remained veiled in obscurity until the present. **[19]**

That of which there was only a summary, without a detailed mention in that book, I should investigate with the wise and learned of Cathay, India, Uyghur, Qipchaq, and other nations since all classes and groups of people are in attendance at His Majesty's

imperial court. In particular [I was to consult] the grand amir, magnificent *noyan*, commander of Iran and Turan, administrator of the realms of the world, Bolad Chingsang, who has no peer on the face of the inhabited quarter of the globe in any of the various arts and crafts or in his knowledge of the genealogy of the Turkic tribes and their history, particularly of the Mongols. [Then I was to compose] books of history, taking the technical jargon and recomposing it in such a way that, from beginning to end, it would be comprehensible and understandable to elite and common alike, and so that the unusual and great events and incidents that happened during the time of Mongol ascendance not be effaced or erased with the passage of time through the months and years or remain hidden and veiled in obscurity, [M68] for in this era no one is aware or informed of those things, and with the passage of time youthful and adolescent sons of lords grow unaware of the names and titles of their fathers, grandfathers, and uncles and of the events that occurred in times past. How can it be proper for the offspring and descendants of the great of every tribe not to be aware or informed of the currents of events that enveloped their fathers or of their genealogy and names? This is particularly true of those for whom God has decreed all sorts of favor, to whom he has given great success in grand deeds, and in the hands of whose will he has placed the reins of the unruly world. He has brought under their command realms distant and near that the mightiest rulers and most powerful khans were never able to subdue in any era, whose histories they had not heard, and of whose sciences they knew nothing. Since Genghis Khan's offspring have attained this fortune and felicity, and the wise, the learned, and historians are an integral part of His Majesty's court, and the realization of these things has been possible, how can it be proper that its history remain neglected so that any- and everybody can speak and write his own recounting, without knowledge or research? In any case, the revivification of the good name of fathers and forebears and the renewal of the memory of the words and deeds of ancestors can only be accomplished through chosen offspring and pleasing descendants who are outstanding and selected by divine assistance. **[20]**

By a child is a father's name kept alive;
through children a father's deeds remain.

When the royal command for the undertaking and completion of this matter was issued, this least of all servants saw no option but to obey. My mind occupied with learning the history of the Mongols and their stories and legends, I exerted my utmost to comply, and after study and research, I have organized and codified the contents of those disarranged leaflets that were found in the treasury. [M70] Everything I heard from wise men of state who were in attendance at court and from learned historians of every sort I adapted and verified and then included. It will be written section by section in clear wording so as to be easily comprehended by different minds, and, God willing, it will be noticed by the imperial gaze so as to cause felicity in both this world and the next and so that this servant's hopes and wishes may be fulfilled. And God is the one to be sought for assistance. ~

ℭ PART ONE OF TOME ONE OF THE COMPENDIUM OF CHRONICLES

THE HISTORY OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE TURKIC NATIONS AND HOW THEY DIVIDED INTO VARIOUS TRIBES, ALONG WITH A SUMMARY HISTORY OF THE ANCESTORS OF EACH NATION, CONTAINING AN INTRODUCTION AND FOUR CHAPTERS

ℭ INTRODUCTION

THE GEOGRAPHY OF SOME OF THE PLACES INHABITED BY THE TURKIC NATIONS, AND A LIST OF THE NAMES AND EPITHETS OF EACH DIVISION, INSOFAR AS HAS BEEN ASCERTAINED

FIRST IT SHOULD BE KNOWN that in every clime of the world there have been and are people who dwell in cities, people who live in villages, and people who inhabit the wilderness. The wilderness dwellers are particularly numerous in territories that are grass lands, have fodder for many animals, and are also far from civilization and agricultural lands. For example, within the borders of the land of Iran, the land of the Arabs, a waterless desert full of grass, is fit for camels because they eat a lot of fodder and drink little water; consequently Arab tribes and clans in numbers beyond enumeration have established their residence throughout the deserts and wilderness from the farthest west to the shores of the Indian Ocean. So also have the nations who from the remotest antiquity have been and still are called Turks, with all their tribes and subdivisions, dwelt in the wilderness, mountains, and forests of the countries of Qipchaq,[1] [M73] Rus,[2] Circassia,[3] Kilar-Bashghurd,[4]

[1]By Qipchaq is meant the Qipchaq Steppe, essentially the plateau north of the Caspian westward to the Crimea, the ancient land of the Comans.

[2]Rashiduddin's *Rús* is, of course, the word that eventually becomes Russia. Since the Rus did not constitute a nation in the modern sense during the times treated by *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, I have left *Rús* as is throughout. For an exhaustive treatment of the early Rus, see Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1981).

[3]JT_K has جركلاس, for which read چركاس *Charkas* (Circassia, Circassians). JT_{YZ} and JT_{RKA} both have جركس *(Charkas)* here.

[4]JT_{YZ} omits Kilar. "Kilar" (Kälär, Keler) is a metathesized form of Kiral (for the Hungarian for king, *király*, a word applied to the people as a whole). In combination, Kilar- or Kiral-Bashghurd means Hungarians. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:600f. §1641; Togan, *Oguz Destanı*, 87. Although in Rashiduddin's time Bashghurd meant Hungarians, it is the name that was eventually applied to the Turkic people who are now known as the Bashkyr. Of the Bashghurd, whom he calls "Pascatir," William of Rubruck, who was in the region in 1253, says: *Postquam iueramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia inuenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: & venit ab Aquilone de terra Pascatir descendens in predictum*

Talas,[1] Sayram,[2] Ibir-Sibir,[3] Bola[d],[4] the Angara River,[5] the vicinity of the territories known as Turkistan and Uyghuristan,[6] the plains and river valleys attributed to the Naiman tribes,[7] like the Black Irtysh and the Irtysh Rivers,[8] Qaraqorum,[9] the great

mare. Idioma Pascatir & Hungarorum idem est: & sunt pastores sine ciuitate aliqua. Et contiguatur maiori Bulgariae ab Occidente (p. 175), "Hauing traueiled twelue dayes iourney from Etilia, wee found a mightie riuer called Iagac [the Ural]: which riuer issuing out of the North, from the land of Pascatir, desce[n]deth into the foresaid sea. The language of Pascatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepheards, not hauing any cities. And their countrey bordereth vpon Bulgaria the greater, on the West frontier thereof" (p. 222). Carpini also mentions them as "Bastarci" and similarly connects them with the Hungarians: *Hinc ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bastarcos, id est Hungariam magnam processerunt, & illos etiam deuicerunt* (p. 88).

[1]Talas is mentioned by almost all sources from the period. It was a town near the modern Aulia-Ata in Kazakhstan.

[2]Sayram is the older Isfijab, northeast of modern Tashkent. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 175 and Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 494.

[3]Sibír, also sometimes Isbíra, is the area around the Middle Irtysh River. The name ultimately gave our Siberia and the Russian Сибирь. It is almost always paired with Ibir. See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* 1:129 and 2:37.

[4]For JT_K's بولا, JT_{YZ} has بُولاد, JT_{AJ} 12 has بولار; and JT_{RKA} reads بولار with a variant بولاد—for Bolad, also known as Bolat, which was near Lake Sayram (see Juvaini/Boyle, 74). If this is the same as the Bolat described by William of Rubruck (he calls it "Bolac"), the name seems to indicate that it may well have been in the valley through which the Bortala River flows into the Ebi Nur, approximately where the modern town of Bole is located (44° 53′ N, 82° 5′ E). William says: *De illis Teutonicis nihil potui cognoscere vsque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in supradicto casali intellexi, quod Talas erat post nos iuxta mõtes per sex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipse Mangu transtulerat eos de licentia Baatu versus Orientem spacio itineris vnius mensis à talas ad quandam villam quae dicitur Bolac: vbi fodiunt aurum, & fabricant arma* (p. 178, lines 10–16), "Concerning the foresaid Dutchmen, I could not vnderstand ought, till I was come vnto the court of Mangu-Can [Mänggü Qa'an]. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had remoued them out of the iurisdiction of Baatu, for the space of a moneths iourney from Talas Eastward, vnto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour" (trs., p. 226). On the other hand, if the Bular variant is correct, then it is the Bulár described by Abu'l-Fida (*Taqwim*, 216f.), who places it at 80° [variant: 70°] north longitude, 50° 30′ [variant: 49° 30′] east latitude. Of it he says: "The city of Bulár is called Bulghár in Arabic, and it is a town at the extreme of northern habitation. It is near the bank of the Volga River in the wilderness to the northeast. It and Sarai [for which he gives coordinates of 75° long., 48° lat.] are in the same plain, and between them is more than twenty stages. It is in a low-lying place, but the mountains are less than a day away. In it are three bathhouses, and the inhabitants are Hanafi Muslim. Neither is there any fruit there nor are there any fruit trees on account of the severe cold. Grapes are not to be found either. Radishes are able to come to maturity, and they are black and very large. One of its inhabitants told me that at the beginning of the summer season twilight never goes away, and the night is extremely short. What he said is true and conforms to what can be extrapolated from astronomical calculations because at latitude $48\frac{1}{2}$° begins the phenomenon of everlasting twilight at the beginning of summer, and the latitude of this place is greater than that." Bular's extreme western location relative to the places surrounding it in the list makes it highly unlikely that it is what is intended in the text here.

[5]The Angara River flows southward through Irkutsk and empties into Lake Baikal.

[6]For the Uyghur, see text p. 105 below. After the fall of their kingdom in Mongolia in A.D. 870, the Uyghur inhabited the oases on the northern rim of the Tarim basin, the cities of Beshbaligh, Qarashahr, Turfan, and Kucha.

[7]For the Naiman, see text p. 95 below. This nation "seems to have inhabited what is now the district of Kobdo and the vicinity of Ubsa Nor, extending as far as the Black Irtysh and Lake Zaisan in one direction and the Upper Selenga in the other" (Grousset, *Empire*, 190).

[8]The Black Irtysh (Kara Irtysh in Russia and Kazakhstan; Ertix He in China; Kök Ärdish in the text) flows westward from the Altai mountains into Lake Zaysan. The Irtysh, on which Semipalatinsk is located, flows southeastward into Lake Zaysan.

[9]The ruins of Qaraqorum, the site the Mongols made their capital, stand in the Övörhangay district

Altai Mountains, the Orghan River,[1] the territory of the Qirqiz,[2] [M74] the Kämkämji'üt,[3] the many summer and winter pastures known as Mongolia, which are attributed to the Kerayit people,[4] like the Onon,[5] the Kelüren,[6] Talan Balji'us,[7] Burqan Qaldun,[8] Kökä Na'ur,[9] Bu'ir Na'ur,[10] Qarqab,[11] Küyin,[12] the Ergüne,[13] Qala'ir,[14] the Selenga,[15] Barqujin Tögüm,[16] Qalajin Älät,[17] and Öngü,[18] which is adja-

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of Mongolia at 47° 10′ N, 102° 50′ E.

[1]Orghan (~ Orqan) is the older spelling of the Orkhon River (Orhon Gol). Variant spellings and vocalizations that occur in the text of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* will be indicated by the sign ~.

[2]For the Qirqiz (Kirghiz), see text p. 109 below. They lived north of the Naiman, on the upper Yenisei. See Grousset, *Empire*, 191.

[3]The Kämkämji'üt is the upper Yenisei. See Louis Hambis, "Notes sur Käm, nom de l'Yénissei supérieur," *Journal Asiatique* 244 (1956): 281–300.

[4]For the Kerayit, see text p. 87 below. Although their territory has not been ascertained with certainty, some "have located it south of the Selenga, on the upper Orkhon and on the Tula and Ongkin, in the modern territory of Sain Noyan. According to others, the Naiman moved farther east, to the region of Karakorum, where the Kerayit zone is supposed to have been" (Grousset, *Empire*, 191).

[5]The Onon (~ Onan) flows westward from northern Mongolia; after its confluence with the Ingoda, it becomes the Shilka, which joins the Argun River to become the Amur.

[6]The Kelüren River (the modern Kerulen) rises in the Kentei mountains and flows eastward into the Dalai Nor (Hulun Nur).

[7]The "Talan Balji'us" of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* is the Dalan Baljud of the *Secret History* §129. See text p. 244 below. Baljud (~ Baljut) and Balji'us are both viable plural forms in Mongolian. The name should be "Balji'us" (as in JT_{YZ}, بَالْجُيُوسْ) instead of بالجيوش (Balji'ush), the form in which it occurs in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* (see Poppe, "Geographic Names," 41), and I have changed the name in the translation accordingly.

[8]Although its precise location has not been ascertained, Burqan Qaldun, the reputed site of Genghis Khan's burial, is to be identified with the Kentei mountains at the headwaters of the Onon. See Grousset, *Empire*, 199.

[9]Kökä Na'ur (Blue Lake) is a common name. This one is not the well-known Kökö Nur now labeled Qinghai Hu on maps but rather another by the same name, possibly the one also called Kösä Na'ur, located a four-day journey from Qaraqorum. See text p. 478 below.

[10]Bu'ir Na'ur is now labeled variously Buyr Nuur and Bujr Nuur on maps. It is connected to Dalai Nor (Hulun Nur) by the Orshun (Orxon) River.

[11]JT_K has قلرقات; JT_{RKA} has قارقاب; JT_{YZ} has قَارْقَاتْ. The editors of the Russian translation (JT_{SL} 1/1:74) identify this place with a landmark called Khara-Khab in northern Mongolia, but, given the places among which it is mentioned in Rashiduddin's list, it should be looked for to the east, near Manchuria. If the "Qarqab" variant is correct, it may well represent the Khalka River.

[12]The editors of the Russian translation (JT_{SL} 1/1:74) offer two identifications of this "Küyin" river: (1) the Kuin Gol, a right-hand tributary of the Tuul River in Mongolia, or (2) the Khoyn Gol (Kuy Gol), a left-hand tributary of the Imin Gol in Barga in Buryat territory. Poppe ("Geographic Names," 41) prefers the latter identification because the mention comes among places generally along the frontier of Mongolia and Manchuria.

[13]This is taken to be the Ergüne River that figures in the *Secret History* §141, §182, the modern Argun River (labeled both Argun' and Ergun He on modern maps), which forms the boundary between Russia and China west of the Khingan mountains.

[14]JT_K has تلار; JT_{RKA} and JT_{YZ} have تلير, but this almost certainly should be تيلر or تيلار, the Qailar River (the modern Hailar He in China), a southern tributary of the Argun River. See text p. 205 below, where the Qailar is mentioned.

[15]The Selenga (Selenge Mörön) joins the Orkhon at Sühbaatar, flows northward through Ulan-Ude, and empties into Lake Baikal.

[16]Barqujin Tögüm (Barqujin Hollow), also spelled Borqujin in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* and Barghujin in the *Secret History*, is well attested in the *Secret History*. Although not precisely identified, it is thought to be the southeastern shore of Lake Baikal (Grousset, *Empire*, 205; Poppe, "Geographical Names," 34).

[17]Qalajin Älät is to be identified with the Qalaqaljid Eled of the *Secret History* §§170, 200, 208, located "near the spurs of the Khingan range, by the headwaters of the Khalka River" (Grousset, *Empire*, 210).

[18]*Öngü* occurs in several texts with the meaning of 'wall' or 'dam'; *öngü* is a word of uncertain origin (see Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:152 §35), but it is always as-

cent to the Wall of China.[1] At present they still inhabit those areas in the same way, [24] although they have dispersed throughout the countries of Chin,[2] India, Kashmir, Iran, Anatolia,[3] Syria,[4] and Egypt through their strength and military prowess and by conquest and consolidation, and most of the realms on the face of the earth are under their control.

With the passage of time, branches and sub-branches have divided off from these branches, and in every era new branches have come into being, and each one has acquired a name and an epithet for some reason or other, like the Oghuz, the totality of which nation is at present called Turcoman and has branched off into the Qipchaq, Qalach, Qanqli, Qarluq, [M76] and other branches attributed to them, and like the nations that are known at this time as Mongols, like the Jalayir, Tatar, Oyirat, Märkit, &c. Some other nations that resembled the Mongols—such as the Kerayit, the Naiman, the Öng'üt, and their likes—each had its own autonomous ruler. The nations that have been known from olden times until now by the names Qunqirat, Qorolas, Ikiräs, Eljigin, Uriangqat, Kilungghut, &c. are called altogether the Dürlükin Mongols. The Niru'un nations, who are pure Mongols, as will be described and explained, are closely linked and resemble each other in terms of their physiognomy, dialect, and vocabulary; nonetheless, because of the difference of each territory in temperament and climate, a slight variation has appeared in form and shape and in the dialect of each of these Turkic nations.

Until now no one has classified or recorded most of those branches, and there are no true genealogical trees or charts of

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sociated with the Öng'üt tribe. See below, text p. 165.

[1]Not the Great Wall of China, but what Pelliot calls *le Fossé frontière* of the Chin. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:152 §35. See text p. 99 below.

[2]The Persian *Chín*, essentially the same word as our China, has several varying and distinct meanings. When coupled with other large geographical areas of the world, as here, it normally designates Chinese Turkistan, Khotan &c. When *Chín* is paired with *Máchín* it means the area south of the Yellow River, the realm of the Southern Sung, while *Máchín* is south of the Yangtze, the area also called *Manzí*. For China north of the Yellow River the term *Khitáy* is used in Persian, for which we will employ the derivative Cathay. The term originally designated the territory of the Khitai, or Khitan; but since it continued to be used in Persian to designate the area around Peking long after the disappearance of the Khitai, we will use the Anglicized term, which has the advantage of being similarly vague and impossible to confuse with any modern nation state.

[3]Throughout *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, the term *Rúm* (derived from Ρωμη via the Syriac ܪܘܡ) indicates the lands that were then, or had formerly been, part of the Byzantine Empire (East Rome). Although it is more a political designation than a geographical one, *Rúm* basically indicates Anatolia (Asia Minor)—exclusive of upper Mesopotamia, which is called Diyarbekir—and, for Rashiduddin anyway, includes Constantinople. The author of *Taqwim al-buldan*, Abu'l-Fida (1273–1331), who was the prince of Hama and could be expected to know exactly what was meant by the term *bilád al-Rúm* in his own day, defines the "land of *Rúm*" as bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and the Sea of Marmara, on the south by Syria and Mesopotamia, on the east by Armenia, and on the north by Georgia and the Black Sea (*Taqwim*, 378). Thus, to the east Malatya and Erzurum are included in Rúm, but the Amid (modern Diyarbakır)–Raqqa–Mosul triangle is in Mesopotamia. The term *Rúm* will be translated throughout as Anatolia unless absolutely unavoidable.

[4]The terms *Shám* and *bilád al-Shám* in Persian texts indicate Greater Syria. As defined by Abu'l-Fida (*Taqwim*, 225), Syria was bounded on the west by the Mediterranean Sea, on the south by a line extending roughly from Gaza to al-Shawbak (in southern Jordan), on the east by a line extending from al-Shawbak to east of Sarkhad (modern Salkhad in extreme southern Syria), up to Rusafa just south of the Euphrates, then northwards, including everything east of the Euphrates, to Samosata, then westwards to include Mar'ash, Adana, and Tarsus, and back to the Mediterranean.

descent, particularly since so much time has passed. Nonetheless, the branches of various sorts of Turks as are known in this era and claim a connection to one another will be written separately in brief so as to be understandable in accordance with what standard narrators and story tellers of each nation relate and with what is found in some of their books. **[25]**

List of the names of the Turkic nations that inhabit the wilderness, all of which descend from the four sons of Dib Baqui the son of Noah's son Japheth, who was dispatched to the east, and they are Qara Khan, Or Khan, Kür Khan, and Küz Khan

Inasmuch as Qara Khan's son named Oghuz became a monotheist, and some of his relatives joined him, they became two groups, each of which will be explained.

The partisans of Oghuz the son of Qara Khan consisted of some of his brothers and cousins who joined him.

As will be explained, he had six sons, each of whom had four sons, and Oghuz gave the right and left wings of the army to them as follows: [M80]

RIGHT WING

Gün Khan
Qayi, Bayat, Alqarävli, Qaraüyli

Ay Khan
Yazir, Dögär, Dodurgha, Yaparli

Yulduz Khan
Avshar, Qiziq, Begdili, Qarqin.

LEFT WING

Gök Khan
Bayindur, Pächänä, Chavuldur, Chäpni

Taq Khan
Salur, Äymür, Alayuntli, Ürägir

Dengiz Khan
Yigdir, Bügdüz, Yiva, Qiniq. **[26]**

Oghuz's brothers and some of his cousins who joined him
Uyghur, Qanqli, Qipchaq, Qarluq, Qalach, and Aghacheri.

Oghuz Khan's uncles Or Khan, Kür Khan, and Küz Khan, and his brothers and their sons who did not join Oghuz divided into two branches. One separated so long ago that its divisions are not known in detail. [M82] The other is known in detail.

The nations whose origins are so ancient that their divisions are not known in detail. The first division consists of the nations who are called Mongols at this time but whose name was not originally Mongol since this word was coined after their time. Every division of these nations became numerous divisions, and each has a characteristic name: Jalayir, Sönit, Tatar, Märkit, Kürlü'üt, Tamghaliq, Targhut, Oyirat, Töläs, Tumat, Bulaghachin, Barghut, Qori, Kärämüchin, Orasut, Talangut, Kästimi, Urianqa, Quriqat, and Saqayit.

The second division consists of nations, also dwellers in the wilderness, that have become like the above-mentioned nations but have only recently been called Mongols. This group of nations is numerous and consists of innumerable tribes. The names of some of the tribes and subdivisions that have been found out will be given in detail later. They are the Kerayit, Naiman, Öng'üt, Tangqut, Bäkrin, and Qirqiz. **[27]**

The tribes of whom it is known that they originated with two [M84] persons who went to Ärgänä-qun and begat and multiplied are known generically by the word Mongol, as are others who resemble them. In short, the beginning of the usage of this

word was during their time. The Mongols were a nation of the Turks, and since they were favored by divine grace, over a period of nearly four hundred years numerous branches of them appeared and they outnumbered all other nations. Because of their might, others in the area became known by their name, since most Turks are called Mongols, as it was before when the Tatars were dominant and all were called Tatar. Among the Arabs, Indians, and Cathaians they are still known as Tatars. The original Mongols gradually divided into two groups.

The first branch: each of the branches that appeared from the original Mongols who were in Ärgänä-qun took a particular name and epithet and emerged from Ärgänä-qun. They were the Nüküz,[1] Uriangqat, Qunqirat, Ikiräs, Olqunu'ut, Qorolas, Eljigin, Qongli'ut, Oriyat, Qongqotan, Arulat, Kilungghut, Qirjin, [H]ushin, Suldus, Baya'ut, Ildürkin, and Kinggiyat. [M86]

The second branch consists of the nations that branched off from the three sons of the wife of Dobun Bayan, Alan Qoa, who were born after the death of her husband. Dobun Bayan was of the original Mongols who have been mentioned. Alan Qoa was of the Qorolas tribe. These tribes are of two divisions, as follows. **[28]**

First are the original Niru'un: Qataqin, Salji'ut, Tayichi'ut, Härigän, Sanchi'ut, Chinas (also called Nüküz), Noyaqin,[2] Uru'ut, Mangqut, Dörbän, Ba'arin,[3] Barulas, Hadargin,[4] Jä'üräyit, Buda'at, Doqolat, Besüt,[5] Sügän, and Qingqiyat.

Second are the Niru'un who are called Qiyat and consist of two branches, (1) the "real" Qiyat, the Yürkin,[6] Changshi'ut, and Qiyat Sayar, [M88] and (2) the Qiyat who are the Borjiqin,[7] which means dark-eyed, and the branches of whom began with Genghis Khan's father and who are attributed to his family and that of his father.

Since the names of the Turkic nations, each of which has a particular name and epithet, and the Mongol nation and their many branches that have appeared, each of which has become an important tribe, have been enumerated, now the story of each nation and tribe individually, insofar as is known, will be given according to the arrangement stated in the table of contents. This will comprise four divisions. ~

[1] JT_K has Hoyin here, but the Hoyin Uriangqat ("Forest Uriangqat") do not belong here; they are the "Urianqa" given in the third paragraph above. JT_{YZ} omits Hoyin here and substitutes تكوز, for which read نكوز (Nüküz), as JT_{RKA} has. The "non-Niru'un" Nüküz do belong here. For the two Nüküz tribes, see below, text pp. 114–16.

[2] Read, with JT_{RKA}, نوياقين (Noyaqin) for JT_K's نوتاقين. The Noyakin are descended from Noyagidai (*Secret History* §46).

[3] Read بارين (Ba'arin) for JT_K's بازين.

[4] Read هيدركين for JT_K's هيوركين. JT_{YZ} has هدَرْكين Hidarkín (so vocalized). See below, text p. 152.

[5] Read بيسوت (Besüt) for JT_K's يسوت.

[6] For JT_K's بوركين, emend here and throughout to يوركين (Yürkin) for the Jürkin of the *Secret History*. The variants Jürki ~ Yürki are well attested.

[7] Read, with JT_{RKA}, بورجقين (Borjiqin) for JT_K's دورجقين, an obvious error. The term Borjiqin is well known and often attested.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY AND STORIES OF THE NATIONS OF OGHUZ AND THE TWENTY-FOUR BRANCHES OF HIS SONS AND THEIR OFFSPRING AND OF SOME OF HIS BROTHERS AND COUSINS WHO JOINED HIM

From them came into existence the nations of the Uyghur, the Qipchaq, the Qanqli, the Qarluq, and the Qalach. According to what is unanimously narrated by their own wise men and in accordance with what is mentioned in Islamic histories and recorded in the Torah of the Israelites, where it is said that the prophet Noah divided the earth into three divisions from south to north, the first division he gave to his son Ham, who became the father of the blacks; [M90] the middle part he gave to Shem, who was the father of the Arabs and the Persians; and the third part he gave to Japheth, who was the father of the Turks and was sent to the east. The Mongols and Turks say the same, but the Turks' name for Japheth is Abulja Khan,[1] and they do not know for certain whether Abulja Khan was a son or a grandson of Noah, but they are agreed that he was of his progeny and near to him in time. They are also agreed that all the Mongols, various types of Turks, and nomads are descended from him. They explain this as follows: Abulja Khan was a nomad, and his summer pastures were at Or Tagh and Kür Tagh,[2] which are huge, high mountains. In the vicinity is a city named Ipanch.[3] His winter quarters were also in that vicinity, in a place called Borsuq, Qaqiyan, and Qarqorum (also called Qaraqorum).[4] The cities of Talas and Qari Sayram are also in the vicinity.[5] Qari Sayram is an ancient, large, and magnificent city. Those who have seen it say that it is a one-day journey from beginning to end and that it has forty gates. At the present it is inhabited by Muslim Turks. **[30]** It belongs to Qaidu and to the *ulus* of Qonchi. The place

[1] In most sources this name is given as ابولجه "Abulja," not ابوبجه "Abubja" as in JT_K. The name occurs in many forms, e.g. املجه, النجه, اولجای, بولجای.

[2] JT_K has كرتاق (Kür Taq, Kar Taq?); JT_{RKA} has كزتاق (Kaz Taq?). These probably refer to the modern Karatau mountains in Kazakhstan and the Talasskiy Alatau mountains in Kyrgyzstan.

[3] Reading, with Togan (*Oguz Destanı*, 17), ايپانج (Ipanch) for JT_K's اينانج. Spelled يفنج, it is defined by Kashghari (*Compendium* 2:341) as a "city near Ila." Togan (*Oguz Destanı*, 81) places it near the modern Ayaguz in Kazakhstan, west of Lake Zaysan.

[4] Reading, with JT_{RKA}, بورسوق (Borsuq) for JT_K's يورسوق. Togan (*Oguz Destanı*, 81) identifies this as the Borsuq desert in Kazakhstan. "Qaqiyan" is unidentified. "Qaraqorum" is not, of course, the Qaraqorum in Mongolia that was Ögödäi Qa'an's capital but another place of the same name. *Qorum* means a large rock or massive pile of rocks, and *qara qorum* means a large black rock, a common topographical appellation.

[5] Qari Sayram ("Old Sayram") is Sayram. For it and for Talas, see note to text p. 23 above.

where his sons reside is nearby.

Abulja Khan had a son named Dib Baqui[1]—*dib* [M92] means throne-place and locus of high office, and *baqui* means the great chieftain of a tribe. This child was more splendid than his father, and he had four sons named Qara Khan, Or Khan, Kür Khan, and Küz Khan.[2] All of those nations were infidels. Qara Khan succeeded his father, and he had a son who would not take his mother's breast to suckle for three days and nights. Therefore his mother wept and pleaded, and every night she saw the child saying to her in a dream, "Mother, if you become a worshipper and lover of God, I will drink your milk." Because her husband and all of the tribes were infidels, the woman feared that if she worshipped God openly they would kill both her and her child. Therefore she believed in God in secret and loved God with all sincerity, and thereafter the infant took his mother's breast and suckled. When a year had passed, the child was extremely pure and beautiful, and traces of religious guidance and favor shone from his brow. When his father perceived these things in him, he said, "No child from our nation has ever been born with such a form and shape. [M94] This boy will stand out among his peers and will achieve perfection." He then consulted his relatives concerning the child's name, but the one-year-old child spoke and said, "Name me Oghuz." Those who were present were astonished; and on account of the words he spoke, which indicated God's guidance, they named him Oghuz.

When he reached maturity, his father, Qara Khan, selected for him one of his cousins, a daughter of Küz Khan and an extremely beautiful and chaste girl. In secret Oghuz said to the girl, "If you become a worshipper of God and a lover of the truth, I will love you and be close to you." She thought this extremely strange and refused his advice, saying, "I will tell your father to destroy you." Therefore Oghuz paid no attention to her. When his father saw that he did not love her, he chose another of his brother Küz Khan's daughters for him. When she was delivered to Oghuz, **[31]** he spoke the same words to her. She too refused to believe in God. Oghuz did not love her either and would not go to her.

When Qara Khan saw that Oghuz was disinclined to this girl too, [M96] he affianced him to a daughter of his other brother, Or Khan. She had not yet been brought to his house when one day Oghuz was returning from the hunt and saw Or

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[1]Togan (*Oguz Destanı*, 82) speculates that the "Dib" part of the name is derived from the Sanskrit *deva*. The "Baqui" part of the name is almost certainly a garbled version of *yavquy* or *yabquy* for *yabghu*, a title of great antiquity (see Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 873). I have left "Baqui" as is because it occurs in this form in so many texts that to tamper with it would constitute hypercorrection. There are several such ghost names in Persian that, through usage, have taken on an existence of their own and are now so well known that they cannot be "corrected"—rather like the word "zenith" in English. An example is the Qaydafa of all Persian versions of the Alexander romance, as in Firdawsi's *Shahnama*. Her name in Arabic script would originally have been قندقه for Qandaqa, or Qandaqih (Candace, from the Greek Κανδακη), but she was early misdotted as قیدفه and became Qaydafa ever afterward. Another example is the constellation Cepheus, originally spelled قیفاوس (Qífáus) as a transcription of Κηφεύς but, due to a resemblance to the name of the Persian king Kay-Káús, it was "redotted" as قیقاوس and read as Qayqáús.

[2]Of these four, the names of Qara Khan and Or Khan are certain. The other two, our "Kür Khan" and "Küz Khan" for lack of anything more certain, are spelled کر and کز in JT_K; Togan (*Oguz Destanı*, 17) also spells them this way; the Russian translators (JT_{SL}1/1:81) give Кара-хан, Ор-хан, Коз-хан, and Гур-хан; in the Ottoman translation (JT_{YZ}), they are spelled کون and کور, probably to be read as Gün and Gür respectively. Gün Khan, one of Oghuz's sons, comes later; Gür Khan is probably the result of a confusion with the Gür Khan title of the Qarakhitai rulers.

Khan's daughter beside a river watching her maids washing clothes. Oghuz approached her and said to her in secret, "You know I have taken two of my cousins, but I do not love them and have no converse with them. I wanted them to believe in God and love Him, but they refused to listen and disbelieve. Now I have been affianced to you. If you confess the oneness of God and believe in and love Him, I will take you and love you."

"I do not know who or what God is," the girl replied, "but I will not disobey you."

"That is all I desire," said Oghuz, "and I command that you believe in God and love Him."

"I accept your words," she said, and she believed in God.

After that, Oghuz took her and loved her, always going to her and not to the others. Since he believed in God, he did not want to mingle with his father and uncles because they were infidels. Therefore he continually remained away from them [M98] and hunted separately from them. He constantly had the name of God, which is Allah in Arabic, on his lips, but no one knew what the word meant. While he constantly intoned beautifully the word Allah, the tribe thought he was singing for pleasure and that it had become a habit with him.

One day Qara Khan gave a banquet for his daughters-in-law and asked them, "Since the first two wives are nicer than the third, why is it that my son loves her more and goes to her and converses with her while he pays no attention to the others?"

Since the first two wives were unhappy with their husband and extremely jealous, [32] they seized the opportunity to get back at their husband by saying, "He has adopted another religion and believes in and loves the god of heaven and earth. He wanted us to join him, but we refused and paid no attention to his words. That is why he is on bad terms with us. This latest wife has joined him in believing in God, and that is why he loves her and hates us."

At that time Oghuz had gone hunting with his liege men and some of his friends. Qara Khan gathered his brothers, nephews, relatives, and commanders and said, "My son Oghuz seemed greatly favored by fortune in his infancy, [M100] and I became extremely fond of him. Now, however, he has taken up wicked ways and turned his back on our religion. He cannot be left alive." All present were pained by these words, but they unanimously agreed that he should be put to death. When Oghuz's wife who supported her husband learned of this, she immediately sent a neighbor woman she trusted out to Oghuz to warn him. Oghuz got ready for battle by summoning all his liege men and friends, and they gathered in the hunting field. His father, uncles, and relatives mounted to attack him, ranks were arrayed on both sides, and battle broke out. During the fighting Qara Khan was struck with a sword and died of his wounds. Because a large contingent of his fellow tribesmen and uncles had joined him, they fought with each other for nearly seventy-five years and cast the nation and army into strife and turmoil. Finally Oghuz triumphed, seizing the land from Talas and Sayram to Bukhara, and the realm submitted to him. Some of his uncles and nephews who had joined him made their habitation in the east, and in their view it is established that the entirety of the Mongols are descended from them. At that time all were infidels, but with the passage of time they and their families too became monotheists. [M102]

When Oghuz took over that realm and enjoyed sovereignty, he pitched a golden tent and gave a large banquet at which he honored his relatives and the commanders and rewarded all the soldiers. [33] The group of his uncles and clansmen who had

joined him he named Uyghur, the meaning of which in Turkish is to unite and assist. All the tribes of the Uyghur are descended from them. He named another tribe Qanqli. The Qipchaq, Qalach, and Aghacheri tribes also spring from the group who were with Oghuz and mingled with his family. The reason for the naming of each will now be given in detail.

The Uyghur. When the dispute broke out between Oghuz and his father and uncles over the worship of God and they began fighting, some of Oghuz's relatives united with him, taking his part and giving him assistance. Some others joined sides with the father, uncles, and brothers. Those who joined and helped Oghuz he called *uyghur*, a Turkic word meaning "having joined and helped us." This group was constantly with Oghuz. When he set out to take other realms he sent them back through the Darband area, where they settled down to protect that land until he should return. [M104] All the Uyghur tribes are descended from this group.[1]

The Qanqli. At the time Oghuz was fighting his father, uncles, brothers, and cousins and raiding the province, these were among the tribes that joined him. While others were pillaging and carrying their plunder on animals, these used their minds to devise carts to carry their plunder. Since a cart is called *qanqli* in Turkish, they were therefore given this name.[2] [34] All the Qanqlis spring from them.

The Qipchaq. When Oghuz was defeated by the It-Baraq tribe, with whom he did battle, and took up residence on a spit of land between two rivers, a pregnant woman whose husband had been killed in battle went into a large hollow tree and gave birth. When this was reported to Oghuz, he had compassion on her and said, "Since this woman has no husband, let the child be my son." And he became like Oghuz's own son. He called him Qipchaq, a name derived from *qobuq*, which means a hollow tree in Turkish. All the Qipchaqs descend from this boy. Eighteen years later Oghuz raided the It-Baraq tribe, came to the land of Iran, [M106] and subdued that realm. After many years he returned to his province. It was reported that the Baraqis had rebelled again, so he dispatched Qipchaq's family to settle among the Baraq and the Bayaq so that he would be secure from their rebelliousness. From that time the Qipchaqis' summer and winter pastures have been there.

The Qarluq. They say that when Oghuz was returning from the province of Ghor and Ghoristan to his old territory, along the way he came to a large mountain and it was snowing hard. On account of the snow several households lagged behind. Since it had been ordered that no one should lag behind, Oghuz was displeased and said, "How can anyone lag behind because of snow?" He called those households *qarluq*, that is, those of the snow *(qar)*. All the Qarluq tribes sprang from this group.

The Qalach. They say that when Oghuz had taken Isfahan and was on his return journey, a woman gave birth to a child along the way, [35] but she was so malnourished that she had no milk, and the child was hungry. Her husband therefore remained behind. A jackal had caught a partridge, and the man threw a stick at it, took the bird, and gave it to his wife to eat. Her breasts then filled with milk, and she nursed the child until it was full. Several days later the man reached the army, and

[1] See Clauson, "The Name Uygur," *JRAS* (1963): 147.

[2] *Qanqli*, *qangli*, and *qanghli* are all attested as variant spellings of a word meaning cart.

since it had been ordered that no one was to lag behind for any reason, [M108] Oghuz was vexed and said, "*Qal, ach*"—that is, "Stay, hungry one"—for which reason his family was called Qalach.

The Aghacheri. This name did not exist long ago. When the Oghuz tribes came to this realm, a group of them who held territory in forested areas became known as *aghach eri*, that is, man of the forest, just as some of the Mongol tribes whose territory is near a forest are called *hoyun irgän*, that is, forest people.

The Turcomans who were with Oghuz are those that have been mentioned. Although at first he named all the tribes that were allied with him "Uyghur," later several tribes were distinguished by other names for reasons mentioned. The name Uyghur stuck with the others, and that is how they became known.

From Oghuz's offspring there came into existence twenty-four branches, as recorded in detail in the list, each with its own name and epithet. All the Turcomans in the world are descended from this nation and are the offspring of Oghuz's twenty-four offspring. The word Turcoman did not exist long ago, [M110] for all the tribes who dwelt in the wilderness and looked like Turks were called simply Turks, each tribe having its own particular epithet. When the Oghuz tribes left their own territory and went into Transoxiana and Iran and begat and multiplied, because of the climate their features gradually changed into those of Tajiks. Since they were not Tajiks, the Tajik peoples called them *turkmán*, **[36]** i.e. Turk-like *(turk-mánand)*. For this reason this name was applied to all the branches of the Oghuz peoples, and that is how they became known. Of the twenty-four branches of Oghuz's offspring, half belong to the right wing of the army, and the other half belong to the left wing. Today each of these tribes knows with which people its branch originated.

Oghuz had six sons. Their names are Gün, Ay, Yulduz, Gök, Taq, and Dengiz.[1] In a later appendix to this history I shall give the details of them as it has come in their own histories.[2]

Oghuz conquered the totality of the realms of Iran, Turan, Syria, Egypt, Anatolia, and the Franks, as well as other lands. After having subdued them all, [M112] he turned back to his original territory of Or Tagh and Kür Tagh. When he arrived there he held a great assembly, at which he had extremely fine golden tents pitched, and made a huge banquet. It is related that nine hundred mares and ninety thousand sheep were slaughtered for the banquet. All the khans, commanders, and leaders of the army were invited, and he rewarded them all well. In particular he singled out for honor his six sons, who had been with their father during his conquests and had made outstanding showings.

Several days later his sons went hunting. They found a golden bow and three golden arrows, which they took to their father, asking how they should be divided. He gave the bow to the elder three sons and the three arrows to the younger three, saying, "The nations who spring from those who hold the bow shall be known as Buzuq"—which means to break.[3] This word became their epithet because it was necessary to

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[1] *Gün*, 'sun'; *ay*, 'moon'; *yulduz*, 'star'; *gök*, 'sky'; *taq* ~ *tagh* 'mountain'; *dengiz*, 'sea.'

[2] This appendix was edited and translated into modern Turkish by Zeki Velidî Togan, *Oguz Destanı* (Istanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1972). A Russian translation has been made by R. M. Shukyurova, *Oguz-name* (Baku: Elm, 1987).

[3] *Buzuq* actually means 'broken.' Some modern interpretations take the word to be *buz-oq* by analogy with *üch-oq*, but the meaning given makes it certain that *buzuq* is intended.

break the bow to divide it. The right hand of the army would then belong to these three and their families. He made the epithet of the tribes that sprang from the sons to whom he gave the arrows Üchoq—originally *üch oq*, meaning three arrows—saying, "The army of the left hand will belong to these three sons and their offspring." [37] He also said, "Henceforth their offspring shall be known by these epithets, [M114] and let each one know to which side of the army he belongs." Since the right wing was larger, he gave the bow, which is a symbol of kingship, to them, while he gave the arrows, which are symbols of subservience, to those who were of the left hand. He also divided all the territories of the right and left hands in this manner, saying, "The royal throne and the succession to me belong to the Buzuq. After me the rule will go to Gün, my eldest son, if he is alive. If not, it will go to my second son, Ay."

After Oghuz's death, in accordance with his stipulation, Gün Khan ascended the throne and ruled for seventy years. His father had had a viceroy named Igit Irqil Khwaja,[1] and he was Gün Khan's advisor and minister too. One day he said to Gün Khan, "Oghuz was a great king. He seized the realms of the earth and possessed treasuries, property, and animals without number. He left it all to you, his sons, and each of you has been divinely blessed with four sons. May it not be that henceforth your sons fight and squabble over property and land. It would be best for each of them to have separate posts, routes, names and epithets. [M116] Let each have a sign and a device by which their decrees, stores, herds and flocks may be distinguished in order that none dispute with another. Let each of your sons and their descendants have his own name and epithet and his own way in order to insure the permanence of their good fortune and the continuance of their renown."

Gün Khan approved of this suggestion, and Igit Irqil Khwaja set about making arrangements. After each of the six sons had adopted the names Buzuq or Üchoq and had been assigned to the right or left wing of the army, he established anew the names, devices *(tamgha)* and signs of each of their sons. To each of the twenty-four he assigned an animal to be their totem *(onqun)*. This word is derived from *inaq*,[2] meaning "blessed" in Turkish, as they say *inaq bolsun*, meaning "may it be blessed." It is customary for the totem of a tribe, since it is used as a symbol of auspiciousness, not to be hunted or harmed or for the flesh to be eaten. Until now this is observed, and each of the tribes knows its own totem. He also stipulated, when there was a banquet and food was being distributed, which piece of meat should go to which branch so that, no matter where they were, at a banquet the portion of each was decided and they would not fight with each other over food.

The names of the twenty-four sons, [M118] by which names the tribes and branches became known and which became the proper names of the tribes, will be given along with the device, the totem, and the piece of meat assigned to each.

[1] JT_{RKA} has كنت ارپانكى for JT_K's ايكيت (Igit?). According to Togan (*Oguz Destanı*, p. 96, note 537a), Irqil Khwaja is a legendary sage among the Buryats and Yakut-Sakas.

[2] Reading اينق *(inaq)* for JT_K's انيق The derivation is folk etymology, of course. The word *onqun* is Mongolian, *ongghun* (modern Mongolian ᠣᠩᠭᠣᠨ ОНГОН, the spirit inhabiting a material object), "Filzpuppe, der als Stammestotem göttergleiche Ehren dargebracht werden" (Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:179 §59), and has nothing to do with *inaq*.

name[1]	totem	piece of meat

The Buzuq tribes of the right wing of the army, and the four sons of the three elder sons, twelve in all:

(a) the sons of Gün Khan, the eldest, were four, and their names are as follows:

1. Qayi, meaning "strong"	*shahin* [hawk]	*sagh qari yaghrin* [fat of the right breast]
2. Bayat, meaning "possessed of good fortune and plenty"	*shahin*	*sagh qari yaghrin*
3. Alqarävli,[2] meaning "everywhere he goes he is successful"	*shahin*	*sagh qari yaghrin*
4. Qaraüyli,[3] meaning "black tent"	*shahin*	*sagh qari yaghrin*

(b) the sons of Ay Khan, the second son, were four, and their names are:

1. Yazir, meaning "he holds many lands"	*qartal* [eagle]	*ashughlu* [ankle]
2. Dögär, meaning "for coming together"	*qartal*	*ashughlu*
3. Dodurgha, meaning "seizing land and ruling"	*qartal*	*ashughlu*
4. Yaparli, meaning [lacking]	*qartal*	*ashughlu*

(c) The sons of Yulduz Khan, the third son, were four, and their names are:

1. Avshar, meaning "nimble and avid at hunting animals"	*tavshanjil* [eagle]	*sagh ubaja* [right rump]
2. Qiziq, meaning "powerful and serious in punishment"	*tavshanjil*	*sagh ubaja*
3. Begdili, meaning "powerful as the great"	*tavshanjil*	*sagh ubaja*
4. Qarqin, meaning "much and satisfying food"	*tavshanjil*	*sagh ubaja*

The Üchoq tribes of the left wing of the army, the offspring of the three younger sons and their four sons each:

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[1]In the following chart, each tribe's device *(tamgha)* is also given. Illustrations from three manuscripts of the *Selçuqname* (Berlin 1834; Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1390, and Revan 1391) are reproduced on pp. xxxi–xliv of this volume. Versions from Kashghari's *Divan lughat al-turk*, Berezin's edition of *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, and Yazıjızada's *Tarikh-i Al-i Salchuq* (Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1390) are reproduced in Sümer, *Oguzlar (Türkmenler)*, 169–71. Reproductions are also given in JT_{SL} 1/1:88–90.

[2]The name occurs elsewhere as Alqaävli, without the 'r.'

[3]Or, with a slight emendation to the text, Qaraävli, which would be the normal Oghuz form. *Üy* is eastern Turkish for 'house, tent'; the western form is *äv/ev*.

(a) The sons of Gök Khan, the fourth son, were four:

1. Bayindir, meaning "that land is always filled with plenty"	*sunqur* [falcon]	*sol qari* [left breast]
2. Pächänä, meaning "he tries hard and is serious"	*sunqur*	*sol qari*
3. Chavuldur, meaning "with honor and friends"	*sunqur*	*sol qari*
4. Chäpni, meaning "wherever he sees an enemy he fights without hesitation"	*sunqur*	*sol qari*

(b) The sons of Taq Khan, the fifth son, were also four in number:

1. Salur, meaning "wherever he goes his sword and mace are put into play"	*uj*[1]	*uchayla* [spinal part?]
2. Äymür, meaning "good and rich without limit"	*uj*	*uchayla*
3. Alayuntli, meaning "his animals are good"	*uj*	*uchayla*
4. Ürägir, meaning "always doing good and orderly things"	*uj*	*uchayla*

(c) The sons of Dengiz Khan, the sixth son, were also four:

1. Yigdir, meaning "good, great, and valiant"	*chaqir* [merlin]	*ashughlu* [ankle]
2. Bügdüz, meaning "he is humble and subservient to all"	*chaqir*	*ashughlu*
3. Yiva, meaning "his rank is above all"	*chaqir*	*ashughlu*
4. Qiniq, meaning "he is powerful wherever he is"	*chaqir*	*ashughlu*

[44] Inasmuch as the stories and histories of these will be given separately in an appendix to this royal history, there is no sense in going on at length here. These tribes, as has been explained, were all monotheistic, and God had willed during the time of the prophethood of the Lord of Apostles, our Prophet Muhammad the Chosen, that they be annexed to the Muslims, and in the end it so happened. For long eons and many years after Oghuz and his sons there were many rulers from this nation, and in every era there have mighty sovereigns from the twenty-four branches mentioned above in whose family the rule remained. [M126] For a long time the rule was in the Salur branch; thereafter it was in the ___ branch,[2] and then other branches

[1]Texts have اوج *új*. The Russian translators (*JT*$_{SL}$ 1/1:89, note 3) suggest emendation to اورکی *örki* 'billy goat.' However, since all the other totem animals are birds, and the Ottoman translator (*JT*$_{YZ}$) even translates as *új qúsh* '*új* bird,' there may be some connection with اوچی *avchi* 'hunter.'

[2]Word missing. There are a good many such

became mighty sovereigns, as will be told in the history of the Oghuz in the appendix to this history. Their domination reached this land of Iran, and in this realm there are many renowned sovereigns and great commanders from the Oghuz family, but not everyone knows that he is descended from Oghuz. The Turcomans know precisely which ruler and which commander is from which branch of these tribes. The sultans of the Seljuq dynasty and their forebears, who were great and mighty sovereigns and ruled in the realms of Turan and Iran for nearly four hundred years, having brought from the farthest reaches of Egypt to the borders of Cathay under their sway, were from the Qiniq branch. A summary account of their history will also be appended to the history of the Oghuz at the end of this book.

Inasmuch as the Uyghurs are also Turks, and their habitation is near the realm of the Mongols, and they have been mentioned in this history as being cousins of Oghuz, they too merit a history, some of which will be given in the appendix. Likewise will be given the histories of the nations of Khitai, Qarakhitai, Chin and Machin (which the Mongols call Nankiyas and the people of Cathay call Manzi),[1] the Jurchids, the Gürkhans of the Qarakhitai, who were sovereigns of Turkistan and Transoxiana, [M128] and Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm-shah and his son Jalaluddin and their tribes. **[45]** Since all these were conquered and annihilated during the time of Genghis Khan and his family, and what remained of them became subdued and obedient to the Genghisids, some of their history pertains to this volume, and it will be given wherever it is pertinent.

Inasmuch as each of the peoples who have been mentioned has a separate recorded history that did not reach this land in ancient times, now that we have become aware of them, we wanted to add them to this history, but since to explain the actuality of their situation during the course of the narrative would cause confusion and misunderstanding, we have excluded them and given them separately in an appendix to this royal history. ~

lacunae for "missing words" in the text of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*. Presumably space was left in the original to be filled in later. All such lacunae will be indicated by a blank line.

[1] *Nanki(y)as* is the term by which the Mongols designate the Chinese. It was taken from the Jurchids, who referred to the Sung by the Chinese term 南家 *nan-chia (nan-kia)* 'people of the south' (Grousset, *Empire*, p. 593, note 12); the final *-s* is the Mongolian plural. Rashiduddin's "Manzi" is derived from the Chinese 蠻子 *man-tzu* , 'people (or barbarians) of the south.' See Paul Pelliot, "Sur quelques mots," *Journal asiatique* 1 (1913): 460–66.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TURKIC NATIONS THAT ARE NOW CALLED MONGOLS BUT IN TIMES PAST WERE SEPARATE NATIONS, EACH WITH ITS OWN LANGUAGE AND NAME

Each of these nations had a leader and a commander, and from each of them branched off tribes and clans, like the Jalayir, the Oyirat, the Tatar, &c., as will be explained in this chapter. Their *yurts* [grazing grounds] and dwelling places were in designated areas, and their features and language resembled those of the Mongols, [M130] for at that time the Mongol branch was one of the Turkic nations, whereas now, because of their great fortune, might, and magnificence, all the other nations have been subsumed under the name Mongol.

The histories of these nations are as follows.

The Jalayir nation and their branches, along with some of the history connected to this nation that lies outside the history of Genghis Khan and other histories.

In ancient times these tribes were many, and each branch had its own commander and leader. During Genghis Khan's time, and in this time too, there have been and are many commanders from among them in Turan and Iran. Their dwelling place was the Onon, and it is related that in olden times the army of Cathay so massacred that place that few were able to escape. When they took flight, they killed Monulun, the wife of Dutum Mänen, as will be told in her story.[1] **[48]** The other tribes of the Jalayir held a trial and asked why they had committed such a blameworthy deed. Some of them were put to death, and others were imprisoned and made slaves to Qaidu Khan, the son of Dutum Mänen, and his sons and relatives. By inheritance they came to Genghis Khan's father, and by that means these tribes were his *ötägü boghol*,[2] and many of them became important and respected commanders during his and his dynasty's time, [M132] as will be explained.

The Jalayir nation consists of ten large divisions, each of which has become a separate and numerous tribe: (1) Jait,[3] (2) Qongqa'ut, (3) Oyat, (4) Kürkin, (5) Turi, (6) Toqra'ut, (7) Kümsä'üt, (8) Nilqan, (9) Tolangqit, (10) Sungqut.

The most famous and greatest of all the Jalayir tribes in Genghis Khan's time was Muqali Guyang of the Jait tribe, who was in charge of the entire left wing of Genghis Khan's army.[4] His sons are also called by

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[1] See below, text p. 175f.

[2] For the term *ötägü boghol* ('hereditary slaves,' thought to be a loan translation from the Chinese), see Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:160 §40.

[3] Or, as JT_{RKA} has, Jat (джат).

[4] A word of explanation for Rashiduddin's procedure in this section. A short history of the lineage and history of each tribe or nation is given. Following that, he lists a number of famous individuals, often with their lines of descent, down to his own

the epithet Guyang, which means great khan in the Cathaian language.[1] When Genghis Khan stationed him with the army in the place known as Qara'un Jidun, the people of Cathay gave him this epithet.

His son, Boghol Guyang, succeeded to his father's position during Ögödäi Qa'an's reign, [with] the title that had been given him by Genghis Khan. Hantun Noyan,[2] a great commander of Qubilai Qa'an's, was sent by Qubilai Qa'an with [Qubilai Qa'an's] son Nomoghan and an army against Qaidu, but because of a dispute between the princes Hantun was seized and turned over to Qaidu. Some time later he was released, [M134] as will be explained.[3] **[49]**

In this realm, of this tribe was Ja'uqur,[4] a commander of a thousand, and his brother Omoq. During Genghis Khan's time there were Jochi Tarmala and his brother Jochi Cha'urqai. It was because of them that battle erupted between Genghis Khan and the Tayichi'ut, as will be explained.[5] Jochi Tarmala had five sons: Qutuqtu, Qutuqdur, Qun[g]daqai, Elgäi, and Irin.

Of Qutuqtu's sons in the *tümän* of Yäkä [Noyan] was Ulqun, a commander of a thousand.

Qutuqdur's sons were with the family of Chaghatai. One of his sons, Pulad Dornai, was sent by Baraq as envoy to Abaqa Khan to request *topchaq* horses.[6] When the news of Baraq's coming was received, Abaqa Khan ordered him seized, saying, "You came with trickery and lied." He replied, "When I was being sent I knew nothing of this expedition." The command was carried out, and he was imprisoned in Tabriz, where he died. One of his sons, Dilchi by name, is with Jingä.

Qungdaqai's son Qorchi Bughun was the *shahna* of Georgia. Bughun's son is the Temür Buqa [M136] who serves as *qorchi* to Prince Kharbanda.

Elgäi Noyan was a great commander who came here[7] with Hülägü Khan and was very well known. He had ten sons.

The first was Taghan, who remained in the province of Mongolia and did not come here. This Taghan had two sons who did come to this land, Qonchi and Urum.

The second son was Shiktür Noyan. The eldest of his sons is Chingtü, the second is Jila, the third Khaitu, the fourth Hindu, the fifth Täknä, and the sixth Uqatu.

The third son was Toghan, who was with Jumghur. He had two sons, Künän and Könchäk. Könchäk's son is Abubakr, a commander of a thousand who is in Khurasan with Prince Kharbanda.

The fourth son was Tanqiadai, and his son was Tabqun, who was with Kingshü.[8]

The fifth son was Qutu, and his son was Hasan, and his son was Husayn. **[50]**

The sixth son was Aqdash, who was eleven years old when he was killed in battle with Bärkä.

The seventh son was Jalayirtai. His son is Qara Buqa, an attendant on Prince Sari.

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time. Many of the persons mentioned in this section will not appear in the history until much later.

[1] *Guyang* < Mongolian *gui ong* < Chinese 國王 *kuo wang* (old pronunciation, *gui wang*) 'prince of the realm.' See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:490 §355. Variant spellings of Muqali's name include Muquli and the Chinese transcription, 木華黎 Mu-hua-li (*Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395).

[2] Hantun ~ Hantum Noyan, a descendant of Muqali Guyang. The Chinese transcription of his name was 安童 An-t'ung (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:796).

[3] See text pp. 632–36 below.

[4] Here this name occurs as جرقوم in JT_K; below on text p. 404, as well as here in JT_{RKA}, it is جاوقور.

[5] See text p. 242 below.

[6] A *topchaq* is a fine riding horse, usually bred by the Turcomans. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 2:601 §949.

[7] Throughout this section, "here" means Iran and "there" generally means the Mongol homeland.

[8] For the latter two names JT_K has تبقون and لينكشو; JT_{RKA} has respectively ايتقون and كينكشو (Kingshü, a son of Hülägü Khan's son Jumghur; see text p. 680 below).

The eighth son was Uruqtu, Abaqa Khan's *sükürchi* [parasol holder]. He and Qutu were killed together in battle in Anatolia. His son Iqbal was an attendant on Gaikhatu. The Padishah of Islam [M138] had him executed after establishing his guilt.[1]

The ninth son was Aq Buqa, a great commander of Gaikhatu's. Baidu killed him. His sons are Husayn Gürägän, Musail, and Odunchi.

The tenth son was Toghan Buqa. His sons were Jadayirtai, Yaghlaghu, and Jilanchi.

Three of these ten sons, Shiktür Noyan, Toghan, and Toghan Buqa, were of one mother, a woman named Mögälün.

Another commander of the Jalayir tribe, Qada'an by name, was an attendant on Genghis Khan. He had a son named Ilügä, whom [Genghis Khan] outfitted with an army and gave to his son Ögödäi Qa'an because he had been Ögödäi's *atäkä* [tutor] and had been like a father to him during his childhood. He became important and grand and a commander of a troop in Ögödäi Qa'an's time. They say that during a famine Amir Arghun's father sold Amir Arghun to Ilügä's father, Qada'an, for a leg of beef. Since he had given his one son to Ögödäi Qa'an as a *käbtä'ül* [night guard], he gave Amir Arghun as a *nökär* [liege man] to that son, and he became his slave and servant. Since he was a brave warrior, and eloquent and intelligent as well, his fortune waxed and he surpassed his peers. The story will be given in the section on the Oyirat.[2]

Qaidu had sent to Abaqa Khan an envoy named Danishmand, one of Ilügä Noyan's sons. Ilügä had a younger brother [M140] named Elji'idäi who had coupled with his elder brother's concubine. Ilügä wanted to kill him, but he fled to Ögödäi Qa'an, who made a request for him. Ilügä gave him to Ögödäi Qa'an, who made this Elji'idäi an attendant along with Shigi Qutuqu, [51] and he used to lift Ögödäi Qa'an's chair and learn manners and customs and the arts. He and Shigi Qutuqu used to go into the *ordu*, and gradually he became an important commander. When Mänggü Qa'an was enthroned, he said, "You have all sworn and pledged that as long as there remained of the sons of Ögödäi Qa'an 'a piece of flesh a cow wouldn't eat if it were wrapped in grass and a dog wouldn't look at if it were wrapped in fat,'[3] you would accept him as emperor rather than place another on the throne. How is it that now you act otherwise?" In reply Qubilai Qa'an objected, saying, "That was the stipulation, but you acted contrary to the conditions of the pledge and the ancient Yasa before we did. First, Genghis Khan commanded that if anyone from his family acted contrary to the Yasa, he and his elder and younger brothers were not to be molested unless a council was convened. Why did you kill Altalunqan?[4] Second, Ögödäi Qa'an said that Shirämün should be emperor. How then did you make room in your hearts for Güyük Khan to be emperor?"

When Elji'idäi heard these words, he said, "On this count, you are right." This story will be explained in its proper place.[5] [M142]

During Mänggü Qa'an's reign Mängäsär

[1]Here and throughout, the "Padishah of Islam" is Ghazan Khan. For the execution of Iqbal, see text p. 937.

[2]See text p. 79f. below.

[3]This expression appears in the *Secret History* §255.

[4]Altalun (~ Altalunqan ~ Altaluqan) was Genghis Khan's fifth daughter (see text p. 225 below). The Mongolian suffix *-qan* ~ *-gän* is a diminutive that is added *ad libitum* to proper names. The suffix will be encountered with some frequency throughout the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*.

[5]The events leading to Mänggü's enthronement are given on pp. 581–84. Although Rashiduddin promises to elaborate on the story given here, he does not actually do it.

Noyan of the Jait tribe was a great commander and chief of the *yarghuchi*s [inquisitors]. The reason for his rise to power was as follows. Mänggü Qa'an and his father Tolui Khan rode to attack the Qipchaqs, and when they took the Qipchaqs, Mängäsär Noyan participated in the battle. Mänggü Qa'an turned the important Qipchaqs over to him for him to take away to the camp. He performed outstandingly in that regard. Also, during the time when Güyük Khan's sons were contemplating rebelling against Mänggü Qa'an, he was the chief *yarghuchi*, and he was pitiless in executing offenders. Also, when Mänggü Qa'an was riding against the Nankiyas, Mängäsär was with him and remained there. Among his sons in this land was the Hinduqur Noyan whom Mänggü Qa'an made division commander and dispatched. **[52]** His other sons were Qurumshi, El Temür, and others.

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Of the Oyat tribes was Ögöläi Qo[r]chi, who came with Hülägü Khan and became a *qaravul*. His sons were Aruq and Buqa, attendants on Abaqa Khan. Once Aruq went on a mission to the qa'an and brought the *kök tamgha* [blue seal]. Here he was put in command of all the *[shü]sünchi*s [provisioners], and after that he became a commander in Abaqa Khan's establishment. Buqa was first a *tamghachi*[1] and kept the stores of pelts. In Ahmad and Arghun Khan's time he became an important commander, as will be related in its proper place.[2] [M144]

Among their relatives were Qipchaq and his sons Ghazan, Eshik Tughli, and Ghïnabeg. Four of Baraq's and A[l]ughu's *tümän*s were turned over to Ghazan.

Of the Toqra'ut tribe and their family were Taichu and his son Baltu, who went to Anatolia and were executed there. Baltu's brother is Isa.

Amir Bartas, a commander of a thousand, is also of the Jalayir. Another commander in Genghis Khan's time was named Börkä. He was assigned to come to this realm with Jäbä and Sübätäi. He died on the other side of the river [Oxus]. His son Nadorji was the qa'an's *bitigchi* [secretary], and prior to that he was Tägüdär's *bitigchi*.[3]

During Genghis Khan's time one of the right wing *hazara*[4] commanders who were attendant upon him was Bala Noyan. When Sultan Jalaluddin crossed the Indus in flight, Bala Noyan was sent with the army in pursuit into Hindustan. Unable to find him, Bala Noyan pillaged some parts of Hindustan and turned back to rejoin Genghis Khan. During Qubilai Khan's time one of his sons, Maqui by name, took his place. Ahin Elchi, who came from the qa'an, was a relative of his. In this land Uqan, a commander of a thousand who dwells on the frontier of Kirman, and Nurin Aqtachi,[5] who is an attendant, are also relatives of his. He had an elder brother, also a commander of the right wing, named Harqai Qasar Noyan. **[53]**

Among the commanders of a thousand of the left wing [M146] of Genghis Khan's army, there was one named Yisa'ur of the Jalayir tribes. One of his sons, Kürüt, went before the qa'an as envoy.

Two brothers of the Jalayir were also in

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[1] JT_{RKA} has تمغاچی *(tamghachi)*; JT_K has تماچی *(tammachi)*, but *tamghachi* accords better with a keeper of pelts.

[2] For the elevation of Buqa as Arghun Khan's vizier, see text p. 808; for the awarding of the title Chingsang to him, see text p. 812.

[3] The تکودر (Tägüdär) of JT_{RKA} is نیکودر (Negüdär) in JT_K.

[4] The *hazara* (Pers. هزاره, 'unit of a thousand,' used throughout the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* for the Turkish *ming*) is the Turco-Mongolian 'regiment' of one thousand soldiers. It was one component of the *tümän*, the 'division' of ten thousand. The subdivisions of the *hazara* were the صده *sada*, a 'company' or 'troop' of one hundred commanded by a *yüzbegi*, and the دهه *daha*, a 'platoon' of ten, commanded by an *onbegi*.

[5] This name (نورین) is given as بودین on p. 401.

command of a *hazara* in the left wing, Uqai Qalja and Qarachu.[1] Although, as has been mentioned, they were hereditary slaves of Genghis Khan and his father, they performed more services than other commanders. Because they had rights acquired of old, when Genghis Khan desired to elevate them above other commanders, they refused, saying, "Your father Yesügäi Bahadur advised us to keep sheep." They were therefore recognized as a *hazara*, and they kept the imperial sheep. Säbä, the [grand]father of the Sartaq Noyan who was Arghun Khan's *amir-ordu* in Khurasan and Mazanderan when Arghun Khan was a child, and his son Qachar were of their line. It is said that when the Märkit took advantage of an opportunity to raid Genghis Khan's house, because at that time there was a truce between the Märkit and Ong Khan, the Märkit sent Genghis Khan's wife, who was pregnant with Jochi, to Ong Khan. Since Ong Khan had had a long-time friendship with Genghis Khan's father and called Genghis Khan "son," he kept the lady like a daughter-in-law and looked upon her with chastity and clemency. When the officers said that she should be taken [to wife], he replied, "She is my daughter-in-law: [M148] it would be inappropriate to look upon her with perfidious thoughts." When Genghis Khan learned of this, he dispatched this Säbä, the grandfather of Sartaq Noyan, to fetch her. Ong Khan showed him respect and turned her over to him in submission to Genghis Khan. Along the way back Jochi was born. Since the road was difficult, there was nowhere to stop and make a cradle. He made a soft dough out of some flour, wrapped the baby in it, took the child in his lap, and comforted it lest its limbs suffer pain. The child was named Jochi because he was born unexpectedly.

Muqali Guyang's brother, Taisun by name,[2] commanded a *hazara* of the left wing.

Among Elgäi Noyan's relatives was Amir Doladai, a *ba'urchi*. **[54]** Ögödäi Qa'an gave him and a *hazara* to Kötän. Olda'ur Qorchi, who was the *shahna* to Genghis Khan's four great *ordus* and commanded a company of a hundred in the imperial *hazara*, was also of the Jalayir tribe. When Genghis Khan was giving armies to his sons, he gave an officer named Mügä from the Jalayir to Chaghatai. His son Yisa'ur was an officer of Baraq's army, and he was called "Mügä's Yisa'ur."

The Sönit Nation

The tribe called the [Qabturghas[3]] are a sub-division of the Sönit. [M150] There have been few of the Qabturghas in this realm, although there are a few slaves the Mongols have brought from the *uluses* of the qa'an, Qaidu, and Toqtai.

There have been many officers from the Sönit nation. During Genghis Khan's time, there was Chormaqan,[4] his *qorchi*, and after Genghis Khan's death when Börkä, Jäbä, and Sübätäi came to Iran and returned via the Temür Qahalqa [Iron Gates], they went to Ögödäi Qa'an's presence and made obeisance. He outfitted Chormaqan with four *tümäns* of *tamma* troops and dispatched them here. (A *tamma* troop is one singled out, detached from units of a thousand and

[1] On text p. 406 below, they are called Uqai and Güchü.

[2] Reading طايسون (Taisun) with JT_{RKA} for the طويلسون of JT_K. The Chinese transcription of his name is 帶孫 Tai-sun (*Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395). See text p. 333 below.

[3] JT_K has قرقين; JT_{RKA} has قبترون with a variant of قبترقس (Qabturqas) in MSS ت, ث, ج, and چ. This is the Qabturghas clan of the *Secret History* §47; they share a common ancestor with the Sönid.

[4] This name is spelled variously in the text and other sources (Chormaqan ~ Chormaghan ~ Chormaghun, &c.). We will opt for the spelling in the *Secret History* §270, Chormaqan.

a hundred, and sent to a region where they are stationed.) Several great *hazara* and *tümän* commanders came with him, but since they were of other lines of descent, they will be mentioned under those branches; however, since this officer's story is exceptional we will give it in detail where he is mentioned.

A *tümän* commander of this army was Baiju Noyan of the Besüt tribe, a relative of Jäbä's. When Chormaqan died, the qa'an appointed Baiju in his stead. [M152] When Hülägü Khan arrived in this land, Baiju Noyan made valiant efforts in the taking of Baghdad, for which he was promoted to the rank of *tümän* commander. After his death his son Adak was awarded his father's *tümän*, **[55]** and when Adak died, Arghun Khan awarded some of his *tümän* to Qayatai Boralghi and some to Ghazan of the Jalayir tribe, Eshik Tughli's elder brother. After them, Gaikhatu gave it to Ghinabeg, the brother of the aforementioned Ghazan. When he colluded with Sögä, the Padishah of Islam had him executed and gave the army to Adak's son Sülämish. When he rebelled he was executed,[1] and his *hazara* was transferred to Toqachar and others.

Another *tümän* commander was Yäkä Yisa'ur of the Qorolas tribe. During Genghis Khan's time he was a very important commander and maintained *naqachu'i* with him.[2] When they came to this realm he retained his *tümän* for a long time, and after him his son Jocha Noyan took his place. Jocha Noyan's sons were Tona and Mulaghar, both of whom were commanders of *hazaras*; and Tona's sons were Turatu Gürägän, Barula, and Qurumshi. [M154] They were executed because they rebelled with the officers after Arghun Khan's time.

Another *tümän* commander was Malikshah, to whom was given a company made up of Uyghurs, Qarluqs, Turcomans, Kashgharis, and men from Kucha. When he died his position was given to his son Hinduchaq. He killed the malik of Qum without provocation, and for that reason Amir Arghun had him executed at the gates of Tus by order of Mänggü Qa'an, and his tents were divided among the *urughs* of Genghis Khan's four sons. His brother, Salar Beg, was assigned to his position. When Ket Buqa was killed in battle in Egypt, Salar Beg was with him. He fled and returned. Hülägü Khan indicted him for this and had him executed. His *hazaras* were transferred to other commanders. Presently one of those *hazaras* is under the command of Olda'ar.

Of the *hazara* commanders who came with Chormaqan and are still known is the father of Qara Sudar Sarichi, who was a *hazara* commander in Anatolia. Another is Ming Igätmish, whose son was Ali Bakhshi, and he was assigned a *hazara* of Uyghurs. Another was Äskä Noyan, **[56]** after whose death his relative Chorma Noyan took his place, and his sons are Kältäi and Toghan. Another was the senior Chaghatai Qorchi of the Arulat tribe, a relative of Borghochin Noyan; he was stabbed by miscreants. [M156] His sons were Toladai Yarghuchi, Bai Temür, Qara Bulaghan, and Sartaqtai. Toladai's son was Ashiq Temür, and Bai Temür's son was Tuq-Temür. The abovementioned Qara Bulaghan was a *hazara* commander and a *yarghuchi*. Sartaqtai was captured by the Egyptians during Tödö'än and Tuqu's battle in Anatolia and taken [to Egypt].

Another officer was the junior Chaghatai. When [Genghis Khan's son] Chaghatai was

[1] For the execution of Sülämish, see text p. 938.

[2] Reading ناقچرنی *naqachu'i* for the text's یاقچرنی. *Naqachu* is the Mongolian word for maternal uncle, and the Mongolo-Persian compound *naqachu'i* means an avuncular relationship. Genghis Khan's mother was of the Qorolas. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:516 §383.

no longer living, his name became taboo, and thereafter [this one] was called Sönitäi because he was of the Sönit nation. In the beginning he was a *hazara* commander. When Taghachar's father, Qutu Buqa, died, his position was given to Sönitäi. His sons were Elchin Bahadur and Taghai. Elchin's sons were Boralghi and Tai Buqa. Boralghi's sons were Jibrail and Mikail. When Sönitäi died his post was given to Hulqutu Qorchi of the Mangqut tribe, the uncle of Qutlughshah Noyan. In Arghun Khan's time it was given to Taghachar, and the Padishah of Islam gave it to Olda'ar.

There were many other commanders from the Sönit nation. For instance, during Genghis Khan's time there was an officer named Temür who had a brother named El Temür who was a *ba'urchi* [M158] in the *ordu* of Genghis Khan's chief wife, the mother of the four sons, Börtä Füjin. He was commander of a company of a hundred in her personal thousand. Also during his time there was a commander of the right wing named Ögäläi Chärbi and one of the left wing named Tämüdär Noyan, Genghis Khan's *qorchi*. He had an extremely tall and graceful son who, during Mänggü Qa'an's time, was called Mubarak Qorchi because there was a bit of weakness and languor in his nature. Angachin and Buqadai Aqtachi were relatives of Tämüdär Noyan's. The Elügän Jasavul who was in Abaqa Khan's time was of the Sönit nation. This is all that is presently known. **[57]**

The Tatar Nation

Their name has been famous throughout the world since ancient times. Many lines of them have branched out, and the total of this nation was seventy thousand households. Their dwelling place and *yurts*, separate tribe by tribe and branch by branch, were well delineated and near the territories of Cathay. The *yurt* for which they were especially known was a place called Bu'ir Na'ur.[1] At most times they have been in obedience and paid tribute to the rulers of Cathay, although they have rebelled in every age, and rulers of Cathay have mounted armies against them to bring them back into submission. They have also disputed [M160] and quarrelled with each other, and there was war among these tribes for many long years. *At the time the Tatars were allied with the Dörbän, Salji'ut, and Qataqin, they all dwelt below certain rivers that become the Angara when they join. The Angara is an extremely large river, and a tribe of Mongols called Usutu Mangqun live there. That area presently belongs to them. The river is near a city called ...qas. Where this river and the Käm[2] river join is part of Qirqiz territory. It is reported that this river goes to a province near which is a sea of silver. The name of that territory is Alaqchin Adutan Mänggü Bala'urnan. All their horses are said to be *ala* [dappled]. Every horse is as *bakhta* as a four-year-old camel.[3] All their implements and vessels are of silver. There are many birds there. Sorghaqtani Beki sent three commanders there, Tongqaliq of the Güchügür clan, Bäkchü of the Qaratut, and Mungqur of the ___ clan, with a thousand men in a ship. They brought much silver back to the shore, but they couldn't put it in the ship. Not more than three hundred men of that troop returned: the rest perished from the putrid air and excessive dampness. All three commanders came back safely and lived long.*[4]

They are especially known for wielding

[1]For the Bu'ir Na'ur, see trs. p. 23, note 10.

[2]See note to text p. 109 below.

[3]If *bakhta* is Persian, it means "with a fat tail," like sheep. Camels, of course, do not have fat tails at any age. Perhaps the meaning is "bushy-tailed" or "sturdy." Khetagurov (JT_{SL} 1/1:102) translates as "strong" (сильная).

[4]Section marked *...* taken from JT_{RKA}; not in JT_K.

knives, and at the slightest provocation they stab each other and use their swords without remorse, like the Kurds, Shul,[1] and Franks. The law that exists among the Mongols now did not exist in their time, and vengeance, wrath, and envy were dominant in their natures.

With their great numbers, if they had agreed with one another and not fought, neither the Cathaians nor any other creature could have withstood them, and even though there was constant enmity and rancor among them, in ancient times they were usually dominant over most nations of the region. Because of the glory, might, and respect they commanded, other types of Turks, [M162] in all their variety and names, made themselves known by their name, and all were called Tatar. Indeed they considered it an honor to call themselves Tatar, just as at present, because of the great fortune of Genghis Khan and his *urugh*, because they are Mongols, other tribes of Turks like the Jalayir, Tatar, Oyirat, Öng'üt, Kerayit, **[58]** Naiman, Tangqut, &c., each of which has its own special name and sobriquet, all are proud to call themselves Mongol. Whereas before they used to deride this name, now their sons imagine that they have been known as Mongols from long ago, although it is not so. In ancient times, the Mongols were but one of all the tribes of nomadic Turks, but divine favor shone upon them, meaning that Genghis Khan and his *urugh* were to be of the Mongol race and many branches of them would come into existence. Particularly from the time of Alan Qo'a on, which has been three hundred years more or less, many branches have appeared that are called the Niru'un clans, and they have acquired prominence and glory. They have all become known as the Mongol nation. At that time the other tribes were not called Mongol, but since they were close to one another in terms of shape, form, vocabulary, dialect, customs and manners, regardless of the difference in dialect and customs that had existed in ancient times, now it has come about that peoples of Cathay, Jurcha, Nankiyas, Uyghur, Qipchaq, Turcoman, Qarluq, Qalach, and all the prisoners and Tajik races that have been brought up among the Mongols [M164] are also called Mongols. All that assemblage takes pride in calling itself Mongol. Prior to this, because of the strength and glory of the Tatars, the same thing happened, and that is why all Turkic peoples are still called "Tatar" in the realms of Cathay, Hindustan, Chin and Machin, the lands of the Qirqiz, Kilar-Bashghurd, the Qipchaq Steppe, the territories of the north, the Arab peoples, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa.

The tribes of the Tatar are well known and famous there, and each separately had an army and a ruler.

They consist of six tribes, as follows: Tutuqli'ut Tatar, Alchi Tatar, Chaghan Tatar, Küyin Tatar, Nira'ut Tatar, and Buruqui Tatar.[2]

The Tutuqli'ut tribe is the most important of the Tatar tribes. **[59]** It is customary for every male of this tribe to be called Tutuqlitai, and for every female to be called Tutuqlijin. Among the Alchi Tatar [they are called] Alchitai and Al[chi]jin. Among

[1]The Shul are the inhabitants of Shulistan, a region always mentioned in conjunction with either Kurdistan or Luristan. It is the present-day Mamasani in Iran. See text pp. 367 and 729.

[2]The Tutuqli'ut are probably the Duta'ud Tatar of the *Secret History* §153. The Alchi (JT_K has Anchi) occur as such in the *Secret History* §153; the Chaghan are the Chahan and Cha'a'an (§153); the Küyin are the Jüyin (§53); and the text's برقوی Buruqui (which should probably be بیرقوت Buiruqut) are the Ayiri'ud Buiru'ud Tatar (§53). There is no trace of the "Nira'ut" in the *Secret History*, but with a slight emendation to the text, نرایت (Nira'ut) could easily be ایرایت, (Ayira'ut) for the *Secret History*'s Ayiri'ud.

the Küyin [they are called] Küyitäi and Küyijin. Among the Nira'ut [they are called] Niratai and Nirajin.

Although these tribes had often fought with each other and were constantly killing, plundering, and pillaging one another, it so happened that war broke out between them and the Mongol tribes. [M166] Then they united [because] there was an old blood feud between the [two groups]. The reason for it is as follows. During Qabul Khan's time, the khan of the cream of the Mongols from whose family come most of the Qiyat clans, and the Niru'un Mongol clans, the Niru'un Mongols, his collaterals, and the other branches of the Mongols, who prior to him each had its own special name and epithet, were all uncles and forebears of his. They all united to help him in the name of kinship and friendship during his difficulties. It happened that Sayin Tekin, a brother of Qo'a [Qul]qu of the Qunqirat clan, Qabul Khan's wife, was ill, and a shaman from the Tatar nation named Jorqul Bödöi was summoned to treat him. He came and treated him, but Sayin Tekin died. The [Qungirat] roughed up the shaman and sent him home. After that, Sayin Tekin's elder and younger brothers went and killed the shaman Jorqul. Therefore a feud arose between the Tatar nation and them. By virtue of being blood brothers and allies to Sayin Tekin, it was necessary for Qabul Khan's sons to assist his clans. That is why dispute and war broke out between them. Many times battles were fought, and every time any on either side had a chance they killed and pillaged each other. This feud lasted many years. Once, in the beginning, the Tatar captured Hambaqai Khan, one of the rulers and chiefs of the Tayichi'ut clans, the families of which were collaterals [M168] and therefore related to Qabul Khan, as was stated in that section. They sent Hambaqai Qa'an to the king of Cathay, the Altan Khan, since they knew that he had been offended by and harbored an old hatred of Qabul Khan because he had killed the Altan Khan's emissaries and liege men, as will be told, **[60]** and because of the attacks made by him and the Mongols, who were relatives of his and united with him, while the Tatars were obedient followers [of the Altan Khan]. They also undertook this audacious act because of the old hatred and enmity they had for him. [When] the king of Cathay ordered Hambaqai Khan to be nailed to a wooden donkey with iron spikes, he said, "Others captured me. It is not appropriate or right for you, and it is unchivalrous, to commit such a heinous act against me. The Mongol tribes, all of which are related to me, will rise up in revenge, and your kingdom will suffer thereby." The Altan Khan paid no attention and had Hambaqai Khan nailed to the wooden donkey and killed. He gave one of Hambaqai Khan's liege men named Bolghajai leave to go and take the bad news to the Mongol nation. After that, [M170] Qutula Khan took to war an army of Mongols against the king of Cathay and plundered the country. This story will be told in the section on Qabul Khan.

Another time the Tatars captured Ökin Barqaq, Qabul Khan's eldest son and ancestor of the Qiyat clans, and sent him to the Altan Khan, who had him killed too by being nailed to a wooden donkey. Until the time of Genghis Khan [these nations] were perpetually at war with each other, and on both sides they attacked, killed, and pillaged each other. Finally, as will be told in the section on Genghis Khan and his family, he fed all the Tatar tribes and the kings of Cathay to the sword, rendered them all low, took them captive, and brought the entire territory under his command, as can be seen today. Some of the battles every Mongol ruler fought with the chieftains and rulers of the Tatar will be mentioned.

One was as follows. There was a ruler of

the Tatar named Mataz who did battle with Qabul Khan's son Qada'an Bahadur. [M172] In the initial clash Qada'an Bahadur struck him and his horse with his lance so hard that they were both felled. **[61]** Wounded as badly as he was, he nonetheless did not die but was laid up for a long time. When he recovered he went back out to do battle, and this time Qada'an Bahadur struck him in the back with his lance with such force that it went right through his spine. He died on the spot, and his soldiers were put to plunder. This story will be given in the section on Qabul Khan and his sons.[1]

Another was as follows. In Genghis Khan's time, although he had engaged in battles with the Tatars before, he once had the opportunity to overwhelm them, kill many of them, and pillage the lot. This came about as follows. One of the Tatar clans, whose leader and chief was Mä'üjin Sä['ü]ltü,[2] had done rebellious battle with the Altan Khan, the king of Cathay. The king of Cathay mounted his army, put his great officer Chingsang at the head, and sent them off to war. Since [the Tatars] did not have the power to resist, they took fright and withdrew in rout. Genghis Khan learned of this, mounted immediately along with the soldiers who were around him, and attacked them, killing many and plundering everything they had. It is well known that among the trophies taken in that battle were a silver cradle, a brocade quilt, and other fine items. In those days the Tatars were the wealthiest of the nomads. [M174] After that, Mä'üjin Sä'ültü's son Olan Udur and his brother Qutuqtu Taishi joined forces with every group of the Mongol tribes and others and fought Genghis Khan, as will come in the history of Genghis Khan.

When God made Genghis Khan strong and vanquished every enemy he had—like the Qataqin, Salji'ut, Tayichi'ut, and Dörbän clans, Ong Khan the ruler of the Kerayit, Tayang Khan, Güshlüg Khan the ruler of the Naiman, Toqto'a Beki the ruler of the Märkit, and others who were inimical to him—the main Tatars, who had constantly assisted these tribes, were powerless. Because they were murderers and enemies of Genghis Khan and his forefathers, **[62]** he ordered that they be massacred and not one be left alive. He even issued a decree that women and children be killed and pregnant women's bellies slit open so that they would be reduced to naught, being as they were the cause of turmoil and strife. Of the clans and tribes of Genghis Khan's own relatives many were killed, and no one dared to protect them or hide them so that later one who had not been found might emerge and gain a reputation.

Nonetheless, at the beginning of Genghis Khan's rule, and thereafter also, all the Mongol and non-Mongol tribes intermarried with the Tatars. [M176] Genghis Khan also took girls from them. Of his wives, Yesülün and Yesügän were Tatars. Genghis Khan's elder brother, Jochi Qasar, had also married from among them, as had many of the commanders. Therefore, secretly some children of the Tatar women were hidden.

Genghis Khan turned over a thousand Tatars for Jochi Qasar to kill. To please his wife, who interceded on their behalf, he killed five hundred of them and hid the other five hundred. Later, when Genghis Khan found out about this, he was angry with Jochi Qasar and said, "This is one of Jochi Qasar's offenses"—he had already committed several offenses, as will be told in his history.

In short, after Genghis Khan's wrath at the Tatar nation and his annihilation of

[1] See below, text p. 193.

[2] The Megüjin Se'ültü of the *Secret History* (§132–34).

them, only a few remained in scattered corners for one reason or another, and the children who had been hidden were brought up in the camps and tents of the commanders and their Tatar wives. Children were also born of the few pregnant women who had not been killed, and those Tatars who are alive today are descended from them. Of that group there have been, both in Genghis Khan's time and later, great and important commanders and camp stewards, serving as *ötägü boghols*. From then on, down to the present, there have been great commanders in every *ordu* and every *ulus*, and once again they intermarry with Genghis Khan's family. There are in every *ulus* many of that tribe who did not become commanders and were attached to regiments. **[63, M178]** Each of them knows to what branch of the Tatar he belongs.

One of the Tatar children who gained importance and became an officer in Genghis Khan's time and who was raised by him and his wives was Qutuqu Noyan, who is also called Shigi Qutuqu. His story is as follows. When the Tatar nation was plundered, Genghis Khan as yet had no children, and his chief wife, Börtä Füjin, wanted a child. Once Genghis Khan saw a child by the roadside. He picked it up and sent it to Börtä Füjin with a message saying, "Since you are always wishing for a child, adopt this one and raise it." The lady brought him up with no less honor than had he been her own, and when he was grown he was called Shigi Qutuqu and Qutuqu Noyan, but he used to call Genghis Khan "*echigä*," meaning father, and Börtä Füjin "*berigän ekä*." They say that when Börtä Füjin died he put his hand on her grave and cried out, "O my *sayin ekä* [good mother]!" and mourned for her in this manner. He survived Genghis Khan. Ögödäi Qa'an called him *aqa* [elder brother], and he used to sit above Mänggü Qa'an with [Ögödäi's] sons. He was an attendant on Tolui Khan's and Sorqaghtani's sons.[1] [M180] He died during Ariq Bökä's rebellion. Among his sons are ___ in service to the qa'an, appointed as ___.

Qutuqu Noyan lived to the age of eighty-two. He conducted very proper trials and treated the accused fairly and sympathetically. He often would say that one should not confess out of fear. "Do not be afraid," he used to say, "and speak the truth." It is well known among *yarghuchis* that from that time until the present in the province of Mongolia and that area they conduct inquiries upon the principles laid down by him. There were many reasons for his greatness, and some have been committed to writing. Of two reports made by trustworthy narrators, one is as follows.

At the age of fifteen, when Genghis Khan's *ordus* **[64]** were moving during the winter, and it was very cold and there was a lot of snow, Güchügür Noyan of the Besüt tribe had been put in charge of the camps. Suddenly a herd of antelope appeared beside the road, running across the snow. Qutuqu said to Güchügür Noyan, "I am going to chase these antelopes. There is so much snow they won't be able to run, and I'll catch them."

"All right," said Güchügür as Qutuqu chased off after the antelopes.

That night, when the camps stopped, Genghis Khan was looking for Qutuqu, who had not returned. When he asked Güchügür about him, he said, "He went off after some antelopes." [M182]

Genghis Khan got furious and said, "That child will die in the snow and cold." And

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[1] Sorqaghtani Beki's name is spelled—and misspelled—in so many various ways throughout the text and in other sources (Sorqoqtani, Soyurghaqteni, &c.) that a standard has to be adopted. We opt for the spelling from the *Secret History* (§186). Carpini (p. 86) calls her Seroctan: "*Huius Mengu mater Seroctan est.*" Pelliot ("Le vrai nom," 53) suggests an original Sorghaqtani-bägi > Sorghoqtani-bägi.

he struck Güchügür with a cart stick.

When Qutuqu arrived late that night Genghis Khan asked, "What have you been doing?"

"Out of thirty antelopes," he said, "not more than three got away. I hit the rest and brought them down in the snow."

Genghis Khan was amazed by the child's bravery and sent Güchügür Noyan and a troop of horsemen to recover the antelopes. Thereafter Qutuqu gained a favored place in his heart.

The second story is as follows. Before the last episode, one day when Qutuqu was twelve years old, Genghis Khan was out riding and there were no men in the tent. A rider from the enemy Tayichi'ut was passing by. Genghis Khan's youngest son, Tolui, was five years old, and he was running around playing outside the tent. From his saddle the Tayichi'ut snatched him up to carry him away with his head under his arm. Tolui's mother came out and grabbed the kidnapper by one arm. Qutuqu came and grabbed the other arm, but the kidnapper held the prince's head so tightly they could not get him out of the kidnapper's grasp. Beki Baraq, [M184] who was tending sheep, leapt up, attacked the kidnapper, and got the prince out of the man's arms. Genghis Khan arrived, went out in pursuit of the kidnapper, and killed him. He was greatly pleased by Qutuqu's courageous battle and struggle with the kidnapper.

Another [story is as follows]. There were two children, brothers. One was named Quli and the other Qara Mönggätü Uha,[1] and they were of the Tutuqli'ut Tatars. Since Genghis Khan's two wives he had married from the Tatar nation, Yesülün and Yesügän, were of that "bone," **[65]** they felt sorry for the two boys and asked Genghis Khan if they could have them. He gave them to them, and they were put to work as cooks in Yesülün's camp. Quli, the elder, gained importance even at that time, Genghis Khan trusted him, and he became an officer. After that he was attached to Tolui Khan's camp and was highly respected. After Tolui Khan died an officer was sought who could be in charge of Tolui Khan's son Sübügätü's camp and officers. Sorqaghtani Beki and her sons and officers chose Quli Noyan. He said to Sorqaghtani Beki, "How can you give me to such a person?" [M186]

"He is of Tolui Khan's family," she replied.

"I wanted to serve a son to whom you gave birth," he said.

The point of this story is that he enjoyed such status that he could speak this boldly in front of Tolui Khan's son Sübügätü, to whom he had been given.

Of his sons in this land were Dörbäi Noyan, the *amir-lashkar* of Diyarbekir, his son Burachu, and Burachu's son Dänggiz, a *hazara* commander.

Qara Mönggätü Uha, on the other hand, did not gain much repute during Genghis Khan's time. He had a son named Sali, who became an officer of importance during Mänggü Qa'an's time. The reason for this is as follows. There were two fortresses in Tangqut territory. One was called Tükji and the other Tuqina. Mänggü Qa'an had besieged it himself and was watching from afar to see how they fought. He saw a person with a short helmet take a lance in his hand and charge the rampart. From the other direction came a person holding a sword, charging the first. The first man did not retreat but got up on the wall, struck the swordsman with his lance, and knocked him down. When Mänggü Qa'an saw such bravery, it pleased him, and he immediately ordered the man with the short helmet summoned from the army and brought before him. When he recognized him by his

[1] JT_K has قرامنكواوهه; JT_{RKA} has قرامنكتراوهه (Qara Mönggätü Uha).

helmet and asked him questions, the man related exactly as he had witnessed, so he knew for certain that it was he. He therefore rewarded him and gave him the rank of commander, and he became an advisor of importance in his service. **[66, M188]**

Before this happened, [Mänggü Qa'an] dispatched two *tümän*s of the army to Hindustan and ordered them to remain in Qunduz, Baghlan, and the Badakhshan area. One named Mönggädü was made commander of this contingent, and when he died, it was given to one named Huqutu. He too died, and the above-mentioned Sali Noyan was sent out to be commander of the two *tümän*s in his stead. This was just about the time that Hülägü Khan was assigned to go to Iran. To Sali Noyan, Mänggü Qa'an said, "The territory where you will be is the frontier of Hindustan and Khurasan and adjacent to the territory to which Hülägü Khan is going. You will be like a branch of his army, that is, you and your men are subordinate to him, and you must obey his command."

Sali Noyan then asked, "How long will I be there?"

"You will be there for ever," he said.

Sali Noyan took his army to Hindustan and Kashmir, conquered many territories, got much plunder, and sent many Indian slaves to Hülägü Khan. Most of the Indians who are now in *enchü* villages are remnants of them.

After [Sali Noyan] died, his son Oldu Noyan was put in command of that force. Oldu's brothers [were] Ishqas, who commands the countries and military forces there, and Älkän, who is a *hazara* commander. Oldu had two sons, Begtut, the commander of the *qara'una* troop that is in Khurasan, and Dältäk, who is an attendant upon His Majesty.

In Genghis Khan's time, [M190] Yesülün Khatun said, "Quli Noyan and his brother Mönggätü Uha have grown up, are in attendance upon you, and enjoy your trust. If you so order, let their relatives and clansmen be assembled from wherever they may be." It was so ordered, and all the Tatars who were left were gathered. All those who had no relatives were attached to them. In this land are thirty households of those few dispersed Tatar they assembled. Oldu Noyan asked—and the Padishah of Islam's decree was issued **[67]**—for the old *hazara* to be reunited, and they are with him.

As has been mentioned, Yesülün Khatun and Yesügän Khatun were both Genghis Khan's wives. They had a brother named Qutuqut. He was a great officer and commanded a *hazara* in the left wing of Genghis Khan's army.[1] Joma Gü[rä]gän,[2] who was in this land, and Nuqdan,[3] Abaqa Khan's first wife and the mother of Gaikhatu, were Qutuqut's cousins.

Genghis Khan had a concubine whose name is not known, but she was the mother of his youngest son, [Or]chaghan, who died young.

Of the Chaghan Tatar tribe in this land are Gäräi and his brother [M192] Doladai, Muhammad, Jandan, and their sons. Gür Buqa Bahadur, who leads the troop on the frontier of Khartbirt[4] and Malatya, is also of this tribe.

Of the Küyin Tatar is the Samaghar Noyan who was Hülägü Khan's *aqtachi*; during Abaqa Khan's time he was a grand and important officer.[5] Toghan, Mulai, and Buqa Qorchi's father Küyitäi were of this

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[1]For Yäkä Qutuqut Noyan see text p. 404 below.

[2]Name highly uncertain. JT_K has جون; JT_{RKA} has جورمه. JT_{RKA}'s MS ت has جوما (Joma), as on text p. 683 below.

[3]Reading, with JT_{RKA}, نوقدان for JT_K's توقدان; on p. 683 below and thereafter the name is also نوقدان (Nuqdan), although many variants occur.

[4]Khartbirt, or Khartpert, is the modern Harput in Turkey.

[5]For Samaghar Noyan see text pp. 732 and 742–45 below.

tribe.

Of the Nira'ut Tatar tribe there is no one known to be of consequence. However, in Jochi Khan's *ulus* there are many soldiers [of this tribe], but since they are not well known or of importance, no further research has been made.

Of the Alchi Tatar there is no one in this land known to be of enough consequence to write about. However, in Jochi Khan's *ulus*, the chief wife of Jochi Khan's son Batu, Boraqchin, was of the Alchi Tatar. Törä Qutluq, the wife of Tödä Mänggü, the ruler of that *ulus*, was also of that tribe.

Of Batu's officers there was one named Et Qara, a great commander who was of this tribe.

Among the officers of Mänggü Temür, the ruler of that *ulus*, is Beg Temür, a great commander who was also of that tribe. [M194] It has not been ascertained from which clan these Tatar commanders are descended. **[68]**

There was Yesün-To'a Akhtachi, the commander of the *akhtachis*. He commanded four of Genghis Khan's *gäzigs* and the elite hundred of Genghis Khan's *hazara* and was attached to Börtä Füjin's great *ordu*.[1] He had a son named Bekdash, whom Qubilai Qa'an sent as an emissary to Hülägü Khan.

[Now] will be written one by one stories attributed to some of the officers and ladies and grandees of the Tatar tribes, which have been ascertained from everyone and gleaned from every book.

It is related that when Qoridai Bayir and Kamus Sijang[2] of the Alchi Tatars both went to war with Sariq Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit, Qoridai Bayir rode forward. Kamus Sijang said to him, "You are riding forward, but actually in stationing the *qaravul* and the *yasavul* and reconnoitering you will be committing a fault. It would be better for me to go forward."

Qoridai said, "*Tänüktü[i]!*[3] Just because you were the son and brother of the *khalaf* [favorite son], you want to usurp the ways of past fathers and forefathers. It would be better for you to go alone, raid whatever you want, and return with the army."

Kamus Sijang replied, [M196] "I would not be able to raid without you," and moved his men off. Sariq Khan had decamped and was coming. Thrice they raided him. They stationed troop after troop of soldiers to strike and were going on his heels. Finally Kamus Sijang was going on his heels with three hundred horsemen and Sariq Khan's soldiers were thinking to themselves, "This enemy army is coming without reinforcements or rear guard." They therefore attacked them valiantly, separated Kamus Sijang from the main body, and captured him. Sariq Khan asked him, "Where were you going?"

"I had heard," he replied, "that in the Burqan forest wooden branches had grown tall. I was coming to cut wood for arrows."

"It was very courageous [to come just] to cut [arrows]," said Sariq Khan as he looked at him askance.

"You cannot look at me askance," said Kamus, "for your *urugh* were also unable to look at me thus. Your origin was thus." **[69]**

Sariq Khan said, "Why do you let this 'noble' warrior talk so much? Kill him!"

"Your sword will not work on me," he replied, "without mine working on you." But at any rate they killed him, and Sariq Khan said, "Among the Alchi Tatar, who hold seventy sects, there was no man other than Kamus Sijang. Now it is time to drive them off." Then he ordered his tents

[1] For Yesün-To'a see text p. 400 below.

[2] The reading of the name سجاك (Sijang?) is uncertain. See Doerfer 3:238 §1228.

[3] *Tänüktüi*, Mongolian for "you are mistaken." See Berezin 5:243.

pitched at the Orkhon River, and he assembled his troops stealthily in the moonlight. [M198] One of his soldiers fled and took word to Qoridai Bayir.

Qoridai Bayir turned around and started moving up the Orkhon River. Moving among his [Sariq Khan's] tents, he took the same route they had taken and came upon them. Sariq Khan's soldiers looked upon them with contempt, but suddenly he attacked Sariq Khan and drove him away such that of the forty *tümäns* of soldiers he had he escaped with only forty men. All the rest were killed.

During the rout a woman, Tarbai Qayan,[1] fled with Sariq Khan and got out. At that time Chila'un was a commander.

The woman said, "We had conquered highland and lowland. If all grew few, why should we not grow few, and if all fall to pieces, why should we not fall to pieces?"

"This woman speaks the truth," said Sariq Khan. Therefore he set forth and came under the protection of Säkitäi Ötügü, Buyuruq Khan's *qorchi*. Afterwards El Qutui was born of that woman. Since he had entered the protection of that tribe, he gave his daughter to Qu[r]jaghush Buyuruq Khan. Her name was Törä Qaimish, and she was the sister of Qajir Khan.

After that, Qajir Khan and Sariq [M200] Khan formed an army together and attacked the Tatar. [Qajir Khan] conquered the Ulus Kiraichin for Sariq Khan and gave them to him. At that time Ong Khan and his mother, Elma Khatun, were captives of the Tatar. They also rescued them. A man named Eljitäi loved Elma Khatun, and since he was a pernicious person, they [i.e. Qajir Khan and Sariq Khan] gave him to them [i.e. Elma Khatun and Ong Khan] [as though he] stank.[2] **[70]**

Törä Qaimish's sons were Yulamaghus and Tai Temür Taishi. There were four others, but their names are not known.

After that, the Mongols went to Sariq Khan, who said, "Of the hundred women that I possess there is not one I really like. One has understanding, but I do not command her hands and feet. Another whose hands and feet are nice, I do not command her understanding, and there is no beauty who is servile, skilled, and possessed of understanding. Of the thousand geldings I possess there is not one I really like: either it is too tame or else it is unmanageable with flesh of yoghurt. One that is really well trained and stalwart is not firm of flesh. In great battles they say 'boo' once; after that it is put to the test whether it wins or loses.[3] It is difficult to fight a fly. When it stings, if they kill it, one must be ashamed before one's brethren; and if they do not kill it, it cannot be tolerated."

After that, Ötügü, Buyuruq Khan's *qorchi*, [M202] went to Sariq Khan to disperse those Mongols. Sariq Khan said, "We have embraced these Mongols, who are our little brothers, and taken each other by the hand: we cannot give them up."

Buyuruq Khan said, "I have breathed life back into your dead soul by means of many

[1] Tarbai Qayan per JT_{RKA}; JT_K has Tatai Qaman.

[2] A difficult sentence. The critical word, هرنککای in JT_K and سرنککای in JT_{RKA}, is taken to be *hümäkäi* (Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:541 §399) and means 'stinking.' Even so, the point seems to be missing. Pelliot (quoted in Doerfer, ibidem) translates this passage as follows: "un homme Alcitai aimait Ilma-hatun; comme il avait été un séducteur, ils [Qajir-han et Sarïq-han] le leur donnèrent („leur" = à Ong-han et à sa mère) comme un (être) puant."

[3] Berezin (5:69) translated this particularly cryptic passage as follows: Которая лошадь росла и молода—очень мясиста; которая и скучна и сильна—мяса нѣтъ. Въ большихъ сраженіяхъ однажды восклицаютъ ху, ху! а послѣ испытываютъ, побѣдить ли или быть побѣжденнымъ. Khetagurov (JT_{SL} 1/1:113) translates as follows: тот же, который хорошо выезжен и крепко сложен, —не в теле. В больших битвах один раз восклицают: «Ху! Ху!», а затем [уже] испытывается — победил ли ты, или потерпел поражение.

men, and I have caused your scattered flock to stand where flocks are caused to stand at noon"—meaning, I have trusted you and rescued you from the enemy. "But a human being is forgetful, just as the earth is ever-changing. Henceforth you and the Mongols be my friends, and you work for me." This he said and left.

After that, Sariq Khan said, "That man was not trustworthy." And he had the Mongols set out along the edge of a mountain called Dalan Taban, setting out himself via the same road and turning back at a place called Turi Taghachu.

The Mongols said to each other, "Sariq Khan has come hungry and weak." As an *örgäjüt* [auxiliary gift], they gave every one of his men ten geldings and had them dismount as guests.

Sariq Khan said, "O my little Mongol brothers, do not ever be allies to each other: be as distant as someone on the other side **[71]** of a mountain. Come be *anda* so that you may be brethren to each other.[1] [M204] My little Mongol brothers, so long as you have a crowned [ruler], do not withdraw, and do not enter crooked valleys."

The Märkit Tribe

Everyone calls them the Uduyut tribe.[2] If some of the Mongols call them Mäkrit, the two words [Mäkrit and Märkit] mean the same thing, just as the Bäkrin tribe is also called Käbrin. Their branches and lineage will now be given.

The Uduyut Märkit tribe consists of four branches: Mudan, Tudaqlin, Uhaz Mäkrit,[3] and Je'ün.

This tribe had many soldiers and was ferociously warlike and powerful. They are a type of Mongol. They fought battles with Genghis Khan and Ong Khan, and stories of them will come in the proper places.

Once they gained victory over Genghis Khan, who was in the full bloom of youth, and took him captive. (At that time it was not customary to kill captives right away; they just took something from them and let them go.) This came about as follows. [M206]

One day Genghis Khan was on his way to do something. When he came to a high hill he went up on it. Without his horse's saddle strap coming loose and without the breast band coming open, his saddle, with him in it, came off his horse's back, and he fell. Astonished by this, he said to himself, "Perhaps God does not want me to go down this road and tend to my affair." He thought about turning back, but the devil got the better of him and he went merrily along his way. Without warning, a number of Märkits loomed before him, carried him off, and kept him prisoner. After a time they sent something from Genghis Khan's home and got him back.

Another time, when mischief-makers had caused trouble between Genghis Khan and Ong Khan, **[72]** and the two of them parted from each other—the Märkit people had often been at odds with both Genghis Khan and Ong Khan before that and fought battles with them, and once Ong Khan had raided them, but when Genghis Khan and Ong Khan were at daggers drawn with each other, they were united with and friendly to Ong [Khan] and his brother Jagambu. As it

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[1] Berezin (5:70) translates as: будьте далеки отъ скрытнаго человѣка. Если же входите въ сватовство, то будьте родней одинъ другому. Khetagurov (JT_{SL} 1/1:114) translates: О, мои младшие братья-монголы, никогда не становитесь друг другу сватами и таким же образом будьте далеки от всякого, кто связан с той [чуждой вам] стороной, за исключением тех случаев, когда станете [с другими] побратимами [анда], чтобы быть вам родственниками друг друга. The variants in the texts are so massive that it is difficult to make much sense of this passage.

[2] For JT_K's اورويوت, read اودويوت (Uduyut) for the Uduyid clan of the Märkit in the *Secret History*.

[3] For JT_K's اوهر, read اوهز (Uhaz) for the Uuas of the *Secret History*.

happened, they were victorious that time and raided Genghis Khan's home and camp and carried away his chief wife, Börtä Füjin, whom they sent to Ong Khan. When Genghis Khan learned of this, he sent a trusted friend to ask Ong Khan for her to be sent back. Ong Khan had respected her chastity and sent her back in the emissary's company. Along the way Jochi Khan was born, [M208] as has been said in the section on the Jalayir.[1]

The ruler and chief of the Märkit in Genghis Khan's time was Toqto'a Beki. He had a brother named Qudu. Genghis Khan took a daughter of his, Qoruqchin by name,[2] for Qubilai Qa'an when he was thirteen years old. (Although she was the first of his wives, since she had no children her status was lower than that of the other wives.) Once Ong Khan raided Toqto'a Beki without warning. [Toqto'a Beki] had many wives, and they carried off two of them, Qutuqtai and Qiliq by name. His brother Qudu and his son Chila'un, who was born of Ong Khan's daughter, were taken captive, but they later escaped.

Orkhan was also a brother of Toqto'a Beki's.

Toqto'a Beki had six sons: Tögüz, Tusa, Qudu, Chila'un, Chibuq,[3] and Qultu[qtai] Märgän.[4] His brother was also named Qudu. Chila'un's mother was Ong Khan's daughter. [M210] His five older sons were killed. Tögüz was killed by Ong Khan; Tusa and his men were killed in an ambush by Genghis Khan; Chila'un and Chibuq were killed in battle with Genghis Khan; and Qudu went to the Qipchaq when he fled from battle, and there he was killed. [73]

They often did battle with Genghis Khan, as will be explained in the history. In the final battle Qultuq[tai] Märgän, Toqto'a Beki's youngest son who was an excellent archer, fled to the Qipchaq. Jochi Khan dispatched a troop in pursuit of him, and he was captured. Having heard of his prowess at archery, he set up a target and ordered him to shoot. He shot and then [with a second arrow] split the notch of the first arrow. Jochi Khan was delighted and sent an envoy to Genghis Khan to ask that his life be spared. Genghis Khan did not approve and said, "There is no tribe worse than the Märkit. We have fought so many battles with them and suffered untold trouble and difficulties on account of them. Why should he be left alive to cause trouble again? I have stored up all these realms, armies, and peoples for you: what need is there of him? For an enemy of the state there is no place better than the grave." Therefore Jochi Khan had him executed, [M212] and his family was wiped out.

In the end Toqto'a Beki was killed in battle.

Another officer of the Märkit peoples was Dayir Usun, the chief and leader of the Uhaz clan of the Märkit. He once submitted and gave Genghis Khan his daughter, Qulan Khatun, who gave birth to a boy named Kölgän. (Qulan's story will come in the history.) Dayir Usun rebelled again, and he was captured and plundered by Genghis Khan's soldiers, who carried off his wife Törägänä Khatun. She was given to Ögödäi Qa'an, who had four sons by her, the eldest and chief of whom was Güyük Khan, as will be related later.

Since the Märkit tribe consisted of evil, seditious men and they had fought many battles with Genghis Khan, he issued a decree that not one of them be left alive and that they should all be killed. The few who remained were either in their mothers'

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[1] See text p. 53 above.

[2] Reading, as on text p. 613 below and JT_{Bl} 243, قوروقچين (Qoruqchin) for JT_K's قوروقالجين and JT_{RKA}'s قوروقايچين.

[3] Reading چبوق (Chibuq) with JT_{RKA} for JT_K's جبوق.

[4] In the *Secret History* §157 his name is given as Qutughtai.

wombs or hidden by some of their relatives.

The ladies and officers descended from them are as follows. **[74, M214]**

Oghul Qaimish was Güyük Khan's first wife, by whom he had two sons, Khwaja and Naqu.

Qulan Khatun was Genghis Khan's wife, and by her he had a son named Kölgän.

Jamal Khwaja, Qulan Khatun's brother, commanded a company of a hundred in Genghis Khan's thousand.[1]

In Genghis Khan's final battle with Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman, Toqto'a Beki was with him and fought hard. When Tayang Khan was killed and Toqto'a and one of his sons took refuge with Buyuruq Khan of the Naiman, Genghis Khan attacked Toqto'a Beki, and he was killed in battle. His brother Qudu and his sons Chila'un, Chibuq, and Qultuqtai wanted to take his body for burial, but they did not have a chance to get it, so they took his head and left. When they reached the frontier of Uyghur territory they sent an emissary named Bögän[2] to the Idiqut, who killed the emissary. They therefore did battle with each other, and the Idiqut sent envoys to inform Genghis Khan of their whereabouts. [M216]

When the leaders of the Jä'üriyät clan submitted to Genghis Khan and then rebelled and fled, Taghai and Ulu were among their chiefs. They were attacked along the way and killed by a Märkit commander named Qodun Orchang,[3] who plundered their people. That is why the Jä'üriyät are not a numerous people.

The Kürlü'üt Tribe

This tribe [lives] near and adjacent to the Qunqirat, Eljigin, and Barghut tribes. Their brands are the same, they claim to be related, and they intermarry. **[75]** These three or four tribes never fought against Genghis Khan, and he never divided them or gave them as slaves to anyone. Because they had never opposed him, he trusted them as guards. During his time they were always allies and were in Jädäi Noyan's guard company. Even today they still serve in the companies of his sons.

During Genghis Khan's time there was an officer from the Kürlü'üt tribe named Äbügän Noyan. [M218] His son Borongtai Noyan was also an important commander in Genghis Khan's time. His son Tortaqa Noyan[4] was attached to Ariq Bökä and went around with him. Since he had not committed any great offense, Qubilai Qa'an made him a great commander and made him chief officer of the bureau of the ministry, and no officer had higher status. After that [Qubilai Qa'an] sent him against Qaidu and put him in charge of that campaign. Because he was slandered by certain people, Qubilai Qa'an summoned him to court. He took fright and fled with a few of his liege men, joining Ariq Bökä's son Yobuqur[5] and Mänggü Qa'an's grandson Ulus Buqa (the son of Zhirägi), both of whom supported Qaidu. He remained with them until Qubilai Qa'an died, and then he picked up the two above-mentioned princes and took them before Temür Qa'an. He is there now.

During Hülägü Khan's time, Qara Yurtchi,[6] the father of Mazuq, was the chief

[1] See below, text p. 400.

[2] The name Bögän is attested in the *Secret History* §202.

[3] He is mentioned in the *Secret History* variously as Qodun Orchang (§141), Hodun Orchang (§144), and Qoton Orchang (§148), but he is always styled as of the Tayichi'ud.

[4] Here the name is spelled تورتاقا (Tortaqa); on text p. 676f. below, it is دوردقه (Dordaqa).

[5] Reading يوبوقور (Yobuqur, see p. 666 below) for JT_K's بويوقور.

[6] This may be the same as the Qara Yangi mentioned on text p. 682 below.

of all the *yurtchis* and was one of the commanders who came [to Iran] with Hülägü. Mänggü Qa'an spoke to them and gave them advice. During Abaqa Khan's time there was Idur Buqa,[1] the son of Qaraki, Mazuq's elder brother; he had been a *sükürchi* for Hülägü Khan. When his father died he became the chief of the *yurtchis*. The Mazuq Noyan of the present is of his family. [M220]

Every group of this tribe had and has a special name, as follows: Jongqorqin, Oymaqut. **[76]**

Shigügäi Noyan, who was a *yarghuchi* in Hülägü Khan's time, went with Gharghai to Khurasan. He was of the Kürlü'üt tribe.

The Targhut Tribe

In this land there is a person who came from the qa'an named Tarqudai, who was of this tribe. Nothing is known of other officers who may have been; however, of the great ladies, Bartan Bahadur's chief wife, the mother of four sons, was of this "bone," and her name was Sünigil Füjin.[2]

The Oyirat Tribe[3]

This tribe has been numerous since ancient times. It is divided into several branches, and each has a separate name, as follows: [missing]

The *yurt* and dwelling place of these Oyirat tribes were at the Sekiz Müräń [Eight Rivers]. The Tumat tribe anciently used to dwell at these rivers. The rivers emerge from that place and all join together to form a river called the Käm. It then flows into the Anqara Müräń. The names of these rivers are as follows: Kökä Müran, On Müräń, Qara Usun, Yabai Usun, Uqut Müräń, Uq Müräń,[4] Jürchä Müräń, and Chaghan Müräń.[5] [M222]

Although their language is Mongolian, it differs slightly from that of the other Mongol peoples. For example, the others call a knife *kituqa*, but they call it *madagha*. There are many such words. **[77]**

They have always had a ruler and leader. In Genghis Khan's time, although they were [initially] opposed, they submitted in the best fashion and were obedient, as will be narrated in the history. Genghis Khan formed alliances with them by intermarriage, and he maintained *anda-quda* relations with them. At that time their chief was Qutuqa Beki. He had two sons, Inalchi and Törälchi, and a daughter named Oghul Qoymish, whom Mänggü Qa'an married. (Genghis Khan had previously entertained the notion of marrying her himself, but it did not happen.) They say that although she was Qubilai Qa'an's and Hülägü Khan's *berigän*, she addressed them as "son," and they held her in great esteem.

Genghis Khan gave his own daughter Chächäyigän to Törälchi Gürägän, and she bore him three sons. One was named Buqa Temür, and the second was Börtö'ä, in whose constitution there was a weakness for which he was known. The third was Bars Buqa.

Also by [Törälchi Gürägän] were two daughters. The first was Elchiqmish Khatun,[6] who was married to Ariq Bökä and

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[1] In JT_K, ايدوريوقا; in JT_{RKA}, اندوزيوقا .

[2] Cf. text p. 81 below, where she is said to be of the Barghut tribe. The confusion between Targhut (ترغوت) and Barghut (برغوت) is due to their great similarity in the Arabic script.

[3] The Oyirat name occurs also, particularly in later times, as Oyrat.

[4] The name of this river must be the one encountered on eighteenth-century maps as "Ouk," "Uk," and "Uhk." See Hambis, "Notes sur Käm," p. 285f.

[5] Of these names, Kökä Müräń ('Blue River'), On Müräń ('Ten Rivers'), Qara Usun ('Black Water'), Jürchä Müräń ('Jurchid River'), and Chaghan Müräń ('White River') seem reasonable. For JT_K's يبى اوسون (Yabai Usun?), JT_{RKA} has سنبى تون; for JT_K's اقوت (Uqut?), JT_{RKA} has اترى; Khetagurov (JT_{SL}1/1:118) reads these as Санби-тун and Укри. Needless to say, they do not correspond to anything known today.

[6] Reading ايلجيقميش (Elchiqmish, as the name ap-

became his chief wife. [M224] He loved her very much. She was very tall, but she had no children. The other was Orghina Khatun, whom Chaghatai loved very much and called Orghina Bäri *(bäri* meaning daughter-in-law).[1] She ruled the Ulus Chaghatai for a long time.

The three sons [of Chächäyigän and Törälchi Gürägän] mentioned above had sons as follows.

The sons of Buqa Temür. He had a son named Chupan,[2] who was married to Ariq Bökä's daughter Nomoghan. He also had two daughters. One was Öljä[i] Khatun, Hülägü Khan's wife. The name of the other is not known, but she was married to To-[qo]qan of Batu's offspring,[3] and Mänggü Temür was born of her. **[78]**

The sons of Börtö'ä. He had two sons, Uluq and [M226] Rachin.[4] Both were with Qubilai Qa'an. Genghis Khan gave a daughter of his own *urugh* to this Börtö'ä; her name and lineage are not known, but she was a ....[5]

The sons of Bars Buqa. He had two sons, Shirab and Beglämish. Both were with Qubilai Qa'an and attended him.

According to another report, Buqa Temür had four sisters, (1) Güyük, who was Hülägü Khan's wife and mother of Jumghur; (2) [O]rghina Khatun, who was the mother of Mubarakshah; (3) the mother of Mänggü Temür, the ruler of the Ulus Batu; and (4) Öljä[i], the wife of Hülägü Khan. This version is correct.[6]

The story of Qutuqa Beki's second son, the above-mentioned Inalchi, is as follows. Batu gave him one of his sisters named Qului Egächi, and she bore him a son named Buduz. Buduz had two sons, Negütäi and Aqu Temür. They are both in the Ulus Qonchi and command four *hazaras* of Jalayir troops.

Among the *gürägän* commanders who are related to the chief of the Oyirat tribe, Qutuqa Beki, one was the Tänggiz Gürägän to whom Güyük Khan gave a daughter, and he served as a son-in-law. When Güyük Khan died and Mängü Qa'an became ruler, Güyük Khan's family and some officers plotted a mutiny, but he had the officers executed. Tänggiz Gürägän was also accused, and he was so beaten that the flesh fell from his thighs. After that, the girl who was his wife asked for his life to be spared, and he was spared for her sake. **[79]** The Qutlugh[7] Khatun who was Arghun Khan's chief wife [M228] was Tänggiz Gürägän's daughter by this lady.

[One of] Tänggiz Gürägän's sons was Sülämish. Sülämish's son was Chechäk Gürägän. Hülägü Khan's daughter Tödögäch, who was married to Tänggiz Gürägän, is at this time married to his grandson Chechäk Gürägän, and they have had children.

Taraqai Gürägän was the son of Jaqir Gürägän.[8] Jaqir Gürägän was the son of

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pears below on text p. 666, and in JT_{RKA}) for JT_K's ايلجقيش.

[1]Orghina Khatun's name is spelled variously اورتنه and اورغينه. The name is sometimes written Orghana.

[2]Reaing چرين (Chupan) for the text's جوتن. See text p. 667 below.

[3]On p. 514 below she is called Küchü Khatun.

[4]"Rachin" is fairly unlikely; JT_{RKA} has *RAHY^N* with no helpful variants.

[5]JT_K has يكانه *(yagána)*, which makes little sense here. Berezin's text (5:81) has اولكان, which he takes to be from the Mongolian ᠥᠯᠭᠡᠢ *ölgäi* and translates as 'highness' (свѣтлѣйшая), which makes at least some sense in the context. JT_{RKA} substitutes "and so he became a *gürägän*."

[6]This version agrees with the later report (text p. 679) that Hülägü married both Güyük Khatun, the daughter of Törälchi Gürägän of the Oyirat and Genghis Khan's daughter Chächäyigän, and her half sister Öljäi Khatun, Törälchi's daughter by a different wife.

[7]Read قوتلوق (Qutluq ~ Qutlugh) for the text's قويلون. See text p. 806 below.

[8]Here spelled جاقير (Jaqir); on text p. 683 below it is spelled جاقر (Jaqu).

Buqa Temür, and he and his son Taraqai Gürägän were commanders of the Oriyat *hazara*. Taraqai was first married to Hülägü Khan's daughter Mänggügän.[1] When she died he took in her place Mänggü Temür's daughter Ara Qutluq. He fled from Diyarbekir with his troop and went to Syria. There his troop was taken from him and dispersed.

Tolun Khatun, the chief wife of Hülägü Khan's [second] eldest son, Jumghur, was also a daughter of Buqa Temür and sister to Jaqir Gürägän. She had a daughter named Orghudaq, who was married to Shadi, son of Su'unchaq Aqa. Now ___[2] and her sister Gunjishk, the wife of the Padishah of Islam, are daughters of that Orghudaq. She had another daughter named Injitai who was the wife of Mänggü Temür, and by her he had two daughters, one of whom was the abovementioned Ara Qutluq. After Mänggü Temür, his son Anbarchi married her and had by her a daughter, Qutuqtai, who was married to Arab son of Samaghar.

There have been and are many commanders from the Oyirat clans in Iran and Turan, but it is not known from which clan each of them hails, although amongst themselves they know their origin and lineage. Among them is Amir Arghun Aqa, although he was not originally given much importance. [M230] They say that during Ögödäi Qa'an's time, in a year of famine and want [Amir Arghun's] father sold him for a flank of beef to a commander of the Jalayir, Ilügä Qada'an by name. That officer had served as Ögödäi Qa'an's *atabeg*, and when he enrolled his son as a *käbtä'ül* [night watchman] in Ögödäi Qa'an's guard, he sent Arghun Agha along with him. Since he was a talented and competent man, he gradually rose to prominence [80] until he attained the rank of governor and *basqaq* of the land of Iran. His sons, like Gäräi Malik, Tatarji, Nawroz, Lagzi, Hajji, Yol Qutluq, Bulduq, and Oyiratai, and his grandsons Küräk, & al. are numerous. He also had many daughters, and some of them were married to rulers and commanders. His sons Nawroz and Lagzi married daughters of the imperial family and became sons-in-law.[3]

El Sükürchi and his son Toghan are also of the Oyirat tribe.

In the final battle when Toqto'a Beki was killed, he did not do battle with Genghis Khan's troops but submitted. He led them against Toqto'a Beki and raided him, during which fray he was killed. [M232]

The Barghut, Qori, and Töläs Tribes, and the Tumat Tribe that has branched off from them

These tribes are near each other, and they are called Barghut because their dwelling place is the other side of the Selenga, the last places and lands that the Mongols inhabit. It is called Barghujin Tögüm. Many other tribes, like the Oyirat, Bulaghachin, and Kärämüchin, used to dwell in that region. Another tribe called the Hoyin Uriangqa, were also near that area. Each one separately had a leader and chief. Genghis Khan conquered them all, as will be narrated in the history.

Of this Barghut tribe in this land was Jochighan, Arghun Khan's *atabeg*, and his wife Bulughan and his sons Tartai and Boralghi Kükältash. [M234] Boralghi's son Satalmish was formerly an important commander in the time of the Padishah of Islam. He married Mänggü Temür's daughter Kürdüchin, who was formerly married to the sultan of Kirman, Soyurghatmish. His sons Tartai, Qutluq Temür, Esän

[1] Here her name is given as منككوبوكان; on text p. 683 it is Mänggügän.

[2] The name is given here as جبش; on text p. 680 it is جبش, but it is said to be a son.

[3] See text pp. 684 and 740.

Temür, Bulan, and Hulqun are commanders of *hazaras*. Qutluq Temür's son Taghai, who at present is married to Kürdüchin, the [former] wife of Satalmish, has sons who are Temür and Muhammad. **[81]**

Long ago the Barghut killed Jädäi Noyan's father because he supported Genghis Khan. They wanted to kill Jädäi Noyan too, who was a nursing infant. Relatives of his mother's hid him among their tribe, raised him, and entrusted him [to] Genghis Khan. Until now they claim to be relatives and friends and have all sorts of established rights.

The Barghut tribe was and is friendly to the Eljigin clan also. Although they are not related by blood, they claim kinship and friendship and therefore intermarry.

Ariq Bökä had a concubine who gave birth to Naira'u Buqa. [M236] She was of the Töläs clan, which is a branch of the Barghut. Bartan Bahadur's chief wife, the mother of his children named Sünigil Füjin, was also of the Barghut tribe.[1]

The Tumat Tribe

This tribe's dwelling place was near Barqujin Tögüm. They too were related to and a branch of the Barghut. They dwelt on the frontier of Qirqiz territory, and they were a very pugnacious tribe and army. Their chief, Taitu'ul Soqar,[2] came to Genghis Khan and submitted. When Genghis Khan was occupied with the conquest of the land of Cathay, he remained there for six years. When he returned he heard that the Tumat had rebelled again. He ordered Nayagha Noyan of the Ba'arin clan to go. He was told that he was ill, so he sent Boroghul Noyan, as will be related in the section on the [H]ushin tribe concerning Boroghul Noyan. In short, they fought fierce battles, and he brought the Tumat into submission. However, Boroghul Noyan was killed in battle.[3] [M238] Since they were a maleficent tribe, many of them were killed. There is no one among the commanders of that tribe known to have achieved renown.

The Bulaghachin and Kärämüchin Tribes

They dwell near each other in the vicinity of Barqujin Tögüm, the end of Qirqiz territory. In this land no one from them is known, and there are no men of renown from these clans.

The Orasut, Talangut, and Kästimi Tribes

These tribes also resemble the Mongols. It is well known that they know Mongol medicines well and are good at treating the Mongols. They are also said to be of the "forest" tribes because they dwell in the forests along the frontier of Qirqiz and Kämkämchi'üt territory. There are many Mongols from "forest" people since every tribe whose *yurts* are in a place that is forested is called a "forest" tribe, like the Tayichi'ut, who were called a "forest" tribe because their dwelling place was in Mongolia and Qirqiz and Barghut territory. [M240]

These tribes' territory was on the other side of the Qirqiz, about a month's journey away. Some of Genghis Khan's brothers and uncles were styled as "forest" clans, as will be related in this history.

In summary, the forest tribes are many. If there were two brothers from one clan, [and if] one's *yurt* was near a forest and the other's was in the plains, the clans that branched off from them got two different names. There is, however, a great difference between one forest clan and another, since the distances between one forest and another can range anywhere from ten days to a one- or two-month journey.

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[1] Cf. p. 76 above, where she is said to be of the Targhut.

[2] He is the Daiduqul Soqor mentioned in the *Secret History* §240.

[3] For Boroghul's death, see text p. 333 below.

These tribes mentioned rebelled when the Qirqiz surrendered. Genghis Khan sent his son Jochi Khan. He crossed the Selenga and the other frozen rivers on the ice, [83] seized the Qirqiz, and seized that tribe too on his way back.

The "Forest" Uriangqat Tribe.

This tribe has no connection to the other Uriangqat. [M242] They got this name because their *yurts* were in the forests. They never possessed tents of any sort, and their clothing was made from animal skins. They had no cattle or sheep but raised and caught instead mountain oxen, mountain rams, and *jür* [antelope], which is like a mountain sheep, which they milked and drank. They really look down on people who keep sheep—so much so that a father or mother will curse a daughter by saying, "I'll give you to someone who will make you follow after sheep." The [daughters] get so upset that they hang themselves in grief and sorrow. When they migrate they load their belongings on mountain oxen and never go out of the forest. When they reach the place where they camp they build a small shelter or hut from the bark of *toz* [birch] and other trees and make do with that. When they score birch trees, something sweet like milk comes out, and they drink that instead of water. They imagine that no life could be better and no one could be better off than they.

A bird that knows nothing of limpid water will keep its beak in brackish water all year long.

[M244] They think that people who live in cities, cultivated provinces, and the plains are in painful torment. Since there are many mountains and forests in their territory and it snows prodigiously, in winter they catch much prey on the snow by making a board they call a *chana* [sled]. They stand on it and, having made reins of leather, they take hold of a pole and stick it into the ground, and, like someone driving a ship through water, [84] drive it across plain and prairie, uphill and down, so that they catch up with mountain oxen and other animals. They pull another *chana* alongside the one on which they are seated, and they load on it the prey they kill. Even if they put two or three thousand maunds [of weight] on it, with only a little effort it goes easily across the snow. If anyone is ignorant or a novice, when he makes it run he may lose his footing, especially going downhill and when going fast. Anyone who has learned how to do it can make it go easily, but no one would believe it without seeing it.

A report of this reached the Padishah of Islam. He ordered a group brought from that territory to make [a sled]. It was demonstrated to be as had been described, without mistake. He has recently ordered them to make another one. [M246] The *chana* is known throughout most of the territory of Turkistan and Mongolia, and it is particularly practised in the region of Barqujin Tögüm [among] the Qori, Qirqiz, Orasut, Talangut,[1] and Tumat.

This group maintains its customs tenaciously, and they are always in the forests. However, in Genghis Khan's time and that of his glorious family, that area became the *yurt* of other Mongol tribes, and they mingled with other Mongols. The Suldus tribe's *yurt* is in the vicinity of those forests.

There is no one from that tribe who became famous in this land. However, in Genghis Khan's time there was a *hazara* commander of the left wing named Udachi, who was of this tribe. After that, he was selected to keep watch with his *hazara* over the great *ghoruq* [sanctuary] of Genghis Khan in Burqan Qaldun. They never go out on campaign. Tolui Khan and his *urugh*,

[1]For the Talangut, see Louis Hambis, "Notes sur trois tribus de l'Yénissei supérieur: les Us, Qapganas et Talangut," *Journal Asiatique* 245 (1957): 25–36.

aside from Qubilai Qa'an and Mänggü Qa'an, and other members of Genghis Khan's family are buried elsewhere.

The Quriqat Tribe.

Prior to now, [M248] when Genghis Khan was at war with the Tayichi'ut and gathering troops, this tribe was united with Genghis Khan. This will be mentioned in the history. However, it is not known which officer, either then or now, was of this tribe.

The Saqayit Tribe.

When Genghis Khan was at odds with the Tayichi'ut, this tribe was united with Genghis Khan and added to his forces. They will be mentioned in the history. However, neither at that time nor at present is anyone known of this tribe who became famous.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TURKIC TRIBES THAT HAVE ALSO HAD SEPARATE MONARCHS AND LEADERS BUT DO NOT HAVE A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP TO THE TRIBES MENTIONED IN THE PREVIOUS DIVISION OR TO THE MONGOLS YET ARE CLOSE TO THEM IN PHYSIOGNOMY AND LANGUAGE

Each of these nations has had a monarch or leader, their *yurts* and dwelling places were delineated, and each has branched off into various subdivisions. These nations are held in high esteem at this time by the other Turks previously mentioned and by the Mongol Turks because Genghis Khan's family, who are the monarchs of the Mongols, conquered and subdued them through God's might. In ancient times these nations were of more importance and mightier than any other groups of Turks, and they had powerful monarchs. The stories of each of these nations will be mentioned separately.

The Kerayit nation: their tribes and subdivisions, and stories connected to them, aside from those stories that will come in the history of Genghis Khan or elsewhere.[1]

They had powerful monarchs from within their own tribes, and at that time they possessed more might and power than other nations within those borders. Christian missionary activity reached them, and they converted to that religion.

They are a sort of Mongol. Their dwelling place is along the Onon and Kerulen Rivers, the land of Mongolia, which region is near the frontier of Cathay. They had many disputes with many tribes, particularly with the Naiman. **[88]** During the time of Genghis Khan's father, Yesügäi Bahadur, their monarch was Ong Khan, who was a friend to Yesügäi. [M254] Genghis Khan repeatedly helped Ong Khan, as will be related in the history, but in the end they had a falling-out and fought battles with each other. Ong Khan was taken prisoner and became a slave of Genghis Khan's, as will be told in the history.[2]

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[1] The name of this nation occurs variously as Kerayit, Kerait, Kereit, Kereyid, Gereyid, Qarayit, and Qara'it. Rashiduddin spells it كرايت, and we will transcribe it as "Kerayit." See Antoine Mostaert, "Ordosica," *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking* 9 (1934): 52 and D. M. Dunlop, "The Keraits of Eastern Asia," *BSOAS* 11 (1944): 276–89.

[2] JT_{RKA} has additional text here that is lacking in most MSS, but it seems to relate to the Jirqin below. Translation is as follows: "The leader of this Hirqin [read Jirqin?] clan in Ong Khan's time was Güyük Bahadur, who ruled a *gürä'än* of ten thousand and whose *yurt* was in Qara'un Jidun and Chigar Jalghar. When Genghis Khan defeated Ong Khan and routed his tribes, Güyük Bahadur had four sons, Muinuq, Sarta'u, Ilä'ügän, and Saiqan Kökchü. They took fright at the rout and, deciding to fight for Genghis Khan, joined him with a hundred men. They were with him and fought bravely when he battled the

The Kerayit consist of many tribes and groups, all of which followed Ong Khan, as follows: [M256]

The Kerayit. It is related that in ancient times there was a monarch who had eight sons, all of whom were dark-skinned, for which reason they were called Kerayit.[1] After that, with the passage of time, the separate offspring of each of the sons took on a name and epithet. The division among whom the monarchy is held until today is known simply as the Kerayit. The other sons became servants to the brother who was monarch, and there was no monarch from among them.

The Jirqin. They are a heroic and important tribe of Ong Khan's nation. Bakhudsar and Jirqudai, the *shahna* of Shiraz, and his brothers Baqcha Taghai and Qutluq Buqa Bitigchi and his sons Besüd and Dörbäi were from among them. Achiq Shirun,[2] Ong Khan's great commander who was requested by Genghis Khan to be sent as an envoy to him, was also from among them.

The Tongqayit Kerayit.[3] Alinaq Bahadur, Elchi Totqa'ul and his son Saqi[4] were of this tribe. At this time Äbügän Bitigchi is of them. [89]

[The Saqiyat were also a clan.][5]

The Toba'ut.[6] Yesil Noyan[7] and his son Tughluq Qushchi were of this branch. Taichu Bahadur, who gained renown with Alinaq Bahadur, and Taichu Bahadur's son Ghazan, who rebelled during Sögä's time, were all from this branch.

The Albat. Elängär Ba'urchi,[8] who was an *ev-oghlan* of Genghis Khan's chief wife, Börtä Füjin, and who led a troop of a hundred, was of this tribe. ~

Ong Khan's grandfather was named Marghuz,[9] and he was called Marghuz Buyuruq Khan. At that time the Tatar tribes were enormously powerful and strong, but they submitted to the monarchs [M260] of Cathay and the Jurchids. At that time the leader of the Tatar monarchs was a person called Na'ur Buyuruq Khan, and their *yurt* was in the vicinity of a place called Bu'ir Na'ur. When they had a chance, the king of the Kerayit captured Marghuz Buyuruq Khan and sent him to the king of the Jurchids, who had him killed by being nailed to a wooden donkey. After a time Marghuz's wife, Qutuqtai Härigchi—*härigchi* means glowing and liquescent, and she was called *härigchi* because her face was "glowing and billowing" with beauty—sent a message to the Tatar tribe, whose *yurt* was nearby, saying, "I want to hold a banquet for the king of the Tatars, Na'ur Buyuruq Khan." She offered him a hundred sheep,

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Tayichi'ut, Qataqin, and Salji'ut. Their progeny became many, and at present in the qa'an's service and in other *uluses* are many clans descended from them. Muinuq had a son named Möngkä. Duzfan (son of Toquz Buqa son of Möngkä son of Muinuq) and KYWHY of the Besüt came to His Majesty as emissaries from Mangqan Kä'ün son of Malik Temür."

[1]Folk etymology derives Kerayit from the Turkish *qara et*, 'black flesh.' See Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:18.

[2]The Achiq Shirun of the *Secret History* §181.

[3]The Dongqayid of the *Secret History* §150 &c. Some MSS have the matter given here for the Tongqayit under the following Toba'ut section and vice versa.

[4]JT_K has Saqi; JT_{RKA} has Sati.

[5]Omitted in JT_K.

[6]Or, as in JT_{RKA}, Toma'ut.

[7]Yesil: thus in the text (يسيل). In Berezin's text he is يسيل (Бисилъ).

[8]The name occurs in many variants; ايلبكر, ايلنكز, البكار, انليكر, etc. It may be the name ايلنگر (Elängär). See text p. 400 below.

[9]The name Marghuz is Marcus (Uyghur مارقوس < Syriac ماركوس < Greek Μαρκος).

ten mares, and a hundred *ündürs* of kumiss—an *ündür* being a very large bag made of sewn skins that is loaded on carts, [M262] each bag holding a hundred maunds of kumiss. Wishing to extract vengeance for her husband's death, she hid a hundred fully armed warriors in the *ündürs* and had them loaded on carts. **[90]** When they arrived she turned the horses and sheep over to the *ba'urchis* to cook and said, "When it is time for the banquet I will bring the kumiss on carts." When everyone was seated for the banquet the hundred carts with the *ündürs* were brought before the tent and unloaded. The warriors leapt out and, together with the lady's other servants, seized and killed the king of the Tatars. They also killed most of the Tatar tribesmen who were present. It is well known that this is how Marghuz's wife took revenge for her husband.

*It has been found in another book in Mongolian that Qurjaqus Buyuruq Khan dwelt in a place called Orta Balqasun, and he had given Gürkhan and Ong Khan a *yurt* in Yagh Yabghan and Tai Temür Taishi and Yulamaghus one in Qaraghas Burughus, saying, "When they are together, they cannot get along. [M264] After my death they will not leave the Kerayit nation alone from night till morning or from morning till night." Therefore he kept them apart. His wife, Törä Qaimish, used to practice magic, and every time he went hunting, she would immediately bring him down. Since he was suffering at her hands, he ordered two concubines of his to kill her, and so they did. After that he was worried about his sons and wanted to conceal from them what he had done. Seizing upon some pretext, he killed the two concubines.

After a time Buyuruq Khan also died. Ong Khan said to Tai Temür Taishi and Yulamaghus, "When our father was alive we used to shoot arrows and bet we wouldn't miss. Why should now Eljitäi be chief of the people?" And he lured them from their places to himself. When he had the chance he attacked them both, and they went to Toqto'a for protection. Toqto'a said, "Why should we expose ourselves to attack for their sakes?" He seized them both and sent them to Ong Khan, who killed the two of them on the spot.

After that Gürkhan said, "The water in my elder brother's eyes had not yet dried, and the skin on his back had not hardened. You kill my elder brother and destroy the younger. What will happen to the *ulus*?" Therefore he chased Ong Khan away and plundered his goods.

Ong Khan was fleeing with a hundred men when Yesügäi Qa'an happened by and took him up. After that he said, "We should be friends with this man and become *anda* with him."

"Friendship with him is not advisable," said Qutula Qa'an, "for we know him. It would be better to become *anda* with Gürkhan, for he is a gentle man with a good disposition. This man killed his own brothers and sullied his lance with their blood. Now that he resembles a wild ox struck by an arrow and a wild ass with an *aghruq* around its neck, he has come under our protection."

Yesügäi Bahadur refused this advice and became friends and *anda* with him. He raided Gürkhan, drove him away, and gave his *ulus* to Ong Khan.*[1]

Marghuz had two sons, [M266] Qurjaquz[2] Buyuruq and Gürkhan. (The *gür khans* who were kings in Transoxiana and Turkistan were of the Qarakhitai nation; this Gürkhan was the son of Marghuz, the king of the Kerayit, and should not be confused with the former.) One of Qurjaquz

[1]Section marked *...* missing from JT_K.

[2]Here and throughout, for text's قوجاقور, read قورجاقوز Qurjaquz (from the Greek Κυριακός, via the Syriac ܩܘܪܝܩܘܣ).

Buyuruq's sons was named Toghril—he is the one the kings of the <Qara>khitai named Ong Khan,[1] which means monarch of a province. Qurjaquz Buyuruq's other sons were called Ärkä Qara, Tai Temür Taishi,[2] Buqa Temür, and Ilqa Sangun Ilqa—*sangun* means prince.[3] [Earlier his name had been Jagambu Kerayidai.][4] When the Tangqut seized him and found him to be a capable man, they called him Jagambu, which means the commander of a province and great leader: *ja* means province, and *gambu* means great.[5]

At any rate, after their father's death, Ong Khan, that is Toghril, having been sent to the frontier and made commander, [M268] the other brothers, Tai Temür Taishi and Buqa Temür, took their father's place. Ong Khan came, killed his brothers, and took his father's position. Ärkä Qara had fled and taken refuge with the Naiman tribe, who helped him, retook the province, and gave it to him, driving Ong Khan out and taking his position. Again Genghis Khan's father helped Ong Khan, drove Ärkä Qara off, and gave his place to Ong Khan. Once more, Ong Khan's uncle, Gürkhan, came, drove Ong Khan off and took his place. Genghis Khan helped Ong Khan yet again, drove Gürkhan off, and gave the position back to Ong Khan. In the end, the rule stabilized with him. **[91]** Jagambu was always in agreement with his brother Ong Khan.

There was an officer named Kögsä'ü Sabraq[6] who belonged to Buyuruq Khan, the king of the Naiman, who was a brother to Güshlüg Khan. He got together a troop and raided the families of Ong Khan's brothers, Ilqa Sangun and [Jagambu],[7] as well as Ong Khan's own *aghruq*.[8] [M270] After that, Ong Khan gave his son Sangun an army and dispatched him after the enemy. He asked Genghis Khan for assistance, and he sent Bo'orchi Noyan, Boroghul Noyan, Muqali Guyang, and Chila'uqan Bahadur. The story will be given later in the history.[9]

Jagambu had four daughters. One was asked for in marriage by Genghis Khan for himself, and her name was Ibaqa Beki. Another he requested for his eldest son, Jochi, and her name was Begtu[tmish] Füjin. Another he requested for his youngest son, Tolui Khan, and her name was Sorqaghtani Beki. She was the mother of four sons, Mänggü Qa'an, Qubilai Khan, Hülägü Khan, and Ariq Bökä. The last daughter was given in marriage to the king of the Öng'üt. They say that when Genghis Khan seized the Öng'üt and they submitted to him, he asked for her to be brought before him, but no matter how hard he searched he could not locate her.

Ong Khan's sons were two, Sangun, which means prince, and Abaqu.[10] Abaqu had a daughter named Doquz Khatun.[11] She was married to Tolui Khan. [M272] After that Hülägü Khan married her, and she became his chief wife. Doquz Khatun's

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[1]Rashiduddin uses the label "Qarakhitai" both for the actual Qarakhitai and, as here, for the Khitai. To make a distinction, we will write <Qara>khitai when the Khitai are meant.

[2]Correct text's Bai Temür to Tai Temür per *Secret History* §177.

[3]*Sangun* 'prince' from the Chinese 相公 *hsiang-kung* 'excellency' (Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:234 §1221). In the *Secret History* (passim) the title occurs as Senggüm, a variant that was also known in Persian but not used in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*.

[4]Added in JT_{RKA}; omitted in JT_K.

[5]For a discussion of possible etymologies, see Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:1 §1017. In the *Secret History* the name occurs as Jaqa Gambu.

[6]Reading سابراق (Sabraq) for the text's سايراق.

[7]Word missing in the text. Insert Jagambu per text below, p. 270, and JT_{RKA}.

[8]The *aghrugh* (Mong. *a'urugh)* is the camp for the young, the old, and the womenfolk.

[9]See text p. 271 below.

[10]JT_K has ايغور and then ايغورر; on p. 266 and p. 678 below the name is given as ايقر. JT_{RKA} has ابقو here.

[11]Emending the text's دوقتور to دوقوز for Doquz.

brothers were Saricha and ___.[1] The Tuqtani[2] Khatun who was in Doquz Khatun's camp was also a daughter of his [i.e. Ong Khan's] sister. Örüg Khatun,[3] the daughter of Saricha and wife of Arghun Khan, is the mother of the Prince of the World, Kharbanda. The Iri[n]jin who is alive today is Örüg Khatun's brother. Some of their relatives served Qubilai Qa'an. At present their sons are there. Toq Temür, Ara Qutqa, and Qubilai are the offspring of one of Ong Khan's brothers named Yedi Qurtqa. **[92]** Ong Khan's daughter by Sangun's mother was requested for marriage to Genghis Khan's son Jochi, but she refused, and this created ill feeling. Her name was [Hu]ja'ur Beki.[4] Genghis Khan's daughter who was requested for Sangun's son was named Füjin. [M274] She was later given to Qutu Gü[rä]gän of the Qorolas tribe, the brother of Genghis Khan's mother.[5]

When Gürkhan had driven Ong Khan away, Yesügäi Bahadur, Genghis Khan's father, went to assist Ong Khan and drove Gürkhan off. [He and] nearly thirty men went to the territory of the Tangqut, and no more was seen of him. Therefore Ong Khan and Yesügäi Bahadur hatched a plan to assist Ong Khan once more—as has been mentioned—in the affair of Ärkä Qara, from whom the land was taken and given to Ong Khan.

The last time Ong Khan did battle with Genghis Khan and was defeated, he took flight. He was seized along the way, in a place called Nekün Usun, by Tayang Khan's officers Qoru Sübächü and Titig Sa'al.[6] Since they were implacable enemies, they killed him and took his head to Tayang Khan, who was not pleased by this act and took them to task, saying, "Why do you bring the head of such a great monarch? He should have been brought in alive." He ordered the head covered in silver and kept it over his throne for a long time as a mark of respect.[7] One day he told the head to speak. They say the tongue came out of the mouth several times.[8] "This is an ill omen," said Tayang Khan's officers. "It will be a wonder if we do not cease to exist." And thus it was.

Ong Khan's son Sangun fled with several others from the place where his father had been killed into the territory of the Mongols. Passing by the place where there is a city called Anshan, he reached Tibet. He wanted to remain there, but the people of Tibet drove him away, and his liege men scattered. He took flight from there and went to the border of Chin and Kashghar,

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[1]Word missing in the text.

[2]There are many variants of this name, among them توقیتی, توقینی, and توقتی (*JT*$_K$). Pelliot ("Le vrai nom," 49) suggests an emendation to توقتنی (Tuqtani) as read by *JT*$_{RKA}$. See text p. 740 below.

[3]The name اورك (Örüg) is sometimes read as Ürük. It is, however, most likely the Turkish *örüg* 'calm' and will be so transcribed throughout this translation.

[4]The Huja'ur Üjin of the *Secret History* §177.

[5]Compare with the version on text p. 224, where it is stated that Füjin Beki was married to Butu of the Ikiräs. Ö'älün Ekä's brother's (or nephew's) name is given variously as تاجور and باجو, but they were Olqunu'ut, and he was married to the daughter whose name usually occurs as Altalun.

[6]Reading, with *JT*$_{RKA}$, قورر (Qoru) for *JT*$_K$'s قودر. He is the Qori Sübechi of the *Secret History*. For the تتك شال of the text read تتك سال *(Titig Sa'al)*, representing the Didig Saqal of the *Secret History* §188, which is taken to be part of a place name ("the Nekün Usun of Didig Saqal"). In the Persian text the name has been interpreted as a person. In the *Secret History* Ong Khan was killed by Qori Sübechi alone.

[7]*JT*$_{RKA}$ adds text here missing from many MSS: "One reason for Ong Khan's distress [M276] was that Täb Tänggri, the son of Münglig Echigä, had married a girl from the Jirqin clan of the Kerayit, Qada'an Bahadur by name. When Ong Khan was on the outs with Genghis Khan, he sent a message to Täb Tänggri saying, 'Let us come together, I from this side and you from that.' Täb Tänggri informed Genghis Khan of this, and he was able to ward off Ong Khan."

[8]Cf. *Secret History* §189.

to a province called Kusan.[1] In that place was a sultan called Qilich Qara. He discovered Sangun in a place called Chahar Kaha and killed him, **[93]** seizing his wife and children. [M278] Later he sent them to Genghis Khan when he submitted to him.

There were many commanders of this tribe during Genghis Khan's and Ong Khan's time. One was named "Ubchiritai" Gürin Bahadur.[2] *(Ubchir* is a type of red fruit with which a red face is compared in Mongolia, and this officer's face was like that red fruit.) He is the officer who objected when Jamuqa Sächän slandered Genghis Khan. Another officer was Qori Sile[m]ün Taishi.[3]

Ong Khan had a great commander named Ügü Temür. When Genghis Khan and Ong Khan were friends and like father and son, and Genghis Khan used to sit before Ong Khan like one of his sons, this commander sat above him, and whatever Genghis Khan and Ong Khan had to discuss, this officer arranged it and spoke it, and he was friendly to him. When Genghis Khan conquered Ong Khan, his son Sangun and their officers—those who were not killed—submitted. This Ügü Temür Noyan also submitted to subservience, relying on his old friendship. [M280] Genghis Khan held him in respect and reverence, and all, old and young alike, placed great reliance on his words. He had many wives, one of whom he loved greatly. The news happened to be heard that Sangun had regained strength in the territory of the Qirqiz and that area. Ügü Temür had a change of heart, pledged himself to Sangun, and departed. For a long time he wandered around, unable to locate Sangun. Since Ügü Temür had fled, Genghis Khan gave the wife he loved to Tolun Chärbi,[4] a great commander of the Qongqotan tribe. He also had many wives, but once he had her he abandoned his other wives and spent all his time with her. After a time, when Ügü Temür could not locate Sangun, he had no choice but to return to Genghis Khan's service. Since he had acquired rights of long service and was so old, Genghis Khan favored him by disregarding his offense, saying, "Why should such an old man's offense not be forgiven?" Then Ügü Temür Noyan knelt and said, [M282] "Since you have spared my life, if you also give me my beloved wife, **[94]** it will be an exceptional favor." Genghis Khan said to Tolun Chärbi, "What say you? Will you give her back or not?"

Perceiving Genghis Khan's indirect order, Tolun Chärbi said, "Although I too love her, how can I disobey an order?" And he gave her to Ügü Temür. Genghis Khan then said to the lady, "These officers have so many wives. How is it that when each of them has you they love you more than the others?"

"All women's bodies are fairly much alike," she replied. "Since a man is powerful and dominant and a woman is meant to be dominated, she must seek to do what pleases her husband and not to do what displeases him. She must be at one with the desire of his mind and keep his house in accordance with his wishes. If this is so, no doubt his love will increase."

There was another commander named Quyidu. When Ong Khan set out to capture Genghis Khan, and Badai and Qishiliq, Ong Khan's equeries, informed Genghis Khan, [M284] Quyidu left Ong Khan with his wife, three-year-old son, one camel, and a *hongqur*, which is a dun-colored horse, and entered Genghis Khan's service. Since he had displayed such devotion, Genghis

[1] Kusan; also known as Kucha.

[2] The Ubchightai Gürin Ba'atur of the *Secret History* §160.

[3] The Qori Shilemün Taisi of the *Secret History* §170f.

[4] Emending the text's تلوی to تلون for Tolun. See *Secret History*, pp. 191, 253, 267.

Khan ordered him to gather his tribe within the Kerayit Tongqayit. He assembled a unit of a thousand. His son Qurtqa commanded a *hazara*, and his brother Abushqa was an important chief *bitigchi* in the qa'an's service.

This Quyidu had twenty-four sons. The eldest was called Tügür Bitigchi, and he was a commander of a hundred who came to Iran in the capacity of secretary in Hülägü Khan's service. He extracted treasures and property for Hülägü from Baghdad and had many bars of gold cast. Alinaq was his son. In the beginning he was of the *hazara* of Quchur of the Todaqlin tribe, a subdivision of the Märkit peoples. In former times Quchur was in the *hazara* of Alinaq's grandfather Quyidu. Since the original *hazara* of Quyidu and his sons had remained there in his *hucha'ur* [clan], and some of the *hazara*s of Qubchur's army were taken out [M286] for him to bring to this land, he transferred this Quchur out of Quyidu's *hazara*. Since he was a valiant man, one of the *hazara*s was assigned to him. Quyidu's son Tügür, Alinaq's father and commander of a company of a hundred, was also in his *hazara*. When Quchur died, Hülägü Khan **[95]** assigned the *hazara* to Alinaq even though he was still a child.

Alinaq's sons were Qurumshi Gürägän, Qutula Bughdai, and Arpa Cha'udar.

The group of officers who conspired to attack Ong Khan and drive him away in order to make themselves rulers and kings after Genghis Khan had gone to Baljuna are as follows: Daritai Otchigin, Altan Chubuq,[1] Quchar Beki, Jamuqa Sächän, the Ba'arin clan,[2] Sü'ägäi Buqai, and Dalu Qutuqut. When Ong Khan realized [what they were up to], he raided them. Of that group, Daritai Otchigin, the Ba'arin clan, [some] of the Saqayit, [some] of the Kerayit nation, and Qujin[3] of the Kilungqut, [M288] collaterals of the Qongqotan clan, all joined Genghis Khan. Altan, Quchar, and Qutuqut[4] went before Tayang Khan. It was they who did this although they had accused Genghis Khan of being at one with Tayang Khan. When Genghis Khan defeated Tayang Khan, he captured and killed them all.

Among Sangun's officers were Bilgä [?] Beki and Tödä'än. They were the two Genghis Khan requested to be sent to him as emisssaries, and they were all in all to Sangun. Ala Buqa and Dayir were also important commanders of Ong Khan's.

The Naiman Nation, consisting of several branches.[5]

[1]Text has التای جوبوق. Cf. below (p. 289): التان جیون son of Qutila Qa'an; and *Secret History* §122: "A[l]tan Odcigin, the son of Qutula Qan."

[2]Text has قوم تارین, but read قوم بارین *qawm-i Bárín* in agreement with the version below on text p. 289.

[3]Below, text p. 289, this name occurs as *NWTJYN*.

[4]Cf. below, text p. 289, where this name is Qutu Temür of the Tatar.

[5]Added in *JT*$_{RKA}$ but lacking in many MSS is the following: Prior to Genghis Khan's time, the rulers of the Naiman were Narqish Tayang and Anyat Qa'an. When they attacked the Qirqiz, Anyat Qa'an presented gifts nine times nine to his elder brother Narqish Tayang. Narqish summoned him forward and took his head in his embrace. When they parted he said, "It is as though we have no one to make us presents...." Anyat Qa'an's sons were Buyuruq and Tayang. While Tayang Khan was away, Buyuruq decamped and passed so close by his tents [M290] that the tent tops loaded on camels could be seen from Tayang Khan's tents. Tayang Khan said, "I too am a ruler. If Buyuruq comes and descends here, the choice is his. If he doesn't come, the choice is his." Buyuruq did not descend and left. Tayang said, "We had made ready to receive him as a guest. Now that he has gone, let us host ourselves." During the banquet Qubadkin Qur said while playing the lute, "When Anyat Qa'an and Narqish Tayang were together, would you think they hadn't made every man of the Naiman a prince and every woman a lady and that many children had not been born? You two were like the horn of a bull antelope and the horn of a cow, a pair. Now that you two brothers do not agree, the Naiman nation, which billowed like waves

This nation used to dwell in the wilderness. Some lived in the forbidding mountains, and others on the plains. [M292] Among the places they inhabited were [the region of] the Altai and Qaraqorum (where Ögödäi Qa'an built a splendid palace in the wilderness), the mountains of Al'ui Saras, and the Black Irtysh (where the Qanqli also dwelt), the Irdish Mürän, which is the Irtysh River, the mountains between the river and the territory of the Qirqiz, and the adjacent region as far as the land of Mongolia **[96]** (the territory in which Ong Khan dwelt, and for that reason there were constant disputes between the Naiman and Ong Khan), up to the territory of the Qirqiz and as far as the edge of the deserts that are adjacent to Uyghuristan.

The rulers of the Naiman nation were mighty and powerful, their armies numerous and well maintained, and their customs like those of the Mongols. In ancient times their rulers were entitled Güshlüg Khan or Buyuruq Khan. *Güshlüg* means strong and mighty monarch.[1] They say another reason for calling him Güshlüg [M294] was that there was a king of that nation who ruled over humans and the djinn, and he had such strength that he could milk the djinn and make yoghurt, whey, and kumiss from it to drink. After that, the officers said, "It is a sin," and abandoned him. This is just a story. The [Naiman rulers] were called *buyuruq* because it means commander.[2] Of course, every ruler had his own original name given him by his mother and father.

Tayang Khan's officers of the Naiman nation were Qoru Sübächü and Titig Sa'al, who captured and killed Ong Khan in Näkün Usun when he fled from Genghis Khan. They took his head to Tayang Khan, who did not approve [of their action]. He had the head encased in silver and kept it over his throne for a long time, as has already been explained in the section on the Kerayit.[3]

The battle between Tayang Khan and Genghis Khan came about as follows. Tayang Khan sent a message to the king of the Öng'üt, Ala Qush Tegin, inviting him to unite [M296] and make war on Genghis Khan. Ala Qush Tegin sent a message to Genghis Khan by Buriyan Elchi,[4] and he set out to make war on Tayang Khan, who assembled a large army reinforced by commanders from other tribes, as follows: Toq-to'a, the ruler of the Märkit; the Tatar nation; Alin Taishi, an important commander of the Kerayit; the Qataqin clan; Qutuqa Beki, the ruler of the Oyirat; the Dörbän clan; **[97]** Jamuqa Sächän of the Jäjirät clan; the Salji'ut clan.

Before the battle, Jamuqa Sächän broke away and departed, and Qasar commanded the center of Genghis Khan's army during the battle. The Naiman were defeated, and Tayang Khan was killed. It was during this battle that the Naiman soldiers tumbled down the Naqu Qun mountains,[5] and Tayang Khan's wife Gürbäsü, whom he

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in the sea, will be broken and dispersed." When Tayang Khan heard these words, his cheeks flushed and he said, "Say to Buyuruq that we were wrong. Wait for us in an appropriate place until we come. Whether he comes out to greet us or not, the choice is his." In reply Buyuruq said, "The proverb is well known: oft times a people reaches greatness but does not have understanding, and oft times they reach goodness. After this, if we are in good health we will come together." So saying, he decamped and departed in another direction. Since they were brothers and could not agree, God altered their condition.

[1] *Güshlüg* is derived from the Turkish *güch* 'force, might.'

[2] *Buyuruq* is derived from the Turkish *buyur-* 'to command.'

[3] See above, text p. 92.

[4] In the *Secret History* §190 this person is named Torbi Tashi. Although the *BR* of *BRYAN* could easily be *TR*, it is difficult to reconcile the rest.

[5] Reading تاقر for the text's ياقر. See text p. 305 below and *Secret History* §196.

loved, [M298] was brought to Genghis Khan, who took her.

When Genghis Khan had defeated the Naiman army and killed Tayang Khan, in Bars Yil (the Year of the Tiger) he erected a nine-legged white banner on the frontier of the Onon river and gave an enormous banquet for a huge assemblage, at which he was named Genghis Khan. After that, he rode off to capture Buyuruq Khan, Tayang Khan's brother. He was ambushed and killed while falcon hunting. Güshlüg and his brother were both with him, and they fled to the Irtysh River. In the final battle with Toqto'a Beki, Güshlüg took flight when Toqto'a Beki was killed and went to the Gür Khan of the Qarakhitai.

The names of Buyuruq Khan's commanders are as follows: Yeti Tuqluq, at the beginning of the day of battle he was riding uphill when his saddle strap came loose and he was captured by Genghis Khan's soldiers; Kögsägü Sabraq (the name Kögsägü means "in the chest" [and was given him because] he had a deep voice) was the one who plundered the tents of Ong Khan's brothers. [M300]

Tolui Khan had a wife named Linqum Khatun, the daughter of Güshlüg Khan. When she was brought in as plunder, she became a slave. By him she had a son named Qutuq[t]u, who died young. [Tolui Khan] had a concubine named Beksäräk of the Naiman nation, who was the mother of Mögä. This Beksäräk nursed Qubilai Qa'an and gave her own son, Mögä, to another to nurse. It was for this reason that she acquired influence, and this story will come later in the history of Tolui Khan.[1]

The ruler of the Naiman before the conflict with the Genghis Khan was called Inanch Bilgä Bügü Khan.[2] The word *inanch* means to believe, and *bilgä* is a magnificent title. **[98]** Bügü Khan was a mighty ruler of the past who held a place of great importance among the Uyghur and many tribes. They say he was born of a tree. At any rate, this Inanch Bilgä Bügü Khan was a monarch of importance and had sons. His eldest son was originally named Tai Buqa,[3] but the kings of Cathay entitled him Tai Wang, meaning khan's son in the Cathaian language.[4] This is a middling title among the Cathaians. The Cathaian rulers gave innumerable titles to people, [M302] and so also do they now maintain the custom. Their titles are unbelievably numerous, and the ranks for each nation and every province are extremely appropriate. They give titles to people so that every person knows his rank and how far he can go. If, for instance, there are a hundred persons at a gathering, by the titles they have been given it is obvious how much rank each has and where he should sit. The idiom of the Cathaians not being known to everyone, they called him Tayang Khan. He had another son called Buyuruq Khan. After their father's death, these two brothers quarrelled over a concubine their father had loved. Turning hostile to each other, they parted ways, with some of the officers taking the part of one and others of the other. The original capital, however, was held by the elder, Tayang Khan, and his dwelling place was near the plains. Buyuruq Khan's place was in the mountains, as mentioned previously. They disliked each other intensely. While still alive, their father had discerned in their natures this rivalry and obstinacy and said, "I know that Buyuruq Khan will never agree [M304] that Tayang Khan should take

[1]See pp. 552 and 612 below.

[2]Reading, with JT_{RKA}, بلگه بوکو (Bilgä Bügü) for JT_K's یکه توکه. The name also occurs as Bügü on p. 268 below.

[3]Text has Bai Buqa, for which read Tai Buqa with Berezin (13:181).

[4]For the text's بای رنك, read تای رنك for Tai Wang, from the Chinese 太王 *t'ai wang* 'supreme ruler' (Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:248f. §122).

my place, even for a few days. Buyuruq Khan is like a camel that will not budge until a wolf has eaten half of its leg." In the end that is just how it was.

Tayang and Buyuruq fought many battles with each other. During Genghis Khan's battles with Ong Khan they both participated valiantly but separately, refusing to co-operate or assist each other, as will be described in the history. So long as there was no agreement between Genghis Khan and Ong Khan, no matter how many battles were fought with the Naiman nation, they could not be vanquished. After Genghis Khan put the Ong Khan affair aside, he waged war against Tayang Khan, Buyuruq Khan, and the Naiman nation. **[99]** As has already been mentioned, he defeated and killed them, putting his mind at ease in that regard.

One of the tribes that were near the Naiman and whose *yurts* were adjacent to theirs was the Bätäkin tribe.[1] Their ruler's name was Qadïr Buyuruq Khan (*qadïr* means mighty conqueror). Since the Mongols do not know this word, they call him Qajir Khan. There is a certain Mongolian medicine now called *qajir*, although anciently its name was *qadïr*, meaning powerful medicine. The realm of this Qadïr Buyuruq Khan and his fathers was formerly [M306] greater than that of Ong Khan's ancestors or other Naiman and Kerayit rulers, and they were more grandiose and held more importance. After a while, however, the latter became more powerful than they.

Genghis Khan attached the Bätäkin tribe to the Öng'üt, and they fought alongside them. He asked for daughters of the Bätäkin tribe for his own *urugh* and also gave some to the Öng'üt officers. Their girls and those of the Naiman are renowned for their beauty and comeliness. Qadïr Khan's sons are those who in Genghis Khan's time ___.[2]

In this realm there are no more than one or two persons from the Bätäkin tribe.

The Öng'üt Nation

During and before Genghis Khan's time, these tribes were attached militarily to the rulers of Cathay, the Altan Khans. They were a separate nation who resembled the Mongols, and they consisted of four thousand households. The rulers of Cathay who are called Altan Khan built a wall to protect their territory from the tribes of the Mongols, Kerayit, Naiman, and nomads in the vicinity. In Mongolian the wall is called *öngü*, [M308] and in Turkish it is called *yoqurqa*.[3] It stretches from the Jurcha River to the banks of the Qara Müran [Yellow River], which separates Cathay from Chin and Machin, with tributaries in Tangqut territory and Tibet, and which cannot be crossed anywhere.

In the beginning the wall was entrusted to the Öng'üt nation, who were made to promise and vow to protect it. **[100]**

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[1]Reading, for JT_K's بيكين and JT_{RKA}'s تيكين, بتكين (Bätäkin) per Paul Pelliot, "Une tribu méconnue des Naiman: les Bätäkin," *T'oung-pao* 37 (1944): 35–72.

[2]Text missing.

[3]Of this wall Martin (*Chingis Khan*, 126f.) says: "The Great Wall system enjoyed considerable less importance than it did during several other periods of Chinese history. So, when Chingis Khan appeared upon the scene, it is likely that the famous rampart was in a state of disrepair. Nevertheless, during the twelfth century two walls covering a number of small frontier towns were built or added to far beyond the Great Wall proper. One of these extended along the crest of the Khinghan between the Khitans and Khongirads, and the other along the outer fringe of the southern Mongolian grasslands. This, running from the Khinghan to the borders of Hsi Hsia, was known to the Chinese as the Wai-pao and to the nomads as the Ongu. It was the charge of this rampart, falling under the jurisdiction of the commander for the northwest, that had given to its guardians their name of Ongud. As military works, neither can have been intended to withstand more than raiding expeditions."

The chief and commander of the Öng'üt in Genghis Khan's time was a person called Ala Qush Tegin Quri. Ala Qush is a name, and Tegin Quri is a title.[1] He was a secret supporter of Genghis Khan's, and when Tayang Khan Naiman quarrelled with Genghis Khan he sent a message to Ala Qush Tegin to unite with him and make war on Genghis Khan. Ala Qush informed Genghis Khan of this, as has already been mentioned briefly in the section on the Naiman and will be given in detail later. After that, when Genghis Khan set out against the realm of Cathay, Ala Qush was still angry with Altan Khan and turned the wall over to Genghis Khan. For that reason Genghis Khan showed him great favor and ordered his daughter given to him. [M310] Ala Qush said, "I am old. I had a brother named Yesüi who was ruler. When he died his son Shigü was carried off to Cathay by Altan Khan. Perhaps you could give this girl to him so that he may come." Genghis Khan so ordered. Ala Qush then sent a message in secret to his nephew to come. He set out, and when he reached the village of Gündüg in that vicinity, his uncle's and father's officers sent word to him, saying, "It is not wise for you to come, for your uncle Ala Qush will kill you. Stop where you are until we do away with him." Shigü stopped, and the officers killed Ala Qush Tegin. Then Shigü came and submitted to Genghis Khan, who gave him his daughter Alaqai Beki, who was younger than Ögödäi Qa'an and older than Yäkä Noyan. After that he was called Alaqai Beki. Then Genghis Khan asked, "Who killed our *quda* [ally], Ala Qush Tegin? Bring me his murderer so that I can extract vengeance." Shigü knelt and said, [M312] "All the Öng'üt have taken counsel together and killed him. If you kill us all, what good will it do him?"

"If that is how it is," said Genghis Khan, "then bring me the person who violated his person and killed him." When he was brought he ordered him and his family killed.

By Shigü, Alaqa Beki had a son named Öngüdäi. He was given a daughter of Tolui Khan's who was younger than Mänggü Qa'an and older than Hülägü Khan, but she had no children. **[101]**

From that time on it has become customary for members of Genghis Khan's family to intermarry with the Öng'üt. This is why Arghun Khan's mother, Qai[t]mish Khatun, was of the Öng'üt nation.

Well-known officers and important persons from this nation are as follows. During Genghis Khan's time there was a *hazara* commander Ay Buqa.[2] Of those who came to this realm was Chin Temür, who came before with Yesil Noyan. [M314] Chin Temür's sons were Köchi Temür, the governor of Khwarazm, and Eygü Temür,[3] whose sons were Yusuf and Quru Buqa. Köchi Temür's sons are numerous in Khwarazm, and they have given their daughters to rulers. Yusuf's son Maqur is with Toqtai, and Quru Buqa's son is here.

The story of Chin Temür and his sons is as follows. Before Hülägü Khan came to Iran, Ögödäi Qa'an dispatched a troop commander from the "bone" of the To-ba'ut, a branch of the Kerayit, to govern. His name was Yesil Noyan,[4] and at this time there are of his progeny Tughluq Qushchi and his brothers and relatives. The

[1] JT_K has تیکین قوری for Ala Qush's title; in the *Secret History* §182 it is *digid quri*, which Doerfer suggests is connected somehow to Genghis Khan's title *ja'ut quri* (see text p. 250 below). *Digit/tigit* (تیکیت) has been confused with the Turkish princely title *tegin* (تیکین). See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:282 and 2:533–41 §922.

[2] Reading ایبوقا (Ay Buqa) for the text's ایتوقا. His name appears as Ay Buqa on p. 403 below.

[3] Reading ایکر (Eygü ~ Edigü) for the text's اتکر.

[4] See note at text p. 89 above. In Juvaini/Boyle (p. 488) he is called "Nosal."

aforementioned Chin Temür came with him as a *nökär*. Külbolad of the Naiman, the father of Yisa'ur Ba'urchi and Yisa'ur, came with him as a *yarghuchi*, as did Görgüz,[1] an Uyghur, as a *bitigchi*. (Among Görgüz's sons were Qutluq Buqa, Yaylagh Buqa, and other brothers, [M316] and Qutluq Buqa's sons were Uighurtai and Ghazan Bahadur, who are alive today.)

When Chin Temür died, Yesil Noyan ordered Görgüz to go to the qa'an and inform him. Külbolad said to Yesil Noyan, "He should not be sent because he is an Uyghur and not fit for this mission. He will only work in his own interests." Yesil Noyan refused to listen and sent Görgüz off. When he approached the qa'an he got Chin Temür's position as *basqaq* of Iran for himself. When he came back, Chin Temür's son Eygü Temür disputed [the appointment], went to the qa'an, got his father's position, and brought back with him Amir Arghun as an emissary. When he arrived here, Görgüz said, "We are two lead rams that won't fit into one kettle." **[102]** In the midst of this dispute they both took their suit to the qa'an. The Amir Arghun who had gone as an emissary for Eygü Temür also had designs on ruling, [M318] and the position of both of them was given to him.

After that, Görgüz was crossing a bridge one day when he came across a page of Chaghatai's wife's named Sartaq Kächävü [Sartaq the Strong]. They had an exchange of words, and Görgüz asked, "Who are you?"

"I am Sartaq Kächävü," he replied.

"And I'm Görgüz Kächävü," said Görgüz, and he let slip an ugly word.

"You wait and see if I don't report you," said Sartaq.

"To whom are you going to report me?" asked Görgüz.

Chaghatai had recently died, and when Sartaq Kächävü reported him to Chaghatai's wife, she, highly offended, sent word to Ögödäi Qa'an, who issued a decree for [Görgüz] to be apprehended and have his mouth stuffed with dirt. By the time the order arrived, Görgüz had reached Khurasan. When he heard that an emissary was coming to apprehend him, he fled to a ruined fortress in Tus. The emissary produced the edict for Tughluq, Yesil Noyan's son, to apprehend Görgüz. He besieged him for three days, [M320] and battle was done on both sides. Finally he was taken, bound in chains, and entrusted to the deputies. They took him away, imprisoned him, stuffed his mouth with dirt, and killed him. After that the offices of *shahna* and governor of Iran belonged to Amir Arghun.

The Tangqut Nation

This nation used to dwell principally in villages and towns, but they were highly militaristic and warlike. They fought many battles with Genghis Khan and his family. Their leader and ruler was called Lung Shadurghu. The Tangqut's territory contains many cities, towns, and fortresses.[2] Many mountains surround it on all sides, and the entire territory exists because of a huge mountain situated in front called Angshan.[3] It is surrounded by Cathay, Nankiyas and Manzi. **[103]** Jibik Temür, who is

[1]Through the following passage, the text varies between the correct كوركوز "Görgüz" and the misdotted كوزكور "Gözgür." In Old Uyghur the name is spelled ويصعوجم (Giwärgiz > Giörgiz, attested in W. Bang, *Türkische Bruchstücke einer Nestorianischen Georgspassion* [Louvain: J.-B. Istas, 1926], T. II. B. 66 verso, line 2) in imitation of the Syriac ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ for Γεωργός. Simple vocalic harmony would account for the shift to Görgüz, spelled in Persian as كوركوز.

[2]Tangqut territory, known by many names, was the kingdom of Hsi-hsia (西夏), the capital of which was at Ning-hsia (寧夏). The Mongols called it Qashi (< 河西 Ho-hsi) until the name became taboo, and it is roughly the modern Chinese province of Ningxia.

[3]انكشان in JT_K; السای (Alsai) in JT_{RKA}.

the son of [Kötän son of Ögödäi], dwells near that territory.

During Ögödäi Qa'an's time there was an army there, sent in the time of Qubilai Khan. Formerly the Mongols called it Qa-shin, but when Ögödäi Qa'an's son Qashi, Qaidu's father, died, [M322] the name Qa-shin became taboo. From that time on they have also called the territory Tangqut, and that is the name by which it is known today.

In Genghis Khan's and Ögödäi Qa'an's times they went to that territory several times and dispatched armies. Since they were a pugnacious and powerful nation, they stirred up sedition and fought battles. They finally submitted but then rebelled again. The first time, when Genghis Khan had taken most of the Märkit tribes, in the Year of the Ox, corresponding to 601 [1205], he went to fight that region. Inside the frontier was a mighty fortress called Ligi and a large city Asa Kinglus.[1] He took it, destroyed it, and plundered the province, taking the many camels that were there. The third year after that, the Year of the Rabbit, which is called Taulai Yil [1207], Genghis Khan went off during the autumn and winter with a huge army and many soldiers to fight and conquer the region. He subdued most of it. The fourth year, Morin Yil, or Year of the Horse [1210], Genghis Khan spent the summer in his *ordu* and then mounted in the autumn, headed for there. He took a large city called Äriqay,[2] and forced into submission every place that held out and had a fortress, giving order to the realm. He asked for the daughter of the ruler, Lung Shadurghu, and stationed a *shahna* there to guard the realm.

When he began his campaign against the Tajiks' realm, he returned to his *ordu* in Taqiqu Yil, or Year of the Cock [1225]. After he had been there for a while he heard that the ruler of Tangqut had rebelled again. This stirred his zeal, but because he had grown old, he knew that his time for departure was nigh. Summoning his sons, commanders, and retinue, he delivered his last testament and words concerning ruling and commanding and advice to his sons. In the autumn of that year he launched an expedition against Qashin. The ruler, Lung Shadurghu,[3] apologized, saying, "I was afraid and did wrong. If he gives me respite and accepts me as a son, and swears to it, I will come out." **[104]** Genghis Khan swore an oath and granted him respite for a fixed amount of time. During that time he fell ill and stipulated that when he was dead they not reveal his death or cry out and wail so that the enemy, [M326] unaware, would come out at the appointed time, when they could all be captured and massacred. In the spring of Noqai Yil, the Year of the Dog, Lung Shadurghu came out. He and all the people of the city were put to the sword, and the kingdom was taken. Genghis Khan's coffin was carried to the *ordu* at the beginning of the Year of the Pig, and then they held mourning and let his death be known.

There have been many commanders of the Tangqut. Among them was Chaghan Noyan. When he was fifteen years old Genghis Khan got him and brought him up as a son, calling him his fifth son. He was in command of Genghis Khan's great *hazara*. At that time it was customary for that *hazara*, however grand it was, not to be more than a thousand, and that *hazara* consisted of persons who were attached to Genghis Khan's *ordu*. Every *ulagh* [courier horse],

[1] "Ligi" is Li-chi-li in Hsi-Hsia; "Asa Kinglus" should be Lo-szu, also a city in Hsi-Hsia. See notes on text pp. 306 and 307 below.

[2] اریق in JT_K; اری قی in JT_{RKA}. This is the Erighaya of the *Secret History* §265, identified with the city of Ning-hsia, the modern Yinchuan in Ningxia.

[3] This "Lung Shadurghu" is Li An-ch'uan (r. 1206–11) of Hsi-Hsia.

qalan [impost[1]], *shüsün* [rations], *inqirchaq* [pack saddle], and *arghamji* [lead rope], &c. that are given [to] all soldiers, Genghis Khan's *hazara* and all attached to his person were paid rightly. In Ögödäi Qa'an's time Chaghan Noyan was assigned over all the soldiers who were in Cathay territory, and to that was added the governorship of Cathay so that the princes and commanders who were dwelling in that area would all be under his command.

Another commander was Buda Noyan, whom Genghis Khan also brought from Tangqut. He was in command of his personal company of a hundred. When Chaghan Noyan went off to his post, this Buda Noyan was put in charge of [Genghis Khan's] *hazara*. He was the commander of Börtä Füjin's great *ordu* and three others as well. In this land Achu Sükürchi and his son Toghricha are from this nation.

The story of Buda is as follows. When he was thirteen years old he was taken captive from Tangqut, and then he herded cows in the *ordu*. One day while hawking Genghis Khan saw him put his hat on the end of a stick, stand before it, and offer it a cup. Genghis Khan asked him, "What are you doing, and what is this?" [M330]

"I am a boy who was taken captive from the Tangqut," he replied. "I get bored from being alone, so I put my hat on the end of a stick and say, 'Of us two one is bigger, and it is better for me to serve the hat, [which is a sign] of greatness.' " **[105]**

Genghis Khan liked this reply, and since he saw in him signs of competence and maturity, he took him to his great *ordu* and to Börtä Füjin, where he was given work preparing food in the kitchen. Since his ascendant was favorable, he gradually rose to the rank of commander of a hundred, and thereafter he became an officer of the personal *hazara*. During Ögödäi Qa'an's time, when all the realm of Cathay had been subdued and rendered submissive, that region and all the soldiers there were turned over to him.

The Uyghur Nation[2]

As has been mentioned in the preface to this book, since Oghuz (son of Qara Khan, son of Dib Baqui, son of Abulja Khan Japheth, son of Noah) was a montheist, he fought with his uncles, brothers, and cousins. [M332] Some of them helped him, and he vanquished the others. He conquered many lands and assembled a huge following. He rewarded his relatives, commanders, and soldiers, and the group of relatives who had joined him he named Uyghur, which means "to join together and help" in Turkish. This name then was applied to all that group and their branches and offspring and their families. When some of those clans acquired particular names for some reason, like the Qarluq, the Qalach, the Qipchaq, &c., the name Uyghur stuck to the rest. According to this, all the Uyghurs are descended from them, but it has been so long that it is not known in

[1]The sense here is probably the vouchers given official couriers to draw against provincial stores and funds for supplies along their routes. The *qalan* was a land, or agricultural, tax.

[2]In A.D. 744 an Uyghur confederation invaded the Mongolian core lands of the Türk Khaghanate and set up a ruling oligarchy of their own at Ordu Baliq (Qara Balghasun) that lasted until the confederation broke up in A.D. 840. After that the Uyghur tribes dispersed, some westwards toward the Qarluqs in Eastern Turkistan, some southwards to Tibet, and others eastwards to Eastern Mongolia and Western Manchuria. The last-named group was carried off by the Qirghiz to the north. The region primarily inhabited by the Uyghurs in Rashiduddin's day would have been the string of silk-route cities north and south of the Tarim Basin. See Golden, *Turkic Peoples*, 155–76. The region Rashiduddin discusses below is the old Uyghuristan along the course of the Orkhon River, where Qaraqorum was built.

detail for what or how the divisions of their clans and branches were named. They are therefore reckoned absolutely as a branch of the Turks, without the interpolation of the foregoing, and for this reason, even though mention of them was made in the section on Oghuz, it has been necessary to repeat in this chapter tribes that resemble the Turks according to what the Uyghurs report. However, since their stories and legends would take up a lot of room, we have relegated to a separate history their events and beliefs as mentioned and recorded in their own books and **[106]** appended it to this blessed history. [M334] Here only a summary of what is appropriate to the branch will be introduced.

It is said that in the territory of Uyghuristan are two very large mountains. One is called Buqratu Buzluq, and the other is Ishqunluq Tängrim.[1] Qaraqorum is situated between these two mountains, and the city the qa'an built is called after that mountain. Next to those two mountains is another mountain called Qut Taq. Near those mountains there are ten rivers in one place and nine in another. Long ago the dwelling place of the Uyghur tribes was in those two river [systems], mountains, and plains. Those who were in the ten rivers were called the On Uyghur, and those who were in the nine rivers were called Toquz Uyghur. The ten rivers are also called the On Orqon, and their names are as follows: Ishköl, Ötigär, Toqir, Orqundur, Tulu, Badar, Adar, Üch Tabin, Qamlanchu, Ötigän.[2]

Nine tribes dwelt in the first three rivers, and five tribes in the [next] four. Those who were in Qamlanchu, which is the ninth, are called the Ong people.[3] [M336] Those who were in Ötigän, the tenth, are called the Qahan Ati [?] people.[4] Aside from the tribes that dwelt at these rivers, there were one hundred twenty-two tribes in the vicinity, but their names are not known. Many years and generations passed without these Uyghur tribes' having a specific ruler or leader. At any given time anyone from any group would become commander of his tribe through dominance. After that, the generality of the tribes convened a council to regulate their overall affairs, saying, "We must have a ruler in absolute command whose order will be effective among us all." They all unanimously and willingly elected one from the Ishköl tribe named Mängütai, who was the most intelligent person of the tribes, and they entitled him *eltäbär*.[5] They also elected another known for his competence from the Orqundur tribe and entitled him *kül erkin*.[6] They were both made rulers over the collected tribes, and their families ruled for a hundred years.

Since unusual events that are related and some of the beliefs they hold, as told by them, have been relegated to a separate history of the Uyghurs and appended to this blessed history, **[107]** only a summary account will be given. [M338]

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[1]Identifiable in these two names are the Turkic *bughra* 'camel stallion' + *-tu* (place suffix), *buzluq* 'icy,' *ishqun* 'rhubarb,' and *tängrim* 'my god.'

[2]Massive variants of these names occur. Only Qamlanchu has been found elsewhere: Kashghari, *Compendium* 2:276: "**qamlancu** Name of a small city near **ekki ögüz**." "Ötigän" may be the same as Kashghari's Ötükän, "a place in the deserts of Tatar near Uighur" (*Compendium* 1:159) Khetagurov's (JT_{SL} 1/1:146f.) readings of the names are as follows: Ишлик, Утингер, Букыз, Узкундур, Тулар, Тардар, Адар, Уч-Табин, Камланджу и Утикан.

[3]اونك Ong in JT_K; لونك Lung in JT_{RKA}.

[4]Qahan Ati (قهن اتی) in JT_K; Q?m?q Ati Küz (قمق اتی کوز) in JT_{RKA}, which Khetagurov (JT_{SL}1/1:147) reads as кумук-атыкуз.

[5]Reading, with Doerfer, *eltäbär* for the text's AYL AYLTRYR. For this enigmatic title and a review of literature thereon, see Doerfer, *TMEN* 2:201ff. §655.

[6]For this title see Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:647–52 §1683.

Recently the idiomatic usage of the Uyghur has been to call their ruler Idiqut, which means possessor of good fortune. During Genghis Khan's time the Idiqut was Ba'urchuq.[1] When the Gür Khan conquered the realm of Transoxiana and Turkistan, the Idiqut submitted to him. [The Gür Khan] sent him a *shahna* named Shaugäm. Once he got established he began to act aggressively toward the Idiqut and his commanders and tribes by demanding unwarranted tributes. They, of course, despised him. Just then news arrived that Genghis Khan had taken over Cathay, and reports of his power and might poured in. At the Idiqut's indication they killed the *shahna* in a village called Qarachu, thereby announcing his rebellion against the Qarakhitai, and as a show of submission he sent emissaries to Genghis Khan named Qalmish Qata, Umar-Oghul, and Tarbai.[2] Genghis Khan received the emissaries warmly and commanded that the Idiqut come before him. [M340] He obeyed the order and then returned, having been shown all sorts of favor and kindness. When the victorious army moved against Güshlüg Khan, he set out as ordered with three hundred men and performed valiantly. After that, he returned and, with permission, rejoined his family and retinue. When Genghis Khan set out against the land of the Tajiks, he mounted, as commanded, with his army, accompanying the princes Chaghatai and Ögödäi and showing his mettle during the conquest of Otrar. After that, he set out for [Genghis Khan] and that area in the company of the commanders Tarbai, Yisa'ur, and Ghadaq.[3] When Genghis Khan descended in his original *yurt* with the great *ordu* and then set out against Tangqut, the Idiqut moved out of Beshbaliq, as commanded, to join Genghis Khan with his soldiers. He was rewarded for those pleasing services, and [Genghis Khan] affianced one of his own daughters to him, but [the marriage] was not completed due to the death of Genghis Khan. The [Idiqut] returned to Beshbaliq, and after Ögödäi Qa'an mounted the khan's throne, in accordance with his father's order, he offered him Altun Beki. **[108]** Before his arrival, however, [M342] Altun Beki died. Some time later he affianced Alajai Beki to him, but before she could be turned over to him, the Idiqut died. His son, Kishmayin,[4] went before the qa'an, became Idiqut, and was given Alajai Beki. Shortly thereafter he died. His brother Salindi took his place by order of Törägänä Khatun, became Idiqut, and was powerful and respected.

Other things that happened to them during this period will be reported in the proper places, God willing. The important and well-known ladies and officers who were and are of this nation are those who have been mentioned.

The Bäkrin Nation

They are also called the Mäkrin. Their dwelling place is in the rugged mountains of the province of Uyghuristan. They are neither Mongols nor Uyghurs. Because they dwell in inaccessible mountains they travel well in mountainous terrain and are all mountain climbers. They constitute one *hazara*. They submitted to Genghis Khan, and their commander and leader was with him. Since their land is near Qaidu's *ulus*, he seized them and attached them to himself. At that time their commander's name

[1]Or, as in JT_{RKA}, Barachuq (بارجوق), which Khetagurov (JT_{SL} 1/1:147) reads as Бараджук.

[2]Reading with Juvaini/Boyle (p. 45) تاربای for the text's تاتاری. Tarbai is the *Secret History*'s "Darbai" (§238).

[3]Reading غداق for the text's علاف. See Juvaini/Boyle, p. 46.

[4]Boyle (Juvaini/Boyle, p. 47, note 19) reads the name that occurs here, کشماین (Kishmayin?), as کسماس (Käsmäs).

was Jinanch.

During Genghis Khan's time their chief brought him a girl and offered her to him. Genghis Khan approved of her and loved her very much. [M344] Her name was Mögä Khatun, but he had no children by her. It was Genghis Khan's command that the Mäkrin tribe display their daughters so that he might take whichever one he liked for himself or his sons. After Genghis Khan's death, this lady was taken by Ögödäi Qa'an, and he loved her more than his other wives—so much so that they were jealous of her. Chaghatai also loved this Mögä Khatun, and before he learned that Ögödäi Qa'an had taken her, he sent a message, saying, "Of all my stepmothers and my father's *berigäns*, give me Mögä Khatun." Ögödäi Qa'an replied, "I have taken her. Had your message arrived earlier, I would have sent her to you. **[109]** If you desire another, [let me know so that] I can give her to you." Chaghatai said, "She was what I wanted. If I can't have her, I don't want another." The qa'an did not have any children by her either.

Qashin's wife, the mother of Qaidu, was from the Mäkrin tribe. Her name was Säbginä.[1] There was a contingent from this tribe with Hülägü Khan, and in this realm they are renowned as mountaineers and climbers. [M346]

The Qirqiz Nation[2]

Qirqiz and Kämkämchi'üt are two adjacent regions, and the two form one realm. The Kämkämji'üt is a large river.[3] It borders the province of Mongolia on one side, is adjacent on another side to the Selenga River where the Tayichi'ut tribes dwell, borders the large river called Angqara Mürän [the Angara River] near the province of Ibir-Sibir, and ends at the villages and mountains where the Naiman peoples dwell. The tribes of the Qori, Barghut, Tumat, and Bayalug, some of which are Mongol tribes and dwell in the place of Barqujin Tögüm, are also near this region.

There are many towns and villages in this province, and there are many nomads. Their rulers are called Inal even though they have other names. The part of that province that is important and known is called generically Yedi [?], and its ruler was ___. The name of the other province is Yedi Oron, and its ruler was called Orus Inal. [M348] In Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit corresponding to 603 [1207], Genghis Khan sent two emissaries named Altan and Buqra to these two rulers, calling upon them to submit. With them they sent three officers of their own, Uruq Iju,[4] Elig Temür, and Ayqaraq, along with a white falcon as a gift, and submitted. Twelve years later, in Bars Yil, when one Tumat tribe that dwelt in Barqujin Tögüm [and] Bayaluq had rebelled, because they were near the Qirqiz, they requested a troop from the Qirqiz to quell them. They

[1]Here the name is spelled سبكينا. In JT_{RKA} it is سيبكينه. On p. 447 below it is سنكه with many variants. "Säbginä" is only a guess.

[2]The Qirqiz are called "Kirgisud" in the *Secret History*. Spelled قرقيز (Qírqíz) the few times it is mentioned in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, the name of this nation is later often spelled قرغيز (Qírghíz) and eventually gives the modern name Kirghiz/Kyrgyz of Kyrgyzstan. It is unclear whether the ethnonym Qirghiz was originally political or territorial; the name has been historically applied to a variety of peoples (see Golden, *Turkic Peoples*, 176f.). In the period covered by *Jami'u't-tawarikh* the Qirqiz were associated with the Upper Yenisei region.

[3]"Kämčiüt = Kämči'üt est le pluriel mongol régulier de Kämčik, et Käm-Kämčik est évidemment formé de la réunion du nom du Käm, conçu en fonction de ses deux principales branches orientales, et du Kämčik, sa principale branche occidentale. Le défile où, juste après la réunion du Käm et du Kämčik, le fleuve franchit la frontière russe, porte encore aujourd'hui le nom de Kem-Kemčik-Bōm" (Hambis, "Notes sur Käm," p. 287).

[4]In JT_K اورق ايجو; in JT_{RKA} اوروت اوتوجو (Urut Ötüchü?).

refused and rebelled. Genghis Khan dispatched his son Jochi Khan with an army against them, **[110]** and their chief, Buqa, went out in the vanguard, put the Qirqiz to flight, and returned via the eighth river. When Jochi Khan arrived, the Kämkämji'üt River was frozen. He crossed on the ice, [M350] rendered them submissive, and withdrew.

The Qarluq Nation

Although this nation has been mentioned in the section on Oghuz, since they went before Genghis Khan in his time and their tale will be told in the narrative, a summary account is given here also. During Genghis Khan's time the ruler of the Qarluq was named Arslan Khan. When Genghis Khan sent Qubila Noyan of the Barulas tribe to that area, Arslan Khan submitted and went before Qubila. Genghis Khan gave him a girl from his own *urugh* and commanded that he be called Arslan Sartaqtai (meaning Tajik[1]), saying, "How can he be called Arslan *Khan*?"

The Qipchaq Nation

The reason for mentioning the Qipchaqs here, since they are mentioned in the section on Oghuz, is the same as was said above for the Qarluqs. The chief of the Qipchaqs at that time ___. In Genghis Khan's time there was a commander of the Qipchaq named Könchäk, the head of the *sükürchis*. He had a son named Qamarmish Qolji.[2] Once he was sent on a mission to the Padishah of Islam. [M352] They are descendants of the rulers of the Qipchaqs. **[111]** ~

[1]The "Sart" part of names like Sartaqtai is the epithet normally applied to Tajiks/Persians. The Qarluqs were not Persians, of course, but the appellation Sart could be used for any and all settled peoples. In Timurid times, when the population was divided between non-military urbanites (basically Persians) and non-urban Turks who manned the military, the *díván-i Sárt* dealt with civilian affairs while the *díván-i Turk* handled military affairs.

[2]In JT_K قرمیش قولجی (Qamarmish Qolji); in JT_{RKA} قومورییش قونجی (Qumurbesh Qonchi).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TURKIC TRIBES THAT WERE ANCIENTLY STYLED MONGOL, FROM WHICH MANY TRIBES HAVE COME INTO BEING

Some stories about them will come in the history of Dobun Bayan and Alan Qo'a. These Mongol tribes form two divisions, the Dürlükin Mongols and the Niru'un Mongols. By Dürlükin Mongols is meant the Mongols generally, while the Niru'un are those that came into being from a single origin, i.e. from the womb of Alan Qo'a, whose story is well known to the Mongols.

The first section is on those who are called Dürlükin Mongols. They are the various branches and clans that were born from the lineage of the remainder of the Nüküz and Qiyan Mongol tribe that had gone into Ärgänä-qun and existed before the time of Dobun Bayan and Alan Qo'a.

The second section is on those who are called Niru'un Mongols. They are the tribes descended from Alan Qo'a after the death of her husband, [M354] Dobun Bayan. Alan Qo'a was of the Qorolas tribe, which is a branch of the Dürlükin Mongols. According to the Mongols, she became pregnant from light after the death of her husband, and three sons were born. **[112]** Those who are descended from those sons are called the Niru'un. The word *niru'un* means pure loins and is a reference to the pure line that came into existence from light. The clans that stem from Alan Qo'a and her sons comprise three divisions.

The first is the one descended from Alan Qo'a down to the sixth descendant, Qabul Khan. All these, their sons, grandsons, and families, are called Niru'un without qualification. Qabul Khan's brothers and their families are also called Niru'un.

The second, although they are Niru'un, are called Qiyat, and they are the group descended from Qabul Khan in the sixth generation of descent from Alan Qo'a.

The third, although they are Niru'un and Qiyat and descended from Alan Qo'a, and they are also descended from her sixth descendant, Qabul Khan, [M356] are called Qiyat Borjiqin. They are all descended from Qabul Khan's grandson Yesügäi Bahadur, Genghis Khan's father.

Now that the three divisions have been mentioned, the details will be given.

SECTION ONE
THE TRIBES OF THE MONGOL TURKS CALLED DÜRLÜKIN

These are those branches and clans that are descended from the Nüküz and Qiyan who went into Ärgänä-qun. They existed before the time of Dobun Bayan and Alan Qo'a.

As was explained in the preface to this blessed history, the Mongol tribes are one

class of the Turkic tribes, and their physiognomy and language closely resembled each other. **[113]** Those tribes are all descended from Japheth, the son of the prophet Noah—upon whom be peace. Japheth is called Abulja Khan by them, and he is the ancestor of all groups of Turks. However, when long ages pass, one forgets one's condition. The Turks had no books or writing and were unable to record the history of four or five thousand years. They thus have no reliable ancient history, except for a few incidents [M358] fairly close to the present, which they often repeat and teach to their children.

These tribes had their *yurts* and lands adjacent one to another, and it was well defined from where to where each one's *yurt* was. All of their *yurts* stretched from the borders of Uyghur territory to the borders of Cathay and Manchuria in the territory that is now called Mongolia. These places and names have been previously mentioned in detail. The tribe that has been called Mongol since ancient times developed a dispute and rivalry with the other Turkic tribes that turned into outright hostility and war two thousand years ago, more or less. It is related by trustworthy sources that the other tribes overcame the Mongol tribes and so slaughtered them that no more than two men and two women survived. Fleeing from their enemies, those two households went to a harsh place surrounded by mountains and forests, with only one narrow, rugged road leading in on every side, which made access very difficult. In the midst of those mountains was a grassy plain called Ärgänä-qun. (*Qun* means mountain flank, and *ärgänä* means wall, so Ärgänä-qun means a wall-like cliff.) The two men were named Nüküz and Qiyan.

For years they and their progeny remained there, [M360] multiplying through intermarriage. Each branch of them became known by a specific name and epithet, and they became an *omaq*. (The word *omaq* means to be of a specific "bone" and lineage.) Those *omaq*s also branched out, and at this time the Mongol tribes report that those who came into being from these branches are more closely related to each other, and they are the Dürlükin Mongols.

The word Mongol was originally *mong ol*, which means "left behind" and "simpleton." In the Mongolian language *qiyan* is a strong torrent that tumbles down from a mountain to the ground and is swift, fast, and powerful. Since Qiyan was a courageous warrior and very bold, **[114]** this word was made his name. *Qiyat* is the plural of *qiyan*. Those who were nearer in descent to him were called Qiyat in ancient times.

When this group became numerous in those mountains and forests, and the land was constraining them, they took counsel with each other to figure out how to get out of that narrow prison. They found a place in the mountains where there was an iron mine, where they always used to smelt iron. [M362] They gathered together and brought loads of kindling and charcoal from the forest. Then they killed seventy horses and oxen, skinned them, and made ironsmiths' bellows from them. They placed the huge amount of kindling and charcoal at the base of the cliff and so arranged it that they could cause the seventy large bellows to blow at once, and thus the cliff was melted, producing immeasurable quantities of iron and opening a road, through which they moved out. From that stricture they emerged into a spacious plain.

They say the original branch called after Qiyan wielded the bellows, and thus the tribe known as the Nüküz and the tribe of the Uriangqat, who are a branch thereof, also wielded the bellows. Several other tribes also claim to have participated, but the tribes mentioned above do not consider their claim legitimate. They report that the

Qunqirat tribe, which consists of several subdivisions as will be explained later, as well as the Nüküz and Qiyan, who came into existence in Ärgänä-qun, left before the others without consultation in such a way that they trampled on the braziers and fires of the other clans. Those tribes therefore believe that the gout endemic among the Qunqirat results from their having departed before the others without their agreement and from having arrogantly trampled on their braziers and fires. [M364] They therefore have a bone of contention with the Qunqirat. The Mongols who now live here and have seen Ärgänä-qun report that it is a rugged place but not overly so. Their purpose in melting the cliff was to open another road for themselves.

Since Dobun Bayan, Alan Qo'a's husband, was descended from Qiyan, and Alan Qo'a was of the Qorolas tribe, [and] Genghis Khan's lineage goes back to them, as has been reported, they therefore **[115]** do not forget the melting of the iron or the ironsmithing. On the night that begins the new year it is the custom of Genghis Khan's family to gather ironsmiths, a forge, and charcoal, heat a bit of iron, place it on an anvil, beat it with a mallet, stretch it out, and give thanks.

Although in ancient times the tribes were called Qiyat, as explained, when they multiplied and split into many branches and clans after Dobun Bayan, every clan got its own particular name and epithet, and the epithet of Qiyan fell into disuse. After that, Alan Qo'a's descendant in the sixth degree, Qabul Khan, produced six sons. Since they were all warriors of great importance and princes, the Qiyat epithet was reapplied to them. [M366] From that time some of [Qabul Khan's] sons and progeny have been called Qiyat. In particular, the sons of one of his sons, Bartan Bahadur by name, who was Genghis Khan's grandfather, have been called Qiyat. Bartan Bahadur's eldest son was named Möngätü Qiyan. (*Möngätü* means a person who has many birthmarks.) He had a large birthmark on his neck, and he was a great warrior. Many of the Qiyat who are now in the Qipchaq Steppe are descended from him, his cousins, and his relatives.

Although Genghis Khan and his forefathers and brothers were of the Qiyat tribe, the sons of Yesügäi Bahadur, Genghis Khan's father, were called Qiyat Borjiqin. They are both Qiyat and Borjiqin. (In the Turkish language *borjiqin* means someone with yellowish gray eyes.) They were extremely brave and valiant warriors, so much so that they became proverbial for manliness. When the other tribes went to war with each other, they would take refuge with them, give them presents and gifts, and ask them for help with their might and power; and with their help and assistance they would triumph over powerful enemies. What the Mongols know of their condition is the bit that has been stated. [M368]

Many tribes came into being from them, as will be detailed, **[116]** and the reason for going on at such length and in such detail is that those tribes, the Niru'un tribes, and Genghis Khan's forefathers are they who are all of the one branch descended from the two persons who went into Ärgänä-qun and multiplied over a long period of time. In the second and third sections will be explained the branches and clans that came into being from them, which are called altogether the Dürlükin Mongols and from whose progeny came many tribes, some of which came into being from the lineage of Dobun Bayan and Alan Qo'a and branched out into many clans.

Before now, during the time of Genghis Khan and his renowned *urugh*, there were officers from the Nüküz and Qiyan tribes. At present in this land of Iran, Cha'urchi, a *hazara* commander whose sons Qara and

[his son] Süb[ät]äi are *hazara* commanders, was of the Nüküz tribe. During Abaqa Khan's time there were many from the Nüküz tribe in the *hazara* commanded by Cha'uqur of the Jalayir tribe, who is descended from Muqali Guyang, but was none famous or of any importance.

There is a branch of the Niru'un who are also called Nüküz, but they descend from Kündü China and Ölögchin China. They were sons of Charaqa Lingqum, [M370] who took to wife his brother's widow, the mother of Tumina Khan, and had by her two sons whose progeny are called both China[s] and Nüküz. Those who know the tribes and their branches well can distinguish between the two Nüküzes. One is the progeny of Kündü China and Ölögchin China. The clans descended from Charaqa Lingqum by other wives are all forefathers of the Tayichi'ut clans, as will be explained in the section on the Tayichi'ut.

Since the tribes of Nüküz and Qiyan split off after the ancient Mongols were reduced to naught, their story is the beginning of a separate history and it is necessary to mention those who preceded but who are not known in detail. A detailed explanation of the lineage, branches, and progeny that came into being from them until the time that Alan Qo'a and her sons appeared, who are called the Dürlükin Mongols, each separately with a line or two of their history that is pertinent to a mention of the branch will follow in its proper place. **[117]**

The Uriangqat Tribe[1]

This tribe descends from Qiyan and Nüküz. There is another group called the "Forest Uriangqat," [M372] but they are separate and distinct. The forest people live near each other on the borders of the region of Barqujin Tögüm, where the Qori, Barghut, and Tumat tribes dwell. Their clans and branches are not original Mongols, as was stated in the last section.

These Uriangqat claim that they helped run the seventy bellows in Ärgänä-qun. It is their custom, when there is a lot of thunder and lightning, to curse the sky and the thunder and lightning and cry out against them. If lightning hits an animal and it dies, they do not eat its flesh and avoid it. They claim that when they do this storms dissipate. Other Mongols do the opposite and do not come out of their houses when there is a storm but sit trembling inside.

There is said to be a lot of lightning in Mongolia, and the Mongols believe that lightning storms come from an animal like a dragon, and in that region they witness it coming down out of the air onto the ground, striking its tail against the earth, coiling around itself, and pouring fire from its mouth. A poet has versified this as follows: "It resembles a crocodile that yokes the celestial sphere when its dark, angry body emerges from the sea. / [M374] It roars like a dragon when it convulses against the world; it rains down fire and smoke from its maw and teeth." In this regard trustworthy Mongols insist that they have seen it many times. Since it gets unusually cold in Mongolia, particularly in the region called Barqujin Tögüm, there are constant lightning storms. They also report that if they pour wine, **[118]** kumiss, or yoghurt on the ground, it has a property to cause lightning to strike animals, particularly horses. If wine is poured, its effect is even greater, and the lightning will certainly strike their animals and tents. For this reason they take extreme measures to avoid it. If anyone takes his *ugh* [felt stockings] off his feet and wants to dry them in the sun, the same thing will happen. Therefore, when they dry their stockings, they cover the tops of their tents and dry them inside.

[1]Reference to the Uriangqat occurs in the *Secret History* as the attributives Uriangqadai (§12) and Uriangqajin (§38).

In their opinion these things have been proven by experience and are peculiar to that region. Since there are many lightning storms in that area that are highly devastating to them, they attribute the occurrence to some cause or other.

They also say that for one reason or another the djinn have appeared and spoken to them. [M376] There are many such superstitions in those countries. [There are] innumerable well-known shamans with whom the djinn speak, especially in the region near the farthest reaches of civilization, which is called Barghu and Barghujin Tögüm. There are many shamans there.

The Uriangqat tribe had many commanders in Genghis Khan's time, and there are still a lot of them. One of the great commanders in Genghis Khan's time was Jälmä Uha. *(Uha* means bandit, brigand, and bravado: since he had these characteristics he was so named.) At that time he was one of the officers of the watch, and there were no more than two or three officers greater than he. He died during Genghis Khan's time. He had two sons, Yesü Buqa Taishi, who took his father's place and was one of the commanders of the left wing, and Yesün Toqa Taraqi,[1] who was in command of a *hazara*, a commander of the right wing, and Genghis Khan's chief *qorchi*. The progenitor of Buqa and his family [M378] was Ögöläi Qorchi, who was an attendant and acquired renown and importance through [Genghis Khan's] patronage. Yesü Buqa, who was called Taishi—in the Cathaian language a teacher and great master is called *taishi*—had grown extremely old in Ögödäi Qa'an's time and had to be taken around in a cart. He had a reputation for being soft, for which reason Ögödäi Qa'an called him Yesü Buqa Taishi, which became his title. The Qara'una Chupan who is now a *hazara* commander is one of his nephews.

Sübätäi Bahadur was also of this tribe. Of his sons was **[119]** Temür Buqa Ba'urchi. Temür Buqa's sons were Basmish, Könchäk, and Qutlugh Khwaja. Their relatives were Bayinchar, Baidar, Kökä Elgä, and his son Harqasun, a *hazara* commander. Harqasun had no sons, but he had a nephew named Ashibuqa. [M380]

Of the lineage of Jälmä Uha was Sarban, a *hazara* commander. Narin Ahmad, formerly a *hazara* commander, his sons Hasan and Aqinji, and his nephew and Ürüng Temür, the son of Khwaja Noyan, were also relatives of his. Urqatai of Hinduqur's *tümän* and his son Ching Temür are also of his lineage.

During Genghis Khan's time there was a *hazara* commander of the left wing from the Forest Uriangqat named Udachi. Since Genghis Khan's time his sons and their *hazara* have kept watch over the reservation in which Genghis Khan's magnificent bones[2] were [laid to rest] in the locality called Burqan Qaldun, and they do not go out on campaign. They have maintained this custom until now. Of Genghis Khan's sons, the magnificent bones of Tolui Khan, Mänggü Qa'an, Qubilai Qa'an's sons and his offspring [M382] have also been laid to rest in that place. It is reported that when Genghis Khan reached that place, an extremely lush tree was growing in the plain. He liked it immensely and dismounted for a while beneath it. Discovering an inner ecstasy, he said to his officers and grandees, "Our final resting place should be here." After he died, since they had heard these words from him, they made his great *ghoruq* [reservation] in that very place under that tree. They say that in

[1] In the *Secret History* (§225, 230, 234, 278) he is Yesün Te'e and Yesün Tö'e. "Let Yesün Te'e, son of Jelme, be a captain of quiver bearers" *(Secret History* §225).

[2] Reading, at Doerfer's suggestion, *yasun* 'bones' for the text's YWSWN (Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:446).

that very year so many trees sprang up in that plain that it became a forest so thick that it is absolutely impossible to recognize the original tree, and no one knows which it is. The magnificent bones of his other sons are elsewhere. Udachi's *urugh* does not intermarry because they have long been *ötägü boghol* [and] *anda*.

*Amir Sübädäi Bahadur,[1] who came to Iran together with Jäbä Noyan, was also of the Uriangqat. He had a son, the commander of a *hazara* in the left wing, named Kökchü.[2] After Sübädäi's death he took his father's place.*[3] He [Sübädäi] had another son named Uriangqatai. During Mänggü Qa'an's time there was a great campaign, and when he dispatched his brother Qubilai Khan to the territory of Qarajang [M384] with ten *tümän*s of soldiers, the vanguard of that army was [commanded by] Uriangqatai. [Mänggü Qa'an] ordered that the entire army be under Uriangqatai's command. **[120]** That territory was so far from the qa'an's capital that it took nearly a year to get there. The air there was extremely putrid and bad, and the whole army suffered. The territory was also densely populated and had many soldiers, so it was necessary for them to do battle every day where they were camped. For this reason not more than one *tümän* of the ten returned. This Uriangqatai was of much importance and performed great feats.[4]

Sübädäi [M386] Bahadur had a grandson named Achuqan. He and Bayan were sent together as *amir-lashkar*s to conquer the land of Chin and Machin, which the Mongols called Nankiyas. Within seven years they had subdued that realm.

In Genghis Khan's time there was a person from this tribe who attended Jochi Qasar, Genghis Khan's brother. His name was Cha'urgha Ilaghan.[5] He is the one Genghis Khan sent with Qali'udar of the Jä'üriyät as emissaries to Ong Khan on behalf of Jochi Qasar.[6] [Genghis Khan then] took [Ong Khan] unaware and attacked him. This story has been explained in the section on the Jä'üriyät. There are many stories about the Uriangqat clans and their commanders. For the present this will suffice.

The Qunqirat Tribe[7]

This tribe is also descended from the two persons who went into Ärgänä-qun. As has been mentioned, it is related that the Qunqirat tribe left that place without warning and without consultation with the others, trampling their braziers as they went. [M388] The Mongols believe that the gout so prevalent among the Qunqirat is a result of that action and that the crime infected their feet. In ancient times the other Mongols developed a bone of contention with the Qunqirat for having left first. This is well known among them. **[121]**

Many clans have branched off from the Qunqirat, each with a separate name and epithet. Therefore in the list the name of each is given separately. Since they were originally branches of this tribe, they are

[1]Sübädäi ~ Sübätäi throughout. Other common spellings of his name include Sübü'ätäi, Sübötäi, and Sübütäi, and the Chinese transcription in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394 is 速不台 Su-pu-t'ai

[2]Kökchü in JT_{RKA}; Könchü in JT_K.

[3]Matter marked by asterisks occurs later in JT_K; arrangement taken from JT_{RKA}.

[4]Matter marked by asterisks above occurs here in JT_K.

[5]The Uriangqadai Chaqurqan of the *Secret History* §§183–85.

[6]The episode is given in the *Secret History* §184f. For Qali'udar's name read قالیودار for the text's قالتودار.

[7]The tribal name Qunqirat occurs variously as Unggirad *(Secret History)* and Jungirat (Prawdin). The spellings in Arabic script are legion, but they all reflect some variant of Qunqirat. The Chinese transcription of the name is 弘吉剌 Hung-chi-la *(Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395).

mentioned also in this original branch, as is reasonable, so as to be more easily understood.

It is related that their lineage goes back to three boys born of a golden pot.[1] This is merely an allusion that means that the person who gave birth to the boys was an intelligent and very learned individual of culture and education who is likened to a "golden pot." (This expression is particularly in use among the Mongols, and they customarily say when they see the king, "We have seen the king's golden countenance." [M390] By "golden countenance" they understand what is meant since the same expression is used among other tribes, gold being a noble, much sought-after, and highly pure substance. Otherwise, to be born of a golden pot is irrational and impossible.) At any rate, the names of those three boys and the branches that came into existence from them are as follows. The first boy was Churluq Märgän, ancestor of the clans that are now called Qunqirat. The second boy was Qabai Shira, who had two sons, Ikiräs and Olqunu'ut. The third boy was Tosboda[i], who also had two sons, Qaranut and Qongli'ut.

The first son, Churluq Märgän. When several branches of the original Qunqirat tribe had come into existence, each with its own particular name and epithet by which it was known (as will be mentioned later), [M392] the name Qunqirat was applied to some of the remainder. At this time they are known by that name. This Churluq Märgän was the ancestor of this group. The word *märgän* means someone who shoots arrows straight. He was on bad terms with his brother Qabai Shira. One day he got furious with him and wanted to shoot him. Qabai Shira got afraid, bent over double on horseback, lowered his head to the horse's side, and watched to see whether his brother was going to shoot or not. **[122]** The brother saw his face and had compassion. Calming his anger, he said, "How can I kill my brother? Since, on the other hand, I have arrow to bow, how can I not shoot and not teach him a lesson?" Then he shot so that the arrow grazed his ear and throat without hitting his face. Thereafter his epithet became Märgän.

The Qunqirat dwell in the vicinity of the *öngü*, which is like Alexander's dam separating the realm of Cathay from the territory of the Mongols. They call that place Ötjiya [?],[2] and there they dwell.

There have been many officers and ladies of Qunqirat lineage in every era. Those who are known will be reported. During Genghis Khan's time among his great officers was one from the Qunqirat tribe, Tärgä El, chief of a group of them. He submitted to Genghis Khan and accompanied him. Genghis Khan gave him a daughter of his named ___. [M394] As he was giving her he said, "Your daughter is a frog and a turtle. How can I take her?" Highly offended, [Genghis Khan] had him executed.

There was another group of the Qunqirat. Their leader and chief was Däi Noyan. He had two sons, Elchi Noyan[3] and Huqutu Noyan, and a daughter named Börtä Füjin. Genghis Khan asked for her as a very young man, but her father objected strongly. Since Elchi Noyan had a friendship with Genghis Khan, he endeavored to give him his sister, who was older than he was. Däi Noyan had a brother, Daritai, who had four sons,

[1] The "golden pot" *(bastú-yi zarrín)* is a translation of the Mongolian name of the progenitor, Altan Quduqa. See below, text p. 125.

[2] Thus in the text: ارتجیه. This may be a corruption of the name Abji'a (which is close to the variant in JT_{RKA}'s MS ج, ابجیه); see below text p. 279.

[3] Elchi Noyan's name varies in the text as ایلچی (Elchi) ~ الچی (Alchi); the Chinese transcription is 安赤那顏 An-ch'ih Na-yen (*Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395). We will opt for "Elchi" throughout the translation.

Qata, Bubur, Tägüdär,[1] and Junqur.[2] Most of them and their offspring married girls from Genghis Khan's family and were given positions such that they sat above the sons and were all commanders of the left wing. At this time there are many of their sons and sons-in-law with the qa'an and in the *uluses* of Ögödäi, Chaghatai, and Jochi. Salji'uta[i] Gürägän, whose father was called Bulughan Noyan and who married Qutuq-[t]u's daughter Kälmish Aqa, and Äbügän Gürägän, who came as an emissary from Toqta's *ulus*, [M396] were also from this "bone." In Iran, Abata[i] Noyan, his sons Bars, Otman, and Qutlugh Temür, and their sons are of the Qunqirat tribe. Bulughan Khatun and Kärämü Khatun are both of Abatai's lineage. Bulughan Khatun is Otman's daughter, **[123]** and Käramü Khatun is Qutlugh Temür's daughter.

During Genghis Khan's time there was a great commander called Anchu Noyan, and his name was Därgä Gürägän.[3] He had a son named Shinggü Gürägän.[4] Genghis Khan detached four thousand men from other Qunqirat clans and put him in charge of them. He gave him his daughter Tümälün, who was older than Tolui Khan, and sent him to Tumat territory. His offspring are still there today. Baya'udai Harbatai is attached to them and came from there. Baya'udai is of the Olqunu'ut, a branch of the Qunqirat, as will be explained.

There was another commander during Genghis Khan's time named Toquchar, [M398] who was called Dalan Turqaqtu Toquchar because he [began the day watch and bodyguard.[5]] In this land, Beki Bahadur, commander of the Qara'unas' *hazara* stationed in the Badghis vicinity, is his grandson. He [Toquchar] was in Genghis Khan's service, and when he mounted on a campaign to Cathay, he sent him [Toquchar] with two thousand horsemen as *qaravul* at his rear as a precaution lest the Kerayit, Mongols, Naimans, et al. he had subdued come from the rear and rebel. Another great commander attendant upon Genghis Khan was Uqbai Noyan. In this land the Malik who is with Tödäi Khatun is a son of his. Hülägü Khan's wife Qutui Khatun,[6] Märtäi Khatun, and Törbäi Gürägän were cousins of Malik. Tolui Khan's son Jörikä had a wife named Bulaghi, a niece of Elchi Noyan's, [M400] but she is not in Elchi Noyan's branch.[7]

Qubilai Qa'an had a wife named Chabui Khatun,[8] a daughter of Elchi Noyan's. She was extremely chaste and beautiful, and he loved her exceedingly. By her he had four sons and five daughters, as will come in the section on him.[9] This lady's epithet in the Cathaian language was Qonqu, which means great lady. When she died Qubilai Qa'an married her niece, Nambui Khatun,[10] the daughter of Nachin Gürägän, and

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[1]Reading تاکودار (Tägüdär) for the text's تاکوداد.

[2]Text has جونتور. Berezin (5:150) reads جویقور (Juiqur).

[3]This Därgä's name occurs in the *Secret History* as Terge (§76) and Unggirad-un Dergeg (§141).

[4]This seems to be the Qunqirat son-in-law of whom (p. 225 below) it is said that his name was Gürägän.

[5]The two meaningless words in the text here have been reconstructed by Doerfer (*TMEN* 1:267 §135) as translated. Dalan Turqaqtu Toquchar means Toquchar "of the seventy daywatches." Cf. *Secret History* §224: "Aforetime [I] was wont to have eighty nightguards and seventy guards [which were] dayguards."

[6]For the text's قولوی, read قوتوی (Qutui) as below on p. 679. In Khwandamir, *HS* 3:103 her name is given as قوبوی.

[7]The sense of the last phrase is not clear. Berezin (5:151) translates similarly: однако она не въ вѣтви его.

[8]Reading چابوی (Chabui) as on text p. 612 below for the text's جابون here.

[9]See text p. 613 below.

[10]Read نمبوی (Nambui) as on p. 615 below for JT_K's تجیوی.

had by her a son named Jirquiji.[1]

The wife of Ögödäi Qa'an's son Köchü, Qataqash,[2] was a granddaughter of Elchi Noyan. Shirämün was born of her. Aside from Nachin, Elchi Noyan had a son named Üchigü Gürägän.

The Därgäi[3] Gürägän who[se son] married Genghis Khan's daughter Tümälün **[124]** was also a Qunqirat.

[The Ikiräs Clan]

[Altun Quduqa's] second son was Qabai Shira. He had two sons, Ikiräs and Olqunut. [M402] The entire Ikiräs clan is descended from Ikiräs. Mänggü Qa'an's chief wife, Qutuqtai Khatun, was of this clan. [She was] the daughter of Huludai Gürägän,[4] who was the son of Butu Gürägän,[5] who was married to Genghis Khan's eldest daughter, Füjin Beki.

[The Olqunu'ut Clan]

The Olqunu'ut clan is all from the "bone" of Olqunut. The Taichu Gürägän who married Genghis Khan's youngest daughter, Altan, was of this clan. His story is long and will be given separately. He had a son named Chochintai,[6] who married Mänggü Qa'an's daughter Shirin.[7] When she died he was given her sister, Bichqa.[8]

Yesügäi Bahadur's wife, Genghis Khan's mother, Ö'älün Füjin, was of this clan. Olar Gürägän's son [Taichu] Gürägän, [M404] who married Genghis Khan's youngest daughter Altalun, was also of this clan.[9] He was the brother of Ö'älün Füjin, Genghis Khan's mother.

[The Qaranut and Qorolas Clans]

The third son [of Altan Quduqa] was Tosbodai. He had two sons, Qaranut and Qongli'ut.

Qongli'ut married one of his father's wives and had by her a son named Misär Ölüg, who also married one of his father's wives and had by her a son named Qorolas, from whom the Qorolas are descended. He married a Cathaian woman and had a son by her named Eljigen, from whose "bone" all the Eljigin clan descend. Each of these in succession will be detailed. The three branches that form three separate clans from Tosbodai's sons are as follows.

Qaranut was Tosbodai's elder son, and all the clan called Qaranut are descended from him.

Qongli'ut had a son named Misär Ölüg.

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[1]Thus in the text: جرقويجى. This must be Qubilai's twelfth son, but the name is omitted in the list on text p. 615 below. JT_{RKA} reads Oghrughchi here, but his mother was Dörbäjin Khatun (see text p. 614 below).

[2]Reading قتاقتاش (Qataqash) for the text's قتاقتاش. Her name occurs also as Qadaqach. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:588.

[3]Reading here دارکای (Därgäi) for the text's دايرکای. Above the name occurs as دارکه (Därgä).

[4]Huludai ~ Uludai (see p. 578 below).

[5]The name seems to be correct as it occurs here, Butu of the Ikiräs. See *Secret History* §120: "Forasmuch as Butu of the Ikires had proceeded here as a son-in-law..." and §202: "Butu Güregen, two thousand Ikires." See text p. 228 below. Butu's name occurs in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395, as 孛徒駙馬 Po-t'u Fu-ma, *fu-ma* being the Chinese for 'imperial son-in-law' and thus equivalent to the Mongolian *gürägän*).

[6]This name occurs as چوچمتای on text p. 579 below for the جوجنسای here. JT_{RKA} has جوجينباى, which Khetagurov (JT_{SL} 1/1:164) reads as Джуджинбай.

[7]Shirin was Mänggü Qa'an's daughter by Oghulqoymish of the Oyirat.

[8]This name (سجيقه in JT_K) is بيچقه on text p. 579 below and بيجيقه in JT_{RKA}.

[9]This son-in-law's name crops up differently every time it is mentioned: here it is ياجو; on p. 203 it is ماجو; on p. 225 it is تاجور; on p. 579 it is تايچو. The last mentioned version, Taichu, seems the most promising as a name. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that he was Ö'älün Ekä's brother and of the Olqunu'ut tribe. Here he is said to be the son of Olar Gürägän, and there is an Olar Güregen in the *Secret History* (§202) who was appointed captain of a thousand.

[M406] (The word *ölüg* means a person who fears nothing. Carrion is also called by this term.) It was his custom, once he slept, not to wake up for three days. He was extremely strong. **[125]** They say that a tent pole in his hands was like a whip. They also say that in the spring he used to gather shells by the seashore and put them in a horse's nose bag to cook and eat. Once he was bringing a bag full of shells and along the way went to sleep under the bag and didn't wake up for three days. Since he hadn't moved, a bird called a *yirau*, thinking him dead, had laid an egg on his back.

This Misär Ölüg married his father's wife and had by her a son named Qorolas, from whose lineage stems all the Qorolas clan. Although the origin of the Qorolas stems from the Altan Quduqa who was born of a golden pot,[1] and they and the Qunqirat and Ikiräs stem from one origin and are therefore *aqa-ini* to each other, they have always been at odds and at war. When Genghis Khan was in Baljiuna, the Qorolas clan put the Ikiräs, [M408] whose chief was [Tügä Maqa],[2] to the run and plundered them. The Ikiräs fled from them and went to Genghis Khan, uniting with him in Balji'una. There were three thousand soldiers from the Qorolas with Utuchi Noyan. Doratu Gürägän was of this clan. Butu Gürägän was the brother of Genghis Khan's mother,[3] and Genghis Khan gave him his eldest daughter, Füjin Beki. By her he had a son named Därgäi Gürägän. He gave another of his daughters, Chabun,[4] to this Därgäi Gürägän. Butu Gürägän's father was Näkün.[5] When Näkün was with the Tayichi'ut tribe, he sent a message to his son Butu warning him of their opposition. Cha'urqa,[6] a chief of the Qorolas clan, was with Genghis Khan in the battle with the Tayichi'ut. There was an officer from the Qorolas named Märkitäi, and when the Qunqirat clans got angry and went to Jamuqa [M410] because Jochi Qasar had put them to flight by Jäbä's order and Genghis Khan indicted him, the Ikiräs, Qorolas, Tatar, Qataqin, and Salji'ut all united to elect Jamuqa as *gür khan* and attack Genghis Khan. In secret, this Märkitäi sent a man named Qoridai, who had gone to him on some matter, to inform Genghis Khan. He gave him not a regal horse but one with a wart on its ear. Along the way he came across the *gürä'än* and *hazara* of Qorilan Bahadur of the Hoyin tribe. A man named [Qara Märkitäi[7]] was keeping watch by night **[126]** and saw him. Recognizing him, he gave him a fine *ayghir* [stallion] so that he could proceed swiftly. He came and informed Genghis Khan, who mounted, defeated them, and put them to flight.

[The Eljigin Clan]

Misär Ölüg married a Cathaian wife. Her story is as follows. She mounted a donkey and set out from Cathay, determined to find a husband. Her name was Dauqai Yabudaq. (In the Cathaian language *dauqai* means flower, [M412] and *yabudaq* means riding a donkey.[8]) Misär Ölüg had a son by her named Eljigen because *eljigen* means

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[1]The name given here, Altan Quduqa, means 'golden pot.' See above text p. 121.

[2]This should probably be the Ikires-ün Tüge Maqa of the *Secret History* §141. It takes some doing, but it is possible to see how a poorly written version of تركماقا could be turned into the text's massively garbled توتوك (بوتوك) خان.

[3]There is massive confusion here. Text has برتو, which certainly should be بوتو (Butu). Butu was the son of Näkün and married Füjin Beki, but he was not Ö'älün Ekä's brother.

[4]Thus in the text (جابون). The name is lacking in Berezin's edition (5:155).

[5]Reading نكون (Näkün) for the text's تكوز.

[6]Reading جاورقه (Cha'urqa) for the text's جاروقه.

[7]The name is missing in the text; taken from the repetition of the story on text p. 277.

[8]For *yabudaq* (for the text's *babudaq*), see Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:546 §401.

donkey and that woman had come on a donkey. The whole Eljigin clan descends from that son, and there were many well-known officers and great ladies during his time. In this land Gharaqai Noyan and his sons Jan Temür, Amir Ali, and Tasu Idächi[1] are from them. Of Eljigen's lineage are Tasu, Qoru Qachar Bahadur,[2] Sartaq Bahadur, and the Bulughan Khatun who is the Padishah of Islam's wife [and] daughter of Amir Tasu. Amir Tasu came on behalf of the qa'an as *nökär* to Arghun Aqa in order to command the territory that belongs to the qa'an. Tasu's sons are Kharbanda, Haritai, and Musalman Shüsünchi.[3] [M414]

These several branches and clans that have been mentioned came into being from that "golden pot." They are all branches of one tribe and, as mentioned, all close cousins to each other. However, each clan has become separate, formed a military unit, and multiplied thereafter. Qor[u] Qachar Bahadur and Sartaq Bahadur, who have been mentioned, were brothers during Genghis Khan's time. When the division was made, they went to Tolui Khan in Jädäi Noyan's *hazara*, became *anda-quda* with the Mangqut tribe, and went at Genghis Khan's decree and brought the Barghut tribe in.[4] The chief of the Barghut was called Qada'an Anin.[5] At that time they swore an oath and made a pact, saying, "We are like brothers and family to one another. Just as the Mongols marry each other's daughters, we too will so marry, and each of us who marries a girl from another tribe will observe the etiquette of daughter-in-law and son-in-law." At present they still live in this fashion. [M416] Boralghi Kükältash and Tartai Bariyan were descended from this Qada'an. **[127]**

The Oriyat Tribe

Three branches have appeared of the Oriyat, the Qonqotan, the Arulat, and the Oriyat Kilungghut. These names were originally the names of three brothers, from each of whom a line branched off, multiplied, and became a separate clan. Each clan then acquired a separate name and epithet after the name of the person with whom they originated.

[The Qonqotan Clan]

The first son was Qonqotan. The meaning of this word is someone with a big nose, and that is why he got this name. There were great officers of his lineage. In Genghis Khan's time Münglig Echigä was descended from him. [M418] When Ong Khan proved treacherous and summoned Genghis Khan on the pretext of giving his daughter to [Genghis Khan's] son, whereas he actually wanted to seize him, Genghis Khan was on his way when he stopped at Münglig Echigä's home and consulted with him. Münglig Echigä kept him from going.[6] He was always with Genghis Khan, in good times and bad. Genghis Khan gave him his mother, Ö'älün Ekä, and he sat above all the officers next to Genghis Khan and on his right. Münglig Echigä had a son named Kököchü, whom the Mongols used to call Täb Tängri.[7] It was his custom to inform of

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[1] The vocalization of *TSW* is a guess. For his title the text has ياداجى, for which read ايداجى for Idächi. Another possibility is ياداجى for Yadachi, but the rain stone (*yada* ~ *jada*) is not usually spelled that way even when it shows up as *yada*.

[2] A Qori Qachar is mentioned in the *Secret History* §278. This may be he.

[3] Reading, with JT_{RKA}'s MS خ, شوسونچى *shüsünchi* (provisioner) for the text's سوسوبجى.

[4] Reading Barghut for برقوت (Barqut), and reading *qawm-i Barqútrá dar-ávurda* for the text's *qawm-i Barqútrá barádar ávurda*. See text p. 80 above.

[5] He is called Qada'an Daldurqan of the Targhud in the *Secret History* (§124, 172)

[6] See below, text p. 281.

[7] Reading here and everywhere تب تنكرى (Täb Tängri) for the text's بت تنكرى. Teb Tenggeri's name oc-

hidden things and predict the future. He used to say, "God speaks to me and goes into heaven." He always used to come to Genghis Khan, and say, "God has commanded that you be the ruler of the world." It was he who gave him the title Genghis Khan *(Chingiz Khan)*, saying, "By God's command your name must be thus." In Mongolian *ching* means strong, and *chingiz*[1] is the plural. The reason [for this name] was as follows. At that time the great rulers of the Qarakhitai had the title Gür Khan. [M420] *Gür* also means strong, and a ruler was not called *gür khan* until he became extremely grand. In Mongolian *chingiz khan* means the same, but even more so because it is a plural. This word is used very much as, for example, *shahanshah* ['king of kings'] is used in Persian.

Täb Tängri was accustomed to go in winter to a place called Utan Kävrän, which is the coldest place in the territory, **[128]** and sit naked in the ice, which would melt from the heat of his body and rise in steam. The common Mongols and their ancestors say that he used to go up into heaven on a gray horse. This is an exaggeration and fabrication of the common people. He did possess the power to lead and deceive, and he spoke audaciously to Genghis Khan, but since some [of what he said] was in conformity with Genghis Khan's nature, he liked him. After that, when he spoke too much and boldly meddled in everything, Genghis Khan realized through his perfect intelligence and perspicacity that he was a crazy, sick man. One day he told his brother Jochi Qasar to kill him when he [M422] entered the camp and started his meddling. Jochi Qasar was such a powerful warrior that he could grab a man in his two hands and break his back like a twig. In short, when Täb Tängri entered and began his meddling, [Jochi Qasar] kicked him two or three times, threw him out of the camp, and killed him. His father, seated in his place, picked up his hat, not imagining that they would kill him. When he saw that he had been killed, he fell silent, remaining grave and dignified. He was in charge of a *hazara* of the left wing.

[Münglig Echigä] had three other sons, all of whom were great officers and in command of *hazaras*. One was named Tolun Chärbi; the second was Sökätü Chärbi. These two were both *hazara* commanders of the right wing. The third son's name was Sutu, and he was a commander of the left wing. Descended from him in this territory is Chekän Khatun's husband, Tumina, and Abishqa,[2] who went as emissaries to the qa'an. Tödächü Yarghuchi and his sons Angachin[3] and Tuqluq are also of this clan and *urugh*, [as was] Bürküt Qorchi, who was in Abaqa Khan's time.

There was an officer in Genghis Khan's time [M424] who was given to Ögödäi Qa'an along with a troop. His name was Dayir, and he was an attendant upon Chaghatai. There was another officer of Genghis Khan's named Yisa'ur Qorchi. After Genghis Khan and Tolui Khan died, he became an attendant upon Tolui Khan's sons and Sorqaghtani Beki.

Among the other great officers of Genghis Khan's youth was one from this clan named Charagha Äbügän.[4] His story comes in the history. Among his sons in this land are El Temür, the *hazara* commander Baiju, and his brother Mas'ud, who was the *shahna* of Shiraz. The *qorchi* officers of this clan who were in Abaqa Khan's time

ri) for the text's بت تنکری. Teb Tenggeri's name occurs in the *Secret History* at §245 as Münglig Echige's middle son.

[1]Text adds *-khán* to *chingiz*. It should be omitted here, as in Berezin's edition.

[2]Reading ابشقا (Abishqa) with JT_{RKA}.

[3]In JT_K, انکجین; in JT_{RKA}, ایمکجین.

[4]JT_K has جرغله; correct with JT_{RKA} to جرغه.

[129] were Etälgü [?][1] and Bürküt and their sons.

[The Arulat Clan[2]]

The second son was Arulat. This word means someone who is his mother and father's darling. The whole Arulat clan descends from this son, and there have been great officers and ladies of this line in every age.

During Genghis Khan's time there was Borghochin Noyan of this clan.[3] In this land of this clan are Beglämish and Ujan[4] and [Ujan's] son Saru, who is alive now. [M426] Borghochin Noyan was Genghis Khan's companion from his childhood and never rebelled against him. He performed valiant feats and was in the right wing, sitting above the officers.

They say that when Genghis Khan was a mere youth and went to do battle with some of the Tayichi'ut, he received arrow wounds in the mouth and neck and returned in a weakened state. Borghochin Noyan and Boroghul Noyan were with him. They helped him off his horse in the midst of a blinding snowstorm. Borghochin took hold of his horse and in that state warmed a stone and poured water on it until steam arose. Then he held [Genghis Khan's] mouth over the steam so that the dead blood came out of his throat bit by bit and he could breathe more easily. Since it was snowing hard, Borghochin held his *barghu* [?] over his head with both hands so that it wouldn't snow on him. He stood like that until the next morning, with the snow up to his waist, without budging. The next morning they got him on his horse and took him back to his camp.

He also performed other great feats, as will be described. When Genghis Khan was in distress, separated from his army and other intimates, and the enemy was looking for him, [M428] Borghochin Noyan and Boroghul Noyan were roaming around the plains in search of something to eat. They couldn't find anything. They had a fish net they threw into a river and caught a big fish. Borghochin Noyan was pulling it out, but he was so starved and weak that he didn't have the strength to pull it out and fell down. Genghis Khan was distressed by the weakness of Borghochin Noyan, on whose thighs no flesh remained. To Boroghul he said, "Don't worry and don't be upset. You be an arrow, and I'll be the stew so we'll fill his thigh with flesh." **[130]** With this exalted thought, powerful resolve, and strength of character, once again Genghis Khan and they—as will come in the history—rose to prominence, and he rendered the world obedient and subdued. Borghochin Noyan, Boroghul Noyan, and [Muqali Guyang[5]] of the Jalayir nation were old *nökärs* of Genghis Khan's who always accompanied him. When he gave a command to all the officers, he did not give it to Borghochin and Boroghul. They knelt and said, "How is it that you do not command us?"

"Your status is too great for me to give you a specific command," he replied. [M430]

In Ögödäi Qa'an's time, [Borghochin's] nephew Boroltai was given command of his *tümän*. During Mänggü Qa'an's time Boroltai's son Balchiq commanded it. In Qubilai Qa'an's time Borghochin Noyan's son was

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[1] JT_{RKA} has ايتلكر; JT_K has اينكتكر.

[2] The Arulat are mentioned twice in the *Secret History* §§47, 120 as the Arulad. In Timurid times their descendants are known as the Arlat.

[3] The "Borghochin" (~ Bo'orchi) of the *JT* is the Bo'orchu (~ Boghorchu) of the *Secret History*, one of Genghis Khan's "Four Stalwarts."

[4] See text p. 830 below, where Beglämish and Ujan are said to be brothers.

[5] The person named here must be Muqali Guyang, although it is almost impossible to see how his name could be turned into the text's garbled ارتى كرجر.

in command of that *tümän*, and after him, also in Qubilai Qa'an's time, Boroltai's son Jirqamish commanded it.

Boroltai had many sons who were also great officers. One of them was Öz Temür Ba'urchi, a great and fortunate commander who was highly renowned.

In this land there are of Borghochin Noyan's progeny Beglämish and his son Ujan, who have been mentioned, and Tüläk, who was executed for having rebelled with Sögä. There was also Toqolqu Chärbi,[1] a *hazara* commander of the left wing. Beglämish was Borghochin Noyan's brother. Of their progeny at this time is Tabayin[2] Turqaqun, a great commander in the qa'an's service. [M432] In the Cathaian language *tabayin* means chief; Turqaqun is his name.

Genghis Khan said of Borghochin Noyan, "His rank is lower than that of a khan and higher than that of officers and the *qarachu* [commoners]."

Borghochin Noyan said in Mongolian, "When the crow misspeaks, I didn't. When the bird is perplexed by a mirror, I was not and did not make a mistake. When the dust of the earth went up to the sky and came down from the sky to the earth, I did not mistake the way. Therefore have I attained the rank that they call me Borghochin."

His initial contact with Genghis Khan was as follows. When Genghis Khan was still a young man and his followers and soldiers had deserted, he was in a weakened position. One day some Mongol thieves came and stole his horses. **[131]** Learning of it immediately, he was not able to gather his liege men but at once went out after the thieves by himself. Along the way he spied a rider stopped. It was Borghochin. [M434] When he came up to him he asked, "Who are you, and why are you stopped?"

"I was waiting to talk to you," he replied.

"I'll be the *manglai* [forward], and you be my *gäjigä* [rear]," said Genghis Khan.

Borghochin said, "The horses are yours. What reliance do you have on me? I may run away when you chase [the thieves] off. Let me be in front and you bring up the rear. That way I won't be able to run away and will have to fight."

There was much discussion and a great deal of insistence. Finally, with Genghis Khan taking up the rear and Borghochin going in front, they chased the thieves away and recovered the horses. Genghis Khan liked this very much and developed a total trust in him. He became his attendant and gained importance.[3] [M436]

[The Oriyat Kilungghut Clan]

The third son was Oriyat Kilungghut. He got this name because he was squint-eyed. All the Kilungghut branches and clans descend from him, and they are numerous. Badai and Qishliq were of this clan, and they were called Kilungghut Tarkhan. Genghis Khan made them *tarkhan*. Although they are of the Kilungghut clan, Tarkhan became the proper name of that clan, and their descendants are many. Of Badai's sons were Tarkhan Khwarazmi and Sadaq Tarkhan.[4] Of Qishliq's sons was Aqartai, a captain of a thousand. Badai and Qishliq were the head grooms of Yäkä Chärän, a great officer of Ong Khan's. The reason they were made *tarkhan* will be explained in the history of Genghis Khan.

The Qirjin clan is a branch of the Kilungghut. Of all the cousins, the very fat Qongqatai Qabcha Qabai who was in Khurasan was of this clan.

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[1] Reading چربی (Chärbi) for the text's چوبی.

[2] Most MSS have تابین here. A variant یایاس also occurs.

[3] The episode occurs in the *Secret History* §§90–92.

[4] This Sadaq Tarkhan's name occurs on text p. 282 below as Sadat.

The Hushin Tribe

One of the great commanders of this clan in Genghis Khan's time was Boroghul Noyan.[1] He was initially a *bökä'ül* and *ba'urchi* in Genghis Khan's service. Later he became greater, [132] then he became a captain of the guard, then a commander of a thousand. After that he was an important commander in the right wing, second to Borghochin Noyan. They performed many valiant feats, and they were so important and dear to Genghis Khan that he said, "Isn't it a shame that Borghochin will die? Isn't it a shame that Boroghul will die?" The services rendered by Boroghul will be chronicled in the history of Genghis Khan. He was killed in battle against the Tumat, a Mongol tribe, although he defeated them.[2] In Ögödäi Qa'an's time his son Jübükür Qubila took his place. [M440]

After that, in Qubilai Qa'an's time, there was Tuqchi Gürägän, also of [Boroghul's] progeny. He became *gürägän* by marrying Shirin, who was Qutuqtu's daughter and Hülägü Khan's niece.[3] She was Kälmish Aqa's sister and was born of Qulan Khatun.

There was another great commander named Hushidai Baiqu. Genghis Khan gave him and his troop to Jochi, and he commanded Batu's right wing. At the end of his life he said, "I am old and feeble. I can't do this any longer." There was a man of the Jä'üriyät tribe named Yäldäka, whose mother he had married. [Hushidai] brought [Yäldäkä] and made him his successor. After that [Yäldäkä] took [Hushidai's] place. At the present time great officers descended from him are there doing the same job.

In this land are Ghur[b]atai Gürägän and his sons Beglämish and Bitigchi, who are alive now. Qubilai Qa'an had a wife, the daughter of Boroghul Noyan, named Hushijin.[4] He had a son by her named Ayachi.

The Suldus Tribe[5]

Since there are numerous officers from this tribe, [M444] we will take up first those who were more famous and grandiose in Genghis Khan's service and whose histories are better known and explain things first that are of greater importance.

When Genghis Khan was young and the Tayichi'ut tribe was determined to oppose him, [133] his soldiers and followers deserted him and his rule had not yet gained strength. One day he mounted and was on his way to do something. He saw a rock rolling down the road without anything pushing it. It was coming toward him. To himself he thought, "This is very strange. I should not be traveling along this road." He paused a moment and then, putting it out of his mind, went merrily along his way.

It chanced to happen that Targhutai Qiriltuq, the ruler of the Tayichi'ut nation who was his enemy, caught him, took him captive, and held him in a *dushakha*.[6] At that

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[1]Everywhere Boroghul is mentioned in the *Secret History* he is said to be of the Jürkin. Among the variant spellings of his name are Boroqul and the Chinese transcription, 博羅渾那顏 Po-luo-hun Na-yen (*Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395).

[2]See *Secret History* §240. See text p. 332f. below.

[3]Reading قوتوقتو (Qutuqtu) for the text's قوتوقر. See text p. 552 below.

[4]For the text's اوشجی, read اوشجین (H)ushijin, i.e. of the Hushin tribe, as below on text p. 614. She was Boroghul Noyan's daughter and the mother of Qubilai Qa'an's eighth son, Ayachi.

[5]The Suldus are mentioned in the *Secret History* §120; they were of some prominence during Timurid times, when they were generally known as the Sulduz.

[6]This episode is given in the *Secret History* §§80–87. The *dushákha* is a forked stick that was fastened around a prisoner's neck and pinned one arm. It is sometimes translated as pillory, which is misleading, and it bears a resemblance to the Chinese cangue.

time it was customary not to kill captives right away. There was an old woman named Tayichu Egächi. (She was called Tayichu because she was of the [Tayichi'ut] nation. She had a husband from the Märkit, but his name is not known. The qa'an's emissary Ucha'urghai [M446] who came with Angatai Elchi is descended from her.) At any rate, the old woman used to comb Genghis Khan's hair and wait on him. Every time his neck was irritated by the *dushakha*, she placed a bit of felt on it and consoled him. After a while, one day Genghis Khan got a chance to escape with the *dushakha*. There was a large lake in the vicinity. He went there and sank beneath the water with the *dushakha* so that only his nose was above the surface. A group of the Tayichi'ut came in pursuit, looking for him. Among them was Sorghan Shira of the Suldus, the father of Chila'ughan Bahadur, who was the father of Sodo[n] Noyan. His tent was nearby. Suddenly he spied Genghis Khan's nose, and he realized that it was he. He made a furtive motion for him to lower his head more in the water and said to the group, "You go look elsewhere. I'll keep watch here." So saying, he got them to go away.

When night fell, he got Genghis Khan out of the water, removed the *dushakha* from his neck, [M448] and took him home, where he hid him on a cart under a lot of wool. When the posse tracked him down to that place, they suspected that he was in Sorghan Shira's house. They searched high and low, even sticking stakes into the wool several times, but there was no trace of him. (Since God had willed that he enjoy fortune, at no time did he suffer pain or wounds on his blessed body.) **[134]** Not having found him, they left. Sorghan Shira then gave him a dark brown mare, a bit of meat, a roasting skewer, a bow, arrows, and every tool and implement necessary for traveling—though some say no, he sent him on his way without giving him a flint. No matter how much obligation they admit, they still blame him somewhat for not having given him some tools and a flint. Let us here excuse him until the matter is completely revealed.

During that time Genghis Khan's mother, wives, and clan had given up hope of seeing him again. His fourth son, Tolui Khan, was a child. During the last few days he had been constantly saying, [M448] "My father is coming, riding a mare." His mother kept rebuking him and boxing his ears, saying, "What kind of nonsense is this child saying? He constantly reminds us of him and causes us grief." But the child would not cease and kept on talking.

Finally, on the day on which Genghis Khan would arrive, Tolui Khan said, "My father is coming riding on a brown mare with two larks hanging from his saddle ring."

"What has possessed this child?" the mother asked, but he kept insisting that his father was coming. After a while Genghis Khan arrived, riding a brown mare, with two larks hanging from his saddle ring. All rejoiced at his arrival, though they were astonished at Tolui Khan's words, which they related to Genghis Khan and in return for which they gave alms.

When Sorghan Shira realized that his having hidden Genghis Khan was no longer secret, [M450] he knew it was necessary to get out of the midst of the Tayichi'ut. Decamping with his household and followers, he went to Genghis Khan, who welcomed him and his sons and followers and honored him greatly.

Chila'uqan Bahadur was Sorghan Shira's son, and he was very brave and manly. Once in battle he fell from his horse unexpectedly, and the enemy galloped at him to kill him. He leapt up, charged the rider on foot with his lance, and put him to flight, chasing him for a league. Genghis Khan was astonished and said, **[135]** "How can a man

who has fallen from his horse have the strength to get up and do battle? Even if he does get up, how can he charge a rider and defeat him?

Have you never seen a man on foot do battle or bring the heads of the unruly under his claw?

I have never seen the likes of this champion."

After Genghis Khan had repeatedly done battle with the Tayichi'ut, finally, in the last battle, Chila'ughan Bahadur fought the Tayichi'ut ruler, Targhutai Qiriltuq, who was a mighty warrior, tall and huge. Chila'ughan Bahadur was short. He struck Qiriltuq in the pubic region with his lance and wanted to shake him loose from his horse, [M452] but he couldn't. He let go of the lance, stuck the end of the lance in the ground, and jabbed so hard that it passed through his pubic region and went into his belly. As he fell from his horse he said, "I thought that if my gut was ripped to shreds by a sword I wouldn't die. That such a miserable, insignificant person, the son of Sorghan Shira, like a bunch of cardoon[1] the shamans use as a small whip, should strike [me] with a lance, not have strength, and let go of it so that I would be killed thus."

Of Bezhan low was the plain with might: /
craft turns to flaw when the sun turns its back.

In the end Targhutai died of that wound and entrusted his soul to Mâlik, [warden of Hell].

Chila'ughan Bahadur's son was Sodon Noyan. In Genghis Khan's time he was a commander of the right wing and of great importance. He was still alive during Ögödäi Qa'an's time and served the sons of Tolui Khan and Sorqaghtani Beki. During Qubilai Qa'an's time his son Qachu took his place. He had lived nearly a hundred years and gone so senile that he didn't recognize his daughter-in-law and said, "Give her to me." One of his relatives was a commander of the right wing named Toghril. Another of his relatives was a great commander—he was Mänggü Qa'an's *ba'urchi* named Chärän. When later he led Ariq Bökä astray, Qubilai Qa'an had him executed. [M454]

Among Sodon Noyan's sons who came to Iran with Hülägü Khan was Su'unchaq Noyan,[2] **[136]** who served as *yarghuchi*, commander of the right wing, and captain of the guard under Kökä Elgä. His brothers were Kähätai Noyan, Ara Temür Idächi, Tödö'än,[3] and Temür Buqa. Su'unchaq's sons were Baidu, Arab, and Arghun. Baidu's son was Bayan. Arab's son was Yaman. Kähätäi's son was Khitai. Khitai's sons were Qazan and Zaki. Tödö'än's son was Malik, and Malik's son was Chupan. Temür Buqa's sons were Bai Buqa, Shiktür, and Mubarak. Of Sodon Noyan's sons who were in service to Qubilai Qa'an, one named Sartaq was sent to Hülägü Khan as an emissary. Abdul-Rahman went along with him for an accounting audit. Bayan, the son of Alan Noyan of the Ba'arin clan who was here and was attached to Qubilai Qa'an, gave him permission to return. He set out to return in the year Hülägü Khan died. [M456] Bayan is the one who conquered the territory of the Nankiyas.

The Ildürgin Clan

This clan is a branch of the Suldus tribe. During Genghis Khan's time when he was fighting Ong Khan and retreated to Baljuna, he sent an emissary to Ong Khan with many messages, as is mentioned in the history. That emissary was from this clan, and

[1]Berezin (5:172) reads this differently and translates: подобный связкѣ тамариска. Khetagurov (JT_{SL} 1/1:174) translates: похожий на пучок молодых веточек у шаманов, похожий на небольшую плеть....

[2]Su'unchaq Noyan's name occurs as Suqunchaq in Juvaini/Boyle 2:624 and other sources.

[3]Below, text p. 743 e.g., the name occurs as Tödä'ün.

his name was Harqai Je'ün. Harqai is his name, and *je'ün* means "left hand."

In this land, the Hindu Bitigchi who was commander of the Qara'unas *tümän* in the province of Badghis in Khurasan was of his *urugh* and cousins. Harqai Je'ün became very old and senile and was still alive during Mänggü Qa'an's time.

The Baya'ut Tribe[1]

This tribe consists of several branches, but only two are well known. One is called Jädäi Baya'ut, and the other is Kähärün Baya'ut. [M458] The Jädäi is a river in Mongolia, and since they dwelt there, **[137]** they were called after the place and it became their proper name. Those who dwell in the plains are called the Kähärün Baya'ut.

*Their *yurt* is the Selenga River and the two extremes of Qurban Kähät and Börä Ündür, which is the great *ghoruq*. At the farthest extremity, where the river divides into three branches, Sodon Noyan was given a *yurt*. At present the Suldus clans dwell there, and it belongs to them. Their commanders are Qachi'udar and his brother Tammachi, who came as an emissary. The rivers that flow down from Börä Ündür are as follows. From in front of the mountain are Shirä Shiba'utu, Kibän, and Taladu. From behind the mountain are Ängä, Jubqara, Buran Qurqi, Samar, Qubatu, and Tö'äi.[2] These nine rivers spill into the Selenga. A *hazara* of the Oyirat from the progeny of Uqai Kärchü reside there and guard the area.*[3]

In his early youth when Genghis Khan began to fight the Tayichi'ut and was gathering an army, [M460] most of the Baya'ut tribe were united with him. One of the thirteen *gürä'äns* of his army was manned by them. The tribe was commanded by Buqa Gürägän. It has been the Baya'ut's custom to intermarry with the imperial family. During Genghis Khan's time there was a *hazara* commander of the left wing named Buqa Gürägän,[4] to whom [Genghis Khan] gave one of his daughters. He was of the Jädäi Baya'ut, and the Hongan Gürägän who is here is descended from him.

There was another *hazara* commander of the left wing named Önggür,[5] who was of great importance. Previously Güchügür Noyan of the Besüt tribe was a *bökä'ül* and *ba'urchi*, but he grew old and weak, so Boroghul Noyan became *bökä'ül* and *ba'urchi* in his place. [M462] He was called Önggür Qisat (in the Naiman language a *bökä'ül* is called *qisat*,[6] which means to bend over). This Önggür was of the Kähärün Baya'ut. When they besieged and then took the city of Jungdu [Peking], which was Altan Khan's residence from which he had departed leaving his treasuries and commanders behind, Qutuqu Noyan and this Önggür Ba'urchi were sent with their liege men to collect the treasury. Altan Khan's deputies offered a bribe from the treasury. Qutuqu Noyan did not take it, but Önggür Ba'urchi did. When he returned to Genghis Khan, this action so displeased him that he

[1]The Baya'ut tribe is mentioned in the *Secret History* §120 as Baya'ud.

[2]Khetagurov (JT_{SL}1/1:176) reads the names differently as follows: Шира-Шибауту, Кибин, Тэлэду, Энкэ, Джубука, Буран-Курки, Самр, Кубкату, Туай. They are all, as mentioned below, tributaries of the Selenga, but they cannot be identified with any modern rivers. It is not certain that the names are divided properly, much less read correctly.

[3]Passage marked *...* is lacking in JT_K and many MSS of JT_{RKA}.

[4]بوقا (Buqa) in JT_{RKA}; اورقا (Urqa?) in JT_K and JT_B. The name does not occur in any of its variants in the list of commanders (pp. 399–416 below), and no mention of a Baya'ut son-in-law is made with reference to the major daughters (p. 224f. below).

[5]Önggür Ba'urchi is mentioned in the *Secret History* §§213, 252.

[6]See Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:571–73 §1604.

reprimanded Önggür and his men, as will be described in the history.[1]

Noqai Yarghuchi[2] and his forefathers and relatives were of the Jädäi Baya'ut. [M464] His and his ancestors' lineage is as follows. In Genghis Khan's time Sorghan was Genghis Khan's *echigä*. Since he was an intelligent and judicious man and often had good and instructive things to say, [Genghis Khan] promoted him to a position of prominence, and he became an *ötägü boghol*. Before Genghis Khan had become ruler, when every bravado from every tribe coveted being a leader and ruler, Sorghan said, "One of those who covet the rule is Olan Udur of the Tatar nation. Another is Sacha Beki of the Yürkin Qiyat. **[138]** Another is Jamuqa Sächän of the Jäjirät. These lay claim to greatness and wish to be king, but in the end Tämüjin will come out on top and be proclaimed ruler by acclamation of the tribes, for he has the talent and ability to discharge the job. Heavenly assistance and regal splendor shine patently on his forehead." In the end it turned out exactly as he had said. This Sorghan had a son named Kököchü. Kököchü had sons, one of whom was Noqai Yarghuchi; [M466] and his sons were Tuq Temür, Alghu, and Esän Buqa. Kököchü's other sons Junchi Ba'urchi and Mustafa Bitigchi Noyan were *yarghuchis* during the qa'an's lifetime. Qada'an, the son of Urughtu, was also a relative of theirs. Tödäi Yarghuchi likewise. Kökä Bitigchi, who came with Hülägü Khan and was chief of the *bitigchis*, was also a cousin of theirs. His son Kök Böri (whose son is Kök Böri), Ramazan, Toqta, and the Bulughan Khatun who was Abaqa Khan's wife were cousins of Noqai Yarghuchi.

There was a great commander in Genghis Khan's time called Qubilai Qorchi. He was still alive after Tolui Khan died. After Tolui Khan's death he attended his sons [and] Sorqaghtani Beki. [M468]

Qubilai Qa'an had a wife named Baya'ujin who was of this tribe. By her he had a son named Toghan. The mother of Mänggü Qa'an's son Shirägi was also of this tribe, and her name was Baya'ujin.[3]

The Kinggiyat Tribe[4]

There have not been many commanders or other men of renown from this tribe, but during Genghis Khan's time, when he distributed his commanders and their troops among his sons, he gave several commanders and four *hazaras* of troops to his son Jochi Khan. Among them was one commander named Qunan Noyan,[5] who was of this tribe. In the Ulus of Qonchi, one of the sons of Orda of Jochi Khan's seed, there is one named Huran, who is the most famous and greatest of the commanders of that *ulus*. He is of [Qunan's] lineage. At present his sons and *aqa-ini* are there. **[139, M470]** ~

[1] See text p. 329f. below.

[2] Throughout the following passage, JT_{RKA} has Noqai Yarghuchi; JT_K has Bugha Ba'urchi. When his name occurs later (text p. 740) it is Buqa Yarghuchi.

[3] The "Baya'ujin" these two wives were called is the feminine attributive to the Baya'ut tribe.

[4] The Kinggiyat are mentioned in the *Secret History* only in the attributive, Kinggiyadai.

[5] For the text's قوين, read قونن (Qunan), the Ghunan of the *Secret History* §243.

❦ SECTION TWO OF CHAPTER FOUR
THE TRIBES OF [MONGOL] TURKS CALLED NIRU'UN

They are one of the Mongol tribes descended from Alan Qo'a, who was a Qorolas by descent, and the Qorolas are a branch of the Dürlükin Mongols. According to their claim and report, Alan Qo'a became pregnant from a light, without the benefit of a husband, and gave birth to three sons. Those who are descended from these three are called the Niru'un, which means loins and is a reference to the pure line that came into existence from light. The clans descended from Alan Qo'a and her three sons consist of three divisions.

The First Division

The first division are those descended from Alan Qo'a down to the sixth generation, Qabul Khan. They are called altogether the Niru'un. Qabul Khan's brothers and sons and their offspring are all called the Niru'un clans. Their divisions follow.

The Qataqin Clan[1]

This clan belongs to the Niru'un, and they branched off from Alan Qo'a's eldest son, [M472] Buqu Qataqi. They were hostile to Genghis Khan, and therefore they are numerous in every *ulus* even though they are not so well known or famous. Those who were of importance in Genghis Khan's time were as follows. A'uchu Bahadur was a great commander and leader who was allied with Buyiruq Khan of the Naiman. **[140]** Other great commanders who were in his time are ___.

The Salji'ut Clan[2]

This clan descends from Alan Qo'a's middle son, Bughu[tu] Salji. There are many commanders of this lineage, but many of them were killed because they were so often hostile to Genghis Khan. At that time there was an officer from this clan named Samuqa. Although he was not a military leader, Genghis Khan gave him a troop several times and sent him on important missions. One of those was when one of Altan Khan's great commanders deserted Altan Khan along with his troop and was inclined to Genghis Khan. Samuqa was sent with a troop to escort the commander and his troop to Genghis Khan. After that, he besieged and took the city of Jungdu, [M474] which is now called Daidu,[3] with the Cathaian soldiers who had submitted. He got hold of all the possessions, treasuries, and officers of Altan Khan that were there. Several other times he was sent on important missions.

[Samuqa] was the one who used to get angry whenever the word goat was used. This was because when he was a child he copulated with a goat, and of course anyone who fornicates with a goat will be called one by people. He fought with Shigi Qutuqu Noyan over this, and there was very bad blood between them. Later they made up and decided that henceforth the word goat would not be said. Someone said to him, "If you say the word goat, I'll give you something." He said it, and when Qutuqu Noyan learned of it he said, "You quarreled with me over this, and then we

[1]The Qataqin are mentioned in the *Secret History* §§42, 196 as Qatagin.

[2]The Salji'ut are mentioned in the *Secret History* §42 (Salji'ud).

[3]Reading دای دو (Daidu) for the text's دایرزو. Jungdu (中都 Chung-tu) is Peking. See text p. 639 below for the new capital Daidu (大都 Ta Tu) built by Qubilai Khan.

promised not to say the word goat any more. You say 'goat' for the sake of some miserable thing and you can tolerate it." Qutuqu Noyan drew his sword and ran after him to strike him, but [the blow] landed in front of the saddle horn and did not reach him. [M476] Then people intervened and stopped them.

In the land of Iran there are Shaykh Shüsünchi and his brother **[141]** Baltu Shüsünchi of this clan.[1]

When Genghis Khan was orphaned of his father as a child and his relatives who had attended his father, Yesügäi Bahadur, deserted him, and after that several clans of the Dürlükin Mongols united with him and became subject to him, he consulted with Jamuqa Sächän and sent an emissary to the Qataqin and Salji'ut clans. It was their custom at that time to speak in cryptic and enigmatic rhyming words, and the message they sent with the emissary was of that type. They did not understand it and were perplexed. A youth in their midst said, "The meaning of these words is as follows: 'Many clans like the Qataqin, Tatar, and Dürlükin, which are unrelated to us, have all becomes friendly and united with us. Let us, who are *aqa-ini* and [M478] blood relations to each other, unite and be friends.' "

Rejecting this, they took some *sokhtu* ([a kind of sausage] the Mongols cook from innards and blood) from the kettle and threw it on the emissary to drive him away with derision. Because of that, great enmity and hostility arose, and battle and sedition ensued between them. Many times they took out their troops and did battle. In the end Genghis Khan won and killed untold numbers of them. However numerous they may have been, few of them survived. Since those who remained were relatives, they submitted and became subservient, and some of them became clients of other Mongol tribes.

This clan was not left with any status from their relationship to Genghis Khan, except that he ordered intermarriage with them to maintain the bonds of kinship and to distinguish them from other Mongol tribes.

The Tayichi'ut Clan[2]

[M480] The clans of the Tayichi'ut consist of numerous branches. Their origin and lineage are as follows. Qaidu Khan had three sons, and the eldest was named [Bai] Singqor, from whom stems the branch of Genghis Khan's forefathers. **[142]** The third son was named Cha'ujin, and from him descend the two clans of the Ärigin [Härigän] and Sanchi'ut. The middle son was named Charaqa Lingqum, and all the Tayichi'ut clans are descended from him. In some manuscripts of Mongol history it is recorded that the Tayichi'ut clan stems from the second son of Dutum Mänen, Nachin. In the *Altan Daftar*, which is always kept in the khans' treasury by great officers, it has been seen to be clearly recorded that the Tayichi'ut originate with Charaqa Lingqum, the son of Qaidu Khan. Nachin's lineage is [found] nowhere else. There is only this much—that he rescued his brother Qaidu from the Jalayir, and they left together and took up residence at the Onon River. For this reason the [first] version must be more correct.

When the Tayichi'ut clans became numerous, perhaps Nachin's sons mixed in with them [M482] and adopted their name. It is most likely so. Otherwise some mention of his sons would have come somewhere.

Charaqa Lingqum is a Cathaian name and epithet. *Lingqum* means great commander,

[1]Reading, with JT_{RKA}, شوسنچی *(shüsünchi)* for JT_K's شوینجی.

[2]The Tayichi'ut are mentioned in the *Secret History* §47 etc. as the Tayichi'ud.

but since the Mongols do not know what *lingqum* means, they say *linqum*. [1]

When Charaqa Lingqum's brother Bai Singqor died, [M484] he married his [brother's] widow, the mother of Tumina Qa'an, and had by her two sons, Kündü China and Ölöchgin China.

By the wife he had chosen himself he also had sons, one of whom succeeded him and became famous. He was Sorqadu China,[2] and he was the *qu'd[úd]* of Tumina Khan. His son who succeeded him was Hambaqai Qa'an, who was the *qu'd[úd]* of Qabul Khan. Hambaqai Qa'an's son and successor was Qada'an Taishi, who was the *qu'd[úd]* of Bartan Bahadur. At that time all the *aqa-inis* were in accord with each other.

The Tatar nation was subservient to the ruler of Cathay. They ambushed Hambaqai Qa'an and sent him to the Altan Khan of Cathay to be nailed to a wooden donkey and killed. Qutula Qa'an, one of Qabul Khan's sons, [M486] went out to wage war against Cathay in revenge for that act and killed many of them. After that, during the time of Yesügäi Bahadur, the Tayichi'ut clans had become numerous with sons, brothers, and cousins; and in Genghis Khan's time, as will be related in the history, they began to dispute and quarrel, but the sons of Kündü China and Ölöchgin China took Genghis Khan's part. **[143]** During his time the grandsons of Hambaqai Qa'an and Qada'an Taishi who were famous and leaders and chieftains of their people and who fought alongside Genghis Khan were as follows:

Tödä'ä,[3] the son of Qada'an Taishi, had a son named Jochi Khan (other than the Jochi who was a son of Qutula Qa'an, was allied with Genghis Khan, and was an elder brother [M488] of Altan). The father of Sodon Noyan of the Suldus and Jäbä of the Besüt were attached to him, and their story has already been given in the section on them.[4] They fled from him and went over to Genghis Khan.

*Jäbä belonged to Tödä'ä. His name was Jirqutai, but Genghis Khan named him Jäbä because when he went to Genghis Khan he asked him, "Who killed my white-muzzled horse that Chila'uqun Bahadur was riding?"

"I did," he replied.

Genghis Khan said, "This man is worthy of *jäbälämishi* [being clad in mail],"[5] by which he meant being a warrior. Therefore his name became Jäbä.

They said that once during Yesügäi Bahadur's time when they went out to do battle with the Tayichi'ut, he had made a rendezvous with the Qongqotan clans, but they got to the battle early, and many of them were killed by the Tayichi'ut. All of a sudden Yesügäi Bahadur arrived and saved the Qongqotan from the Tayichi'ut, who had killed so many of them that seventy carts were loaded with their bones. This became a well-known saying.*[6]

Adal Khan, a descendant of Hambaqai Qa'an, was in Yesügäi Bahadur's time. He was not contentious or rebellious. [M490] His son Tarqutai Qiriltuq was at the end of Genghis Khan's time. The word *qiriltuq*

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[1] *Lingqum*, from 令穩 *ling-wen* (Kitan pronunciation *ling-wem*, *lingum*), the Kitan version of 令公 *ling-kung* 'commanding duke.' See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:493 §359.

[2] For the JT_K's سورقدولو, read, with JT_{RKA}, سورقدو (Sorqadu). In the chart on text p.181, where his name appears as سورقتوقتو China; in the text on p. 179 it is garbled as سورندوكرجيه (the final جيه is certainly a mistake for چينه for China); on p. 194 it is سورتاقدوكرجيه. In the *Secret History* version (§§47, 52), Charaqai Lingqu had a son named Senggüm Bilge, who was the father of Ambaghai Qahan. The *Jami'u't-tawarikh*'s "Sorqaduqtu China" takes the place of the *Secret History*'s Senggüm Bilge.

[3] Reading تولداء with JT_{RKA} for JT_K's بولدا.

[4] See text p. 135 above and p. 157 below.

[5] Read جبلاميشي *jäbälämishi* for the text's جيلاميشي. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:283 §153.

[6] Section marked *...* is missing from many MSS and is not included in JT_K.

means stingy and envious. Since he had these qualities he was so nicknamed. He initiated seditiousness against Yesügäi Bahadur and fought hostile battles against Genghis Khan.

*Until the end of Qada'an Taishi's time the Tayichi'ut clans had a ruler and chief of importance under whose command they obeyed willingly. For that reason their elder, the Tödä'ä who was in Genghis Khan's time, and his relatives and cousins Tarqutai Qiriltuq, Baghachi, and Quril Bahadur wanted to raise one of the brothers to be ruler, but because of their disputes and quarrels with each other they could not get along and failed in their purpose. Targhutai and Baghachi did battle, and Baghachi once surrendered to Genghis Khan, although later he joined the Tayichi'ut. When Genghis Khan was struggling and doing battle with them, there was constant dispute among them, and he was able to overcome them because the cousins refused to obey each other and were too busy quarreling to elect one as ruler. Elders who had much experience of the world, like Köködäi of the Oriyat, Mätükän, and Temür Yürki, advised them, but they refused to listen. Harilun, the wife of Toghril son of Tödä'ä, gave him much good advice in Köködäi's house, saying, "Hambaqai Qa'an had ten sons in whose births all their friends rejoiced." But they said, "The rule will not remain in their family. Now you will lose the rule through dispute and [M492] disagreement." When the lady went home she repeated this advice to her husband, Toghril, and he went to his father Tödä'ä and relayed it to him. It had an effect on him, and once again they came together to try to get along. Around that time Tarqutai and Baghachi fell to battle, and the group intervened and asked what the cause of the dispute was. Baghachi said, "He has usurped the property, herds, and flocks that belonged to me and my brethren." Tarqutai said, "Baghachi has taken my *targhun emä* (meaning wife and children). I want to show him my manliness and strength." Because of this dispute Baghachi gave in, but later he regretted it and turned away. Although Tödä'ä was [not] enthroned as ruler, he was the son of a ruler and of considerable influence. He had sons, the eldest of whom was the Toghril whom Genghis Khan called "Toghril Dä'ü."[1] It was he who relayed messages between Genghis Khan and Ong Khan because he had been an attendant of Ong Khan's.

In the end, when Genghis Khan overcame the Tayichi'ut, he killed most of them and made slaves of the remainder.*[2]

Quril Bahadur was a cousin of Tarqutai Qiriltuq's and an ally and follower of his.

Angqu Huquchu was also a cousin of theirs.

Their genealogical chart and names have been entered in the chart of Qaidu Khan's branch, to which one is referred [M494] for a better understanding of their branch. The clans of the Niru'un and non-Niru'un who were allied with the Tayichi'ut were these: some of the Uru'ut [and] Mangqut clans led by Udut and Budut, and some of the Jä'üriyät clan led by Ölüg Bahadur, Taghai, Dalu, Baghui, and Yadaghana. Jamuqa was also united and then broke his word. The clans Ikirās, Noyaqin, Qorolas, Ba'arin, Qataqin, and Salji'ut also joined them after the others but then once again went back on their word.

Chula and Qachi'un Beki were commanders of the Tayichi'ut. Ong Khan's brother, Jagambu was a friend and ally of his. When Ong Khan was fighting Genghis Khan he was in collusion with him. There are many officers in every *ulus* from this clan. **[144,**

[1]The To'oril De'ü of the *Secret History* §180.

[2]Section marked *...* missing from many MSS, including JT_K.

M496] In this land the sons of Külikä, Udachi, Sarkis, Qabai, and Samaghar, are of this clan.

The Härigän and Sanchi'ut Clans

They are two clans descended from Qaidu Khan's youngest son, Cha'ujin, the younger brother of Bai Singqor and Charaqa Lingqum, as has been stated in the section on the Tayichi'ut. The details and branches of the two will now be given.

The first branch, the Härigän. In Iran no one of importance from this clan is known, but in Mongolia people of this "bone" are numerous, [M498] and there are many great men from this clan.

The second branch, the Sanchi'ut. Many from this clan have attained greatness, but there is no one of importance known in this land. In Genghis Khan's time when he was dividing the officers and army among the princes, he gave Möngädü Noyan from this clan to Jochi Khan. In Batu's time he commanded the army. At present there is a great commander named Charkas of this lineage who is with Toqtai. **[145]**

The Chinas Clan

Although they too are of the Tayichi'ut clan, during Genghis Khan's fight with the Tayichi'ut they were allies of Genghis Khan. This branch came into existence from two of Charaqa Lingqum's sons, as was explained in the section on him, for he married his brother's widow and had by her two sons, [M500] Kündü China and Ölöchgin China. *Chinas* is the plural of *china*, and the two names mean male wolf and female wolf. Those descended from them are called the Chinas. Some of this clan are also called Nüküz. Another tribe of the Dürlükin Mongols are also called Nüküz: they are a branch of those who emerged from Ärgänä-qun by melting the mountain with ironsmith's bellows, as was explained in previous sections.

Cha'urchi, a *hazara* commander in this land was of this lineage, but no one of importance from the Chinas branch is known in this land.

The Noyaqin, Uru'ut, and Mangqut Clans[1]

[M502] The eldest of Tumina's nine sons was named Jaqsu. From his sons three lines arose. One is called the Noyaqin clan, another is called the Uru'ut, and the third is called the Mangqut clan. In Genghis Khan's time the Noyaqin and Uru'ut were at one with the Tayichi'ut and hostile to Genghis Khan. At present there is no one from those clans. During Genghis Khan's reign the leaders of the Uru'ut, insofar as is known, were Udut and Budut, who were opposed [to Genghis Khan]. One of the important officers in Genghis Khan's service was Jädäi Noyan, and we will give his history in this chapter [although] it is not known if he was of the Noyaqin clan. [M504]

The Mangqut clan, like the Uru'ut, also mostly took the part of the Tayichi'ut, **[146]** except for Quyildar Sächän, who was in league with Genghis Khan along with his followers and allies and performed valiant feats, as will be described separately. Genghis Khan called him *anda*.

Also of the Mangqut clan at that time were three brothers who decided to join the Tayichi'ut. The youngest brother said to the others, "What bad have we seen of Genghis Khan that we would separate ourselves from him and join his enemies?" The others flew into a rage, and the elder brother hit him on the waist with a mace. The middle brother and all his liege men shot him with arrows and killed him. They

[1]The Noyaqin are mentioned in the *Secret History* §46 (Noyakin), as are the Uru'ut (Uru'ud) and the Mangqut (Mangghud). The Mangqut are mentioned in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395 as the Mang-wu (忙兀).

also plundered his family, children, herds, and flocks. He had a nursing babe by a woman he had married from the Barghut tribe, who were nearby. [M506] The woman's relatives carried the babe away on their horses. The uncles tried to kill it, but they hid the child in a stack of wool, and when the uncles came searching they even poked the wool with skewers, but since God was protecting it, it suffered no harm. After a time [the uncles still] suspected that the child was with them, and once again they came to kill it, but this time they hid it under a kettle. Since the child was destined to live, they did not find it. Several years later when God gave Genghis Khan strength and weakened the Tayichi'ut and the other clans that were obedient to them, the Barghut took the child they had kept, which was named Jädäi, and turned it over to Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan rewarded them and treated the child sympathetically and consolingly. When he grew up he became a great commander and was known as Jädäi Noyan. When Genghis Khan completely defeated the Tayichi'ut, and the Uru'ut and Mangqut had no choice but to submit, [M508] he killed most of them and gave the rest as slaves to Jädäi Noyan. Although they were his kin, they became his slaves by decree, and until now the Uru'ut and Mangqut troops are slaves to Jädäi Noyan's progeny. He was one of the great commanders of the right wing and always accompanied Genghis Khan. In Ögödäi Qa'an's time he was still alive and served Sorqaghtani Beki and Tolui Khan's sons. After that, in Qubilai Qa'an's time, **[147]** his grandson Mangqudai took over his command.

Of Mangqudai's progeny in this land was the father of Qutlughshah Noyan, a *hazara* commander of the Mangqut clan. His brother Hulqutu Qorchi became an officer of the guard and commander of the Qara'unas' *tümän*. Hulqutu's sons were Chapi and his brother Jalaluddin. [M510] Manqudai's sons were Qutlughshah Noyan, who was a great commander for the Padishah of Islam, and Temür Buqa, who was a *hazara* commander. They had two or three other brothers who died. Martad is also a cousin of theirs. In Hülägü Khan's time Qudusun Noyan of the Mangqut clan was a great officer of the guard, but Hülägü Khan dismissed him as officer of the guard and put his relative Temür in his place. He was still alive during Arghun Khan's time. Hushidai, a *shahna* of Baghdad, was also of this clan.

The story of Quyildar Sächän is as follows. He was usually allied with Genghis Khan, performed valiant service, and was called *anda*. When he returned from battle with Ong Khan, went to Baljiuna, and then left there, his army consisted of 4,600 men who were traveling as a *bölük* [unit]. Of them 2,300 men were of the Uru'ut and Mangqut clans, and 2,300 were Genghis Khan's men and others. Of the Uru'ut and Mangqut contingents [M512] all that were Uru'ut were commanded by Kähätäi Noyan, and the Mangquts were commanded by Quyildar. One of the valiant feats he performed was as follows.

When Genghis Khan was fighting Ong Khan in Qalajin Älät, his followers were few, while Ong Khan's were many. Genghis Khan asked his commanders, "What shall we do?" Kähätäi Noyan, the leader of the Uru'ut clan, hesitated, rubbing his whip over his horse's mane and saying nothing. Quyildar Sächän said, "Let my brother the ruler look at that hill behind the enemy. Its name is Köyidän. I'll gallop there. If God gives me a way to pass through the enemy, I'll plant my standard on that hill. When the soldiers see it, let them come in that direction, and we will smite the enemy. If God does not grant me passage and I die, let Genghis Khan take charge of protecting my children." So saying, he galloped off,

found a way, and smote the Kerayit army. **[148]** (This story will be given in detail in the history.[1])

After him, his son Möngkä Qalja took charge of his command. [M514] The Mulqar Qaracha who came with Chormaqan Noyan was descended from him. There are also many of his progeny in the qa'an's service. In this land are his sons Khalifa and Mäkritäi.[2] The Nüregäi Yarghuchi who was an officer and courtier in Abaqa Khan's time and also after that during Gaikhatu Khan's reign was also of his progeny.

There was an officer of the Mangqut clan who was allied with Ong Khan. His name was Taghai Qulqai, and he was also called Taghai Kähärin. (*Kähärin* means thief and liar, and among the Mongols anyone who is so described suffers. Since he became known by such a bad name, he was always depressed.)

During Genghis Khan's time there was an important commander of the Uru'ut clan named Kähätäi Noyan, and he had a brother who was also a great commander named Bujir. Kähätäi Noyan became extremely great and was one of the commanders of the left wing. One story about him is as follows. One night he was commanding the guard in Genghis Khan's camp. Genghis Khan had a nightmare, woke up, and asked for a light. In the camp was a lady [M516] named Ibaqa Beki, the daughter of Jagambu, and he said to her, "I have always been good to you, and I have seen nothing bad from you. I have just had a dream, and God commanded me to give you away. You must not be angry." Then he called out, "Who is outside?" Kähätäi Noyan, who was on guard, answered, "It's me." He summoned him inside and said, "I give this lady to you. Take her." Kähätäi Noyan was petrified, but Genghis Khan consoled him and said, "Do not fear. I am speaking right." He said to the lady, "As mementos, leave me one cook and the golden goblet from which I drink kumiss," and he gave all the rest, everything in the camp, *ev-oghlans*, horses, retainers, stores, herds and flocks, to the lady and handed her over to Kähätäi Noyan. **[149]**

The Dörbän Clan[3]

This clan is Niru'un. They are close to the Ba'arin clan and spring from the same origin. During Genghis Khan's time they were allied with the Tayichi'ut and were very hostile to Genghis Khan. [M518] One of their officers who is of importance and well known is the Bolad Aqa who is in Qubilai Qa'an's service.[4] He was both a *chingsang* and a *ba'urchi*, and he came to this land as an envoy. He is an influential officer and well known. His father Yürki was Genghis Khan's *ba'urchi* and was attached to the camp of his chief wife, Börtä Füjin. He commanded a company of a hundred in the personal thousand. Amir Bolad's sons are in service to the qa'an. Amir Saruq Qorchi, who was chief of the *qorchis*, was also of this clan. There have been great officers and ladies from this clan in every age. Qubilai Qa'an had a wife from this clan named Dörbäjin, the mother of Hügächi.[5]

The Ba'arin Clan[6]

The Ba'arin clan is closely related to the

[1] See text p. 282 below.

[2] مکریتی (Mäkritäi) in JT_{RKA}; یکرتی in JT_K.

[3] The Dörbän are mentioned in the *Secret History* §§11, 120, 141, 196.

[4] This is Bolad Chingsang (ca. 1240–1313), Qubilai Qa'an's emissary to the Ilkhanid court. See T. T. Allsen, "Biography of a Cultural Broker."

[5] Reading داوریجین (Dörbäjin, the feminine attributive from the Dörbän) for the text's دریجین, and هوکجی (Hügächi) for the text's هولجی. See text p. 614 below.

[6] The Ba'arin are mentioned in the *Secret History* §41.

Dörbän, and they spring from one origin. The Suqai'ut also spring from the Ba'arin. [M520] Their origin is as follows. There were three brothers from whom these two branches descend.

Among the great and well-known officers from the Ba'arin during Genghis Khan's time was an officer named Nayaqa Noyan, one of the commanders of the left wing, one rank lower than Muqali Guyang. He was a *sütüküsün*, meaning that he was like an overseer *shahna* and second in command. In his youth he was called Naya[qa] Jusur (*jusur* means hypocritical and shameless), for it was the Ba'arin clan's custom to play rough games and indulge in many pranks at which they had not the slightest shame. Nayaqa Noyan lived to be extremely old, over a hundred, and he was still alive in Ögödäi Qa'an's time. He said that when Genghis Khan married his first wife, **[150]** he ate some of the food from the groom's banquet and remembered it.

Once, when Genghis Khan was fighting the Tayichi'ut, [Nayaqa Noyan's] father, Shirgü'ätü Äbügän, was with the Tayichi'ut [M522] and biding his time until he captured two of their leaders and princes, Huquchu and Targhutai Qiriltuq, and took them to Genghis Khan.

Genghis Khan made his sons, Taba and Alaq, his companions, and they were always with him. Alaq Noyan had a son named Kökchü, who was executed on charges of ___. He had a son named Bayan who served as a *bakhshi* to Qubilai Qa'an. When Hülägü Khan set out for Iran, he was with him. When Qubilai Qa'an sent Sodon's son Sartaq [and] Abdul-Rahman, as envoys to Hülägü Khan, he summoned Bayan.[1] When Sartaq returned, Bayan went with him. Abdul-Rahman remained behind here in order to complete an audit of accounts. When Bayan came before Qubilai Qa'an, he was rewarded [M524] and given a command. Achuqan, Sübätäi Bahadur's grandson, was made a liege man to him, and they were sent with thirty *tümäns* of Mongol soldiers and eighty *tümäns* of Cathaian soldiers to wage war on the Nankiyas. They went there and within seven years took the entire realm of the Nankiyas. Bayan's son Tuqai was in this land.

During Genghis Khan's time there was also a *hazara* commander of the right wing from the Ba'arin named Mangqal Türkän. He had a relative, also a *hazara* commander of the right wing, named Qorchi Noyan.

The Suqai'ut Clan, a sub-branch [of the Ba'arin]

They came about as follows. Ba'arin's youngest brother—it has already been said that there were three brothers—had a maid in his house who caught his eye. When he had a chance he laid hands upon her, and she became pregnant. His wife found out about it and tortured the maid, beating her to make her miscarry, but it didn't happen. When it was time for her to give birth, she brought forth the child in private and, in fear of the wife, she cut a bit of sable from the husband's fur coat, wrapped the infant in it, and placed it in the midst of a tamarisk forest. **[151]** By happy chance, the father was wandering through the tamarisk forest and heard a baby crying. He picked it up, recognized his fur coat, [M526] and realized that since it was the maid's time, [the child] must be hers. He brought it back and gave it to the mother to take care of and raise—the wife paid no attention.

The sons who were later born of that child, although they are Ba'arin, are nonetheless called by the name Suqai'ut because in Mongolian the name of tamarisk wood is *suqai*. They are now a separate clan, and there have been and are many officers from their "bone."

They say that Genghis Khan turned loose

[1] See text p. 136 above.

a man of the Ba'arin clan as *ongqun*, just as they make horses and other animals *ongqun*, meaning that no one should appropriate it and that it is free and *tarkhan* [immune]. That person's name was Beki, and he sat above everyone in the camp. He entered, like the princes, from the right side, and his horse was tethered together with Genghis Khan's. When he had become very old, Genghis Khan said, "Let one of the Suqai'ut clan get down on all fours so that Beki can stand on his back to mount." For that reason the Suqai'ut clan are called "Beki's grooms." They are also called *dorechi aqtachi*,[1] [M528] although they get very angry and deny it, attributing it to a joke.

In Genghis Khan's time there were two brothers from this clan, and both were commanders in the left wing. One was Ükär Qalja, and the other was Qutus Qalja. Other commanders of the Suqai'ut clan were the brothers Tamuqa Noyan and Qara Noyan. Tamuqa had three sons, first Jangqun, who was a *totqavul* commander in Hülägü Khan's time, second Qutu Buqa Noyan, who was a great commander of importance, and third Tangana Totqavul. There were also Chughatai and Jangqun Noyan's son Boralghi. Qutu Buqa Noyan's sons were Taichu and Tachu Noyan. Taichu died young, and so did Tachu's son Mubarak. Charuq survives. Tangana's sons are Baghlaghu, [M530] Musa, Qarabagh, Sulayman, Esä[n] Temür, Abdal, and Jirghatai. Jirghatai's son is Äbügätäi. **[152]**

The Barulas Clan[2]

The Qubilai Noyan of Genghis Khan's time was of this clan. His sons are presently in service to the qa'an. In this land was Saighan Taraqai of his progeny. He was sent with Jäbä and a large army against Tayang Khan in the last battle. Two commanders of importance from this clan came to this land with Tägüdär. Their names were Kökchü Bahadur [and ...]. Kökchü Bahadur was renowned for his intelligence, competence, and eloquence.

The Hadargin Clan[3]

Their leader in Genghis Khan's time was Moqur Qauran. (*Qauran* means as rough-tempered as a file; since he had this characteristic, he got this name.) He commanded the *hazara* of the Hadargin clan and was one of the commanders of the right wing. Recently most of that troop were in the Qipchaq Steppe with Noqai. [M532] Since they had contemplated rebellion against Noqai and his sons, they raided them, and now they are greatly dispersed throughout that land. The Büküri who was here was a grandson of Moqur Qauran.

The Jä'üriyät Clan[4]

This clan is descended from Tumina Khan's seventh son, whose name was Udur Bayan, and they are also called the Jäjirät. In Genghis Khan's time they were quite hostile and opposed to him. They submitted several times but then rejoined the enemy.

Among their well-known leaders at that time was Jamuqa Sächän. He was called *sächän* because he was very intelligent **[153]** and crafty. Genghis Khan used to call him *anda*, but he was always plotting against

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[1]The obscure expression may mean "stirrup-holding groom." See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:330 §204.

[2]The Barulas clan of the Genghisid period later became known as the Barlas. It was the clan from which Amir Temür sprang. They are mentioned in the *Secret History* §§46, 120.

[3]The name of this clan is spelled consistently throughout the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* as هيوركين. In JT_{YZ} fol. 8a, it is spelled and vocalized as هدَركين (Hidarkín). They must be the Adargin of the *Secret History* (§46), and we will opt for "Hadargin." Khetagurov (JT_{SL} 1/1:190) also reads Хадаркин.

[4]The Jä'üriyät (~ Jä'üräyit) are mentioned in the *Secret History* §44 (Je'üreyid).

him and wishing he could be ruler. Toqto'a Beki, the ruler of the Märkit, raided Jamuqa Sächän and carried off all his household. He wandered around for a while with only thirty liege men. After that, he had no choice but to send a message saying, [M534] "I submit to obey my father Toqto'a Beki and will fight for him." Toqto'a Beki accepted and gave him amnesty. He came to him and served him for a while. Since he was very crafty and tricky, he was always worming his way into Toqto'a Beki's officers' confidence.

One day he saw a quail that had hatched its eggs in some grass. He marked the spot. The next day he and a group of officers gathered there, and he said, "Last year I was passing by here, and a quail had made a nest at the bottom of this grass. Let me see if the nest has remained this year as it was and if the quail has produced young or not." He approached and saw that the quail had flown from the grass, leaving its nest and young there. [The officers] believed him and said in amazement, "What an intelligent and clever person who can remember a patch of grass from last year to this without mistake!"

With the likes of this trick he garnered status for himself with Toqto'a Beki and his officers. One day he thought up a stratagem. Early the next morning, [M536] before Toqto'a Beki had risen and without the guards' being aware of him—it was not customary for anyone to go before [Toqto'a Beki] so early—he and thirty of his liege men burst into Toqto'a Beki's tent without warning. There was no one with him. Toqto'a was extremely frightened and thought that he would do whatever he wanted. Jamuqa said, "Your sentries are most incompetent and off-guard. Why don't they protect you? I have come in like this on purpose to see whether they were aware and guarding you or not." Toqto'a Beki was quivering from fright as he realized the truth of the situation, although [Jamuqa] represented himself as having acted out of concern. In that state Toqto'a Beki was so afraid that he swore an oath and poured kumiss onto the ground from a golden goblet—as is their custom—swearing, "Your *a'ughruq* and your household I give to you. Henceforth I will do you no ill on any pretext." [He extracted this oath from Toqto'a] lest he find some opportunity to kill him. Then Jamuqa apologized for what he had done and served Toqto'a Beki until he had given back all that he had taken from him. Then he returned to his own home and *yurt*. **[154]**

Many times after that he fled from Genghis Khan, rebelled, and went to Genghis Khan's enemies, [M538] Ong Khan and Tayang Khan. Once many tribes of every stripe of Mongol gathered and elevated him as ruler, awarding him the title Gür Khan. When Genghis Khan set out to do battle with them, he triumphed over them every time he mounted an expedition. Seeing that he was not the man to offer resistance to Genghis Khan, Jamuqa raided his own liege men who had elected him ruler and rejoined Genghis Khan. Several other times he rebelled and stirred up enmity and war between Genghis Khan and Ong Khan.

Finally he met his end as follows. He fled and was captured by his own liege men, who turned him over to Genghis Khan's soldiers. While thus taken prisoner, he said in the presence of the envoys who were taking him away, "My *anda* makes a sign behind his head and knows well how to order valiant deeds."[1]

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[1]The wording is obscure: *andá-yi man ba pas-i sar ishárat kunad u yasamishí-i kárhá-yi nekú dánad*. The Mongolian original may have been clear, but the Persian leaves something to be desired. Berezin (5:203) translates as: другъ мой сначала сдѣлаетъ указаніе и онъ знаетъ хорошо устройство дѣлъ. Khetagurov (JT_{SL}1/1:191) translates: Пусть мой анда

When they brought him as a captive before Genghis Khan, he asked, "When Jamuqa was captured, what did he say?" His words were repeated. Genghis Khan realized to what he was alluding. The words he uttered meant that "If my own liege men, whose lord I was, took me captive and proved faithless, to whom will they be faithful?" [M540] Genghis Khan ordered [of] that group, who were his relatives and cousins, numbering sixty persons, [that] the thirty liege men who had taken him captive be separated and executed. The thirty others surrendered. Their leader, Ölüg Bahadur, became a great man of importance and performed valiant feats. Since he called Jamuqa *anda*, he did not want to kill him, so he gave him and his liege men and household to his nephew Elji'idäi Noyan, whom he loved. Several days later Elji'idäi killed him. It is reported that Elji'idäi ordered him cut limb from limb, and [Jamuqa] said, "You are right. I was planning to dismember you if I won. Now that you have won, dismember me quickly." He kept asking them to hurry, showing them his joints as if to say, "Cut here and don't worry."

Among the leaders of this clan in Genghis Khan's time were Qaliqudar, Ölüg Bahadur, Baghui, [M542] Yadaghana, Taghai, and Dalu. Since they were very hostile, [155] Genghis Khan killed many of them. Of the few who remained and are now in Iran, one is Ara Temür Ba'urchi, a *hazara* commander, and his brother Jäjirätai Qo'an. In the initial stages of Genghis Khan's quarrel with the Tayichi'ut, a relative of Jamuqa Sächän's, Nägüchär, went to raid the home of Jochi Tarmala of the Jalayir. Jochi Tarmala shot him with an arrow and killed him. For this reason Jamuqa and the Jäjirät clan joined the Tayichi'ut and other tribes and started a war with Genghis Khan, as is mentioned in the history.

Also during Genghis Khan's time there was a great commander from this clan named Qosha'ul, who had a brother named Jusuq. When Genghis Khan took the territories of Cathay and Jurcha, he wanted to station a troop in that region to guard the province and subjects. [M544] "These two are brave and courageous men," he said, so two men were detached from every group of ten to form three units of a thousand each, and they were given to them and the territory entrusted to them. Before that Qosha'ul's name was something else, but because his contingent had been detached from units of ten [in pairs], he was dubbed with this name, which is derived from that meaning.[1] When Genghis Khan was in Baljiuna and gathering soldiers from wherever he could, Jochi Qasar had gotten separated previously, and his household and possessions were raided by Ong Khan. He and a few escaped and rejoined Genghis Khan only after having to eat carrion along the way. Genghis Khan wanted to take Ong Khan unawares, so he purposefully sent a message, purporting to come from Jochi Qasar, with Qali'udar of the Jä'üriyät and Cha'urgha Ilaghan of the Uriangqat, who was also called Chavur, which means 'shaking the head,' which he was constantly doing. [To Qali'udar and Cha'urgha, Genghis Khan] said, "Say to him as though coming from Jochi Qasar, 'I have tried hard to follow my elder brother, Genghis Khan, and rejoin him. I have found no trace of him [M546] and have not been able to track him down. Now my home is the forest, and my pillow a clod of earth. If you will be so kind as to give me back my wife, children, and household, I will submit and join you.' " When this message was delivered to Ong Khan, he rejoiced and believed it. He

означит тех, что [уже] следовали за мною, и хорошенько разберется в приведении дел в порядок.

[1] In Turco-Mongolian *qosh* means 'pair.'

poured a bit of blood into a bull's horn to seal an oath and sent it off by an envoy, Itürgän by name, with them. As soon as Genghis Khan had dispatched the emissaries, **[156]** he led his soldiers in their wake and proceeded day and night. As the two emissaries were coming back with Itürgän, they saw Genghis Khan's banner from afar and feared that Itürgän would realize what was happening and take flight to relay the news. One of the two got down from his horse and said, "There is something caught in my horse's hoof." He had Itürgän hold the horse's leg so that he could inspect the hoof and clean it out with a pick. Thus he distracted Itürgän for a moment [until] Genghis Khan arrived, seized Itürgän, and sent him to Jochi Qasar, who had remained in the *a'ughruq*. [M548] Then he sent the two envoys to scout ahead, and they took Ong Khan unawares and defeated his army.

The Buda'at Clan[1]

This clan branched off from Bat Gälgäi, Tumina Khan's fifth son. During Genghis Khan's time their leader was Oridai.[2] When Genghis Khan was fighting the Tayichi'ut, he was allied with Genghis Khan and added his forces to his. There have been and are many officers from this clan, but at present none is known.

The Doqolat Clan[3]

They branched off from the eighth of Tumina Khan's sons, Bodonchar. When Genghis Khan was battling the Tayichi'ut, this clan was with Genghis Khan and formed part of his forces. However, neither at that time nor at the present is anyone known who was of importance or famous. **[157, M550]**

The Besüt Clan[4]

This branch came into existence with Tumina Khan's ninth son, Chantai, the youngest of all the brothers. There have been many officers and grandees from among them. Initially they opposed Genghis Khan, but later some of them submitted and performed valiantly. It is a Mongol custom for the youngest son to be called *otchigin* because he remains at home and is the center around which the family revolves. When Genghis Khan's *urugh* holds a *yasal* or a *yasamishi*—*yasal* is an expression for reviving their customs and practices—they summon members of this clan, to whom this practice pertains, and the shamans perform the *yasamishi* according to custom.

One of the famous people of this clan during Genghis Khan's time was Jäbä. His story is as follows. When these clans were opposing Genghis Khan, and he triumphed over them, he took their households. Some became exiles, and Jäbä was among that number. One day Genghis Khan was hunting, [M552] and Jäbä stumbled into the middle of the hunting circle. Genghis Khan recognized him and wanted to do combat with him. Borghochin Noyan said, "I will go out to fight him." He requested a horse from Genghis Khan and was given a *chaghan aman qula*, meaning a [dun] horse with a white muzzle. He mounted and went out to fight. He shot an arrow at Jäbä and

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[1]The Buda'at are mentioned once in the *Secret History* §46 (Buda'ad).

[2]This Oridai is elsewhere called Qoridai.

[3]The Doqolat are mentioned in the *Secret History* only in the attributive (Dogholadai, §46). Although they do not seem to have played a great role during Genghisid times, they later became known as the Doghlat, or Dughlat, and were of major significance in Chinese Turkistan during the heyday of the Chaghatayid khans of Moghulistan. Their fortunes until the middle of the sixteenth century are chronicled by Mirza Haydar Dughlat in his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

[4]The Besüt (Besüd) are mentioned in the *Secret History* §§47, 120, e.g.

missed. Jäbä shot an arrow and hit the horse, which fell dead. Jäbä fled, and after a time, since he had neither strength nor aid, he came and submitted. Since he was a good warrior, Genghis Khan gave him the command of a unit of ten men. When he served well, he made him commander of a hundred. When he performed valiantly, he became commander of a thousand and then ten thousand. He served for a long time and participated valiantly in expeditions. After Tayang Khan's son Güshlüg Khan fought with Genghis Khan and took flight, he went to the Gür Khan, the ruler of the Qarakhitai in Turkistan and Transoxiana. He married [the Gür Khan's] daughter and returned to Naiman territory, where he assembled an army. [M554] Then he mutinied against the Gür Khan and attacked him, took him captive, killed him, and took his place. **[158]** Seven years later, as will be mentioned in the history, Genghis Khan sent Jäbä and the army, and they put Güshlüg to flight. He went in defeat to the frontier of Badakhshan, where he was killed. When the news reached Genghis Khan, he sent advice to Jäbä not to get overconfident from such a great victory, i.e. from putting Güshlüg to flight, since, as he said, "It was on account of their overconfidence that I defeated Ong Khan, Tayang Khan, Güshlüg Khan, and others."

Since Jäbä had shot and killed the dun horse, when he came to submit he knelt and said, "I know that I am guilty of having killed the dun horse. If Genghis Khan pardons me and is generous, I will bring many such horses to him." After that, when he returned from battle with Güshlüg Khan, he brought a thousand dun horses with white muzzles from that region and presented them as gifts. When Genghis Khan was in the vicinity of Balkh and Taligan, he sent him along with Sübätäi and Börkä [M556] of the Jalayir and the army to that region. Börkä died along the way, and they came out and took some of the cities of Arab and Persian Iraq, pillaging and killing. He went to the regions of Georgia and Tiflis, where many Georgians assembled and came out to do battle. Jäbä sent Sübätäi with the army against them while he himself and five thousand warriors hid themselves. Sübätäi took flight intentionally, and the Georgians came out in pursuit of him. Jäbä leapt from ambush and outflanked them, killing them all. This was their custom in most battles. From there they withdrew, emerging through the Iron Gates, and the people of Derbent brought forth *tuzghu*[1] [offering of food] and submitted. They passed on from there and went to the territory of the Rus, killing and pillaging everywhere they went. They had promised Genghis Khan to finish the job within three years, but it was accomplished in two and a half.

Jäbä's younger brother Mönggädü Saru was in Tolui Khan's retinue. He had seven sons. The youngest was named Orus, [M558] and he came here in Hülägü Khan's service in a guard company of quiver bearers. His brothers remained there. When Abaqa Khan was sent to Khurasan, he made Orus the commander of four guard companies, and he performed valiantly. When Abaqa Khan became ruler and returned from Khurasan, he had Orus return and sent him to guard the frontier of Herat and Badghis, **[159]** putting under his command the army in that area, and there he remained. Two years later he sent Taisun[2] there, and he made many good showings and killed the region and tribe of Nägüdär. When he brought out Jadar and many captives, he killed them all along the way at Abaqa Khan's order. At that time Qutui Khatun passed by there. Orus per-

[1] Reading تزغو *tuzghu* for the text's ترغو.

[2] This name occurs here as تويسن (JT_K) and توبسين (JT_{RKA}). Elsewhere it is Taisun; see text pp. 53, 407.

formed services in that regard and escorted her until she reached Tus, performing good services. He died after the battle with Baraq.

His sons during Abaqa Khan's time were Qara Täri and Ayachi. Qara Täri's son at this time is Kharbanda. [M560] Ayachi's son Zangi is commander of a *hazara* and Hindu Ba'urchi [?].

Among Jäbä's sons was Suqursun, a *hazara* commander. His son Qarayit is now [among] the *ev-oghlans* of Öljäi Khatun, and his brother Bahadur went to Egypt on a mission.

Among Jäbä's relatives at present are many in service to the qa'an. Qada'an, a great commander and governor, Buqai, a great *bitigchi*, and Baiju were relatives of Jäbä. Ögödäi Qa'an sent him with Chormaqan and put him in charge of a company of a thousand. After that he was put in charge of a unit of ten thousand. Baiju subdued Anatolia and prided himself and boasted of it, saying, "I rendered Anatolia submissive." Hülägü Khan summoned him, found him guilty, and had him executed. He took a full half of his possessions. [M562] At Mänggü Qa'an's order his *tümän* was given to Chormaqan's son Shirämün.

Baiju Noyan's son was Adak, who was put in charge of a *hazara*. His son was the Sülämish who was in Anatolia. The Padishah of Islam rewarded him and gave him five thousand horsemen. There he was made commander of a *tümän*, revolted, and killed Bayanchar and Buchuqu, for which crime he was executed. This will be explained in detail.

The last time Genghis Khan did battle with Tayang Khan, he sent Quyil[d]ar of the Qorolas and Jäbä to the front. The second time he sent Jäbä with the army to Cathay and Jurcha, which they call Tungging.[1] Without laying siege he pulled back without warning and travelled fifty leagues in ten days so that [the enemy] felt secure. Then he stationed his *a'ughruq*, turned around, and galloped swiftly and unencumbered until he reached the city gate and took it by surprise through such a ruse. **[160]**

Also of this clan were two important officers, Dägä and Güchügür. Their story is as follows. When they were with the Tayichi'ut, their father and older and younger brothers were killed. [M564] Their mother, Baidu Khatun, asked her sons, "Has it ever happened that he treats helpless women and orphans well?" In that hope she picked up the two of them and brought them to Genghis Khan, with whom they found favor. He gave Güchügür a *hazara* and made Baidu Khatun *tarkhan*, saying, "The way of orphans is to be *tarkhan*." He made Dägä an *akhtachi* of the *sutan adun*, i.e. the royal horses. He ordered that Güchügür be given the mares, and Baidu Khatun was put in charge of the kumiss. Dägä's son was Udui, and he is now a *tümän* commander with Ching Temür and has many sons.[2] One of Güchügür's sons was Qorichin Qorchi, Tolui Khan's commander of the watch guard. Another was Qubilai Qushchi, [M566] who was in charge of a *hazara*. His son Char Buqa was attached to Qubilai Khan, and his son Güyüji came here as an envoy from Mingqan Kä'ün, the son of Malik Temür.

The Sügän Clan

They are among the Niru'un clans. Initially, when Genghis Khan was doing battle with the Tayichi'ut tribes and gathering forces, this clan allied themselves with him because

[1] Reading, with JT_{RKA}, ترنكينك (Tungging for 東京 Tung-ching) for JT_K's ترنكيل. Tung-ching was the eastern capital of the Chin empire, Liao-yang fu, the modern Liaoyang in southern Manchuria (Jurcha). See below, text p. 322.

[2] In the text, چنك تيمور Ching Temür. It may be a copyist's error for جيبك تيمور Jibik Temür.

they were kin. The name of their leader is not known.

The Qingqiyat Clan

They too are of the Niru'un. Since they were related they also joined Genghis Khan when he was fighting the Tayichi'ut. Their leader was Daqai Bahadur. Other notices about them will be given in the proper places. **[161]**

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It was necessary to mention in detail and recount the divisions of the branches of the elite Mongols, other Mongol clans, those who resemble the Mongols, [M568] and the tribes of Cathay, Tangqut, Uyghur, &c. because their history will come during Genghis Khan's time, for at the very beginning of his rule he brought them under his command with God's assistance and turned them all into slaves and soldiers. That which has been ascertained through diligent research has been reported in order for it to be known how many clans and branches they were, for what reason each one branched off, what the nature and customs of each clan were like, and where their dwelling places and *yurts* were. Now that we have finished with this, we will commence the history of the ruler of the world, Genghis Khan, and his descendants—in particular the Padishah of Islam, Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan, which is the ultimate goal and purpose of composing this blessed book—and we will give in detail and with full explanation where, how, and why Genghis Khan's branch and that of each of his cousins and relatives began. ~

ℭ PART TWO OF TOME ONE OF THE COMPENDIUM OF CHRONICLES

HISTORY OF THE RULERS OF THE MONGOL AND TURKIC PEOPLES AND OTHERS, CONTAINING TWO CHAPTERS

ℭ CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY OF GENGHIS KHAN'S FOREBEARS AND ANCESTORS, TEN STORIES IN ALL, PRECEDED BY AN INTRODUCTION ON HOW THEY APPEARED

Introduction, on Genghis Khan's ancestors and how, where, and when they attained fortune.

One should bear in mind that the Turkic nations and various Mongols that have been dealt with never, as a whole, had a mighty monarch to rule over all peoples. Each nation had its own monarch and leader, but most of the time they were at war and at odds with each other—like the Arabs who dwell in this realm, each tribe of which has its own separate leader who refuses to follow any other.

Since the people of Cathay were next to these people and their territory and camping grounds, in every epoch the Cathaians killed many of the tribes who practiced nomadism in Cathaian territory, while the tribes in turn raided and plundered the Cathaian realm. Because the rulers of Cathay were constantly vexed by Mongol nomads, they took every precaution against them, like constructing a wall like Alexander's Dam between Cathay and the tribes.[1] In Mongolian that wall is called *öngü*, and in Turkish it is called *yoqurqa*.[2] One end of it is at the Qara Müran [Yellow River], an extremely large river impossible to cross, and the other end is at a river on the frontier of the territory of the Jurchids. **[166]** The rulers of Cathay recognized the Öng'üt tribe as devoted military servants and turned the Öngü wall over to them, and they have constantly guarded it. In Genghis Khan's time, their leader, Ala Qush Tegin by name,[3] joined Genghis Khan, who assigned him to the wall, a bit of which has already been stated in the section on the Öng'üt. This will all be explained in detail later in its proper place, God willing.

The above-mentioned tribes have many histories and stories, but they have not reached this land, and the history of their forebears has not been ascertained in detail. Each tribe knows some of its own stories,

[1]Alexander's Dam *(sadd-i Iskandar)* is a reference to the Koranic legend of the enormous wall Alexander constructed to keep the Gog and Magog at bay. See Kor. 18:92–97.

[2]Reading يوقورقه *yoqurqa* for the text's برقورقه. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:557 §409.

[3]See note to text p. 100 above.

but they had no history by which to record former generations and eons past.

More recently, from the time that God decreed that Genghis Khan's ancestors should enjoy fortune and kingship and that the descendants of Dobun Bayan and Alan Qo'a, from whom Genghis Khan was descended, should be singled out for glory among all the branches of the Mongols, although there are no established dates, it has been approximately four hundred years, for from the contents of the chapters of history contained in the treasury, as well as from the reports of aged men with worldly experience, it can be ascertained that it was during the first part of the caliphate of the House of Abbas and the time of the reign of the Samanids.[1] During this period the tribes that have appeared in this family have become so numerous that it is not possible to enumerate them individually, nor would they fit within the covers of a volume. Although the lineage and branches are not known in detail, what is known and has been remembered will be consigned to writing, for it establishes the claim.

We will now begin the stories and histories with a mention of the lineage of Genghis Khan and his relatives from Dobun Bayan and Alan Qo'a. We will explain each branch separately and give a genealogical chart. **[167]**

(1) The story of Dobun Bayan and his wife, Alan Qo'a, and the legends that pertain to their history, exclusive of what can be found everywhere; comprising two parts.

Part One: The beginning of their history

Trustworthy historians of the Turks report that all the Mongol tribes are descended from the two persons who went into Ärgänä-qun. One of those who emerged from there was an important commander, a leader and chief of tribes, Börtä China [Blue Wolf] by name, from whom Dobun Bayan, Alan Qo'a's husband, and several other clans were descended. He had many wives and sons. By his chief wife, Qo'ai Maral [White Doe],[2] he had a son, the most important of his sons, who attained rulership. His name was Batachi-qiyan.[3] He had a son named Tamach[a], who succeeded his father. This Tamacha had five sons, the eldest of whom was named [Qorichar] Märgän,[4] and he succeeded his father. It is related that the other four sons wanted to leave their place for other territories, but there was a branch of the river in the way. They gathered much dry dung and constructed a thing like a raft, which here they call *kalak*,[5] got on it, crossed the river, and entered other territories. They say that the Dörbän tribe is descended from them because *dörbän* means four,[6] and they con-

[1]The House of Abbas reigned as caliphs from A.D. 749; the Samanids ruled in Khurasan and Transoxiana A.D. 819–1005.

[2]Emending the text's مرلل to مرال (*maral*, doe). See *Secret History* §1: "There was a bluish wolf which was born having his destiny from Heaven above. His spouse was a fallow doe." The *Secret History*'s Mongolian original of this passage has *börte chino* (bluish wolf) and *χo'ai maral* (dull white doe) respectively (see Cleaves, *Secret History*, xxix; *Manghol-un niuca tobca'an*, 1). Here the animal ancestors have been humanized, as was done by the compilers of the *Li-tai ti-wang hsing-hsi t'ung-p'u*, who substituted 'man' for 'wolf' and 'woman' for 'doe,' and by the Mongolians themselves under the influence of lamaism (see Antoine Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, xviii-xix).

[3]Batachiqan in the *Secret History*, p. 1.

[4]In the text قبجر, probably a miscopying of قوبجر, in turn a mistake for قوريجر, the Qorichar Mergen of the *Secret History*, p. 1.

[5]"Here" means Iran, where Rashiduddin was writing; and *kalak* is the Persian word for a raft constructed of reed bundles or inflated skins.

[6]This is correct: *dörbän* is the Mongolian for four (modern дөрбөн).

sist of four branches.

One day one of the offspring of the youngest son, Qolun Saqal by name,[1] had killed a mountain ox, and someone from the Baya'ut tribe, Babaliq by name,[2] brought his son, and he sold him some of the ox flesh. Since he was a relative of Alan Qo'a's husband, he gave the boy to Alan Qo'a, and most of the Baya'ut, who are servants and *urugh* to Genghis Khan, are descended from **[168]** that boy.

Qorichar Märgän had a son who succeeded him, Qa'ujam Boghorul by name.[3] He had a son who succeeded him named Yäkä Nidün.[4] He had a son named Säm Sä'öchi who succeeded to his father's position. He had a son named Qali Qarchu,[5] who succeeded his father. To him was born Dobun Bayan. Their *yurt* was [the area of] the Onon, Kerulen, and Tughula,[6] three rivers that arise in the Barghadu mountains.

Part Two: A description of Dobun Bayan and his wife Alan Qo'a, and their descendants.

Dobun Bayan had an extremely chaste wife, Alan Qo'a by name, of the Qorolas tribe. By her he had two sons, Bälgünüt and Bügünüt.[7] Two Mongol tribes are descended from them. Some reckon them of the Niru'un tribe because their mother was Alan Qo'a, but others consider them Dürlükin because they reckon the Niru'un only to be from the three sons to whom Alan Qo'a gave birth after the death of her husband. There is much dispute in this regard, but the better known version—which is also analogically closer to the truth—is the latter. From the descendants of these two sons there is no one—aside from one person—known to be in a *hazara*. Even in Mongolia they are said to be few.

Dobun Bayan, Alan Qo'a's husband, died young. **[169]**

The beginning of the story of Alan Qo'a and her sons who were born after the death of her husband.

In order for divine wisdom to make manifest traces of its power, it necessarily brings into being a strange and marvelous thing in every age of the world of generation and corruption, and the locus of that thing is a peerless, noble person, favored by the divine gaze and protected by divine mercy so that this thing may cause those of insight to learn a lesson and those of the world to witness His perfect power and so that by rendering thanks for God's infinite bounties they may continue forever and that they may know for certain that the continuum of the creation of beings, in general and in particular, is tied to the will of the creator. Whatever He willed He did, and whatever He wills He does: **God doeth that which he pleaseth** and commands what he wills.[8]

Proof of this claim is the marvelous story of Alan Qo'a, from whose pure womb, according to the Mongols—and the responsibility is his who related it—were born three sons without the intermediary of marriage or consort, and their story is one of the strangest of the strange. Their sons—in accordance with the dictum, **A race descending the one from the other**[9]—form innumerable

[1] Duua Soqor in the *Secret History* §11.

[2] Ma'aligh Baya'ud in the *Secret History* §15.

[3] A'ujam Boro'ul in the *Secret History* §2.

[4] Yeke Nidün in the *Secret History* §2. Reading نيدون (Nidün) for the text's تيدون.

[5] Reading قاراجو for the text's فاجو. This is the Qarchu of the *Secret History* §3. Another two generations are added in the *Secret History*, Borjigidai Mergen and his son Toroqoljin Bayan, the father of Dobun Mergen.

[6] The Tughula, or Tu'ula, is now known as the Tula River (Tuul Gol) in Mongolia.

[7] In the *Secret History* §10 they are Belgünütei and Bügünütei.

[8] Kor. 14:27.

[9] Kor. 3:34.

branches and uncountable clans, and until the end of the world and the human race they will be well remembered on account of the blessed existence of the quintessence of that family, the monarch of Islam, succorer of God's religion, Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan—may God extend his kingship forever, God willing.

Now begins the story of Alan Qo'a and her three sons who were born after the death of her husband, according to the reports of the Mongols, in two parts.

Part One: A preface to the story of Alan Qo'a and the offspring of her sons

It is related that Dobun Bayan, the husband of Alan Qo'a, died young. **[170]** It was divinely foreordained that the rule of the all-conquering emperor appear in the world in order to bring all nations of the world under his command and tame the unruly into subservience by his person, which would be so strong that he could be the emperor of the world and leader of all nations, and so that after him all the monarchs and rulers of the face of the earth be of his lineage. It is like an oyster shell in which a matchless pearl is cultivated for years without anyone's knowing which shell it is. Divers constantly search for it by plunging into the sea, bringing forth many shells, and obtaining many pearls. Each of those pearls has its use. Merchants arrange them on strings and sell them as befits each nation and person, and they are used for barter. However, the ultimate goal of all this is that one renowned unique pearl. With its perfect power, destiny made Alan Qo'a's pure womb the oyster shell for the precious pearl of Genghis Khan's existence and created his true life spark therein from pure light.

The many clans and tribes descended from Alan Qo'a are so numerous that if the individuals were to be counted they would exceed a million, yet each of them has a clear and unambiguous family tree, for it is a Mongolian custom to preserve one's relationship to one's fathers and forefathers, and every child born is taught and inculcated with his genealogy like all others in that nation. There is not one among them who does not know his tribe and lineage. Nations other than the Mongols do not have such a custom—except for the Arabs, who also keep their genealogy. [These others] are like ordinary pearls produced by the oyster shells brought forth from the bottom of the sea of creation by divers of divine wisdom for the sake of that one priceless pearl. The quintessence of them all is Genghis Khan, and in particular his renowned offspring, the king of world asylum, helper of God's religion, Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan—may God extend his kingship forever—who has strengthened the religion of Islam and patronized Muslims. He has revived every portion of the Islamic code and custom that had fallen into lassitude with the passage of time and suffered from the hands of infidels and polytheists. He has totally eliminated vain ways and re-established the foundations of Islam.

How many a root has been extricated from Chin and Khotan so that a mandrake like you could be brought to Khurasan! **[171]**

In accordance with the foregoing, once, after Alan Qo'a's husband died, she was asleep in her house when a light entered through the vent of the tent and went into her belly. She was astonished and too afraid to tell anyone about it. After a time she discovered that she was pregnant. When the time for giving birth was near, her husband's brothers and relatives gathered and said, "How can a woman without a husband find a mate in secret to become pregnant?"

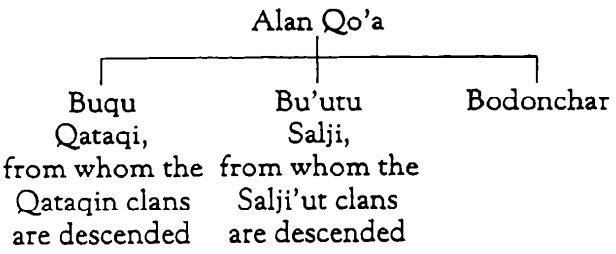
"Since I have conceived without a husband," said Alan Qo'a in reply, "you of course think that what you imagine and

suspect is true. However, there is no doubt that 'some suspicions are sinful.' How can I have committed a disreputable act that would bring shame? Yes, every night when I am asleep I see a luminous shape coming softly and gently to me, and then it slowly withdraws. I see with my eyes outside of this state. Whatever suspicion you have of me is untrue. These children I have conceived are of another species. When they grow up and become monarchs and khans over all people, you and all the common people will realize how I was."

When Alan Qo'a replied thus, and her chastity and purity were clear to them, they did not chastise or bother her, for they realized that what she said was true.

To Alan Qo'a were born three sons. The eldest was named Buqun Qataqi,[1] from whose line comes the entirety of the Qataqin clans. The middle son's name was Bu'utu Salji,[2] and he was the ancestor of the Salji'ut clans. The youngest son's name was Bodonchar Khan. He was the finest fruit of this tree, and many clans, as will be later given in detail, trace their descent from him. Genghis Khan's lineage is also from him.

The relationship of Alan Qo'a and her three sons is shown in the following diagram.


Alan Qo'a
Buqu Qataqi, from whom the Qataqin clans are descended
Bu'utu Salji, from whom the Salji'ut clans are descended
Bodonchar

[172] The offspring of these three sons are called Niru'un unqualifiedly, a reference to Alan Qo'a's pure womb, and these tribes enjoy great pre-eminence.

Division the second: a report of the offspring of Alan Qo'a's three sons

Know that the many branches and clans that descended from these three sons are known as the Niru'un, meaning from pure loins, referring to the pure loins and womb of Alan Qo'a. These tribes enjoy pre-eminence, and among all the other tribes they are like pearls in an oyster shell or fruit on a tree. The Mongol tribes that are not Niru'un, as has been stated in the introduction, are all called Dürlükin. The tribes descended from Bälgünüt and Bügünüt, even though they have the same ancestry, are also called Dürlükin because their father was Dobun Bayan.

The clan of Mongols who are now called *ötägü boghol* received this name during Genghis Khan's time.[3] *Ötägü boghol* means that they are hereditary slaves of Genghis Khan's fathers and forefathers. Some of them are those who performed pleasing services during Genghis Khan's time and established their rights, and that is why they are called *ötägü boghol*. Those who maintain their status as *ötägü boghol* will be mentioned individually in the proper places. At this point it was necessary to mention this much simply in order that the reader may know what these words mean.

Although all the branches that are Niru'un are related to Genghis Khan, and although great officers and khans emerged from them, nonetheless when Genghis Khan was ruler of the earth, all Mongol tribes—both those that were related to him and those that were unrelated—became his slaves. In particular, those of his relatives, uncles, and cousins who united with his enemies during his time of difficulties and fought against him are inferior in rank to

[1] In the *Secret History* §17, Bughu Qatagi.

[2] In the *Secret History* §17, his name is given as Bughatu (and Bughutu at §42) Salji. Text has بوسون, probably a mistake for بوتون, Bu'utu(n), for the Bughutu of the *Secret History*.

[3] For *ötägü boghol*, see above, text p. 48.

his other relatives. There are also many who became slaves of slaves, and in the proper place it will be explained **[173]** at what time and for what reason they became slaves.

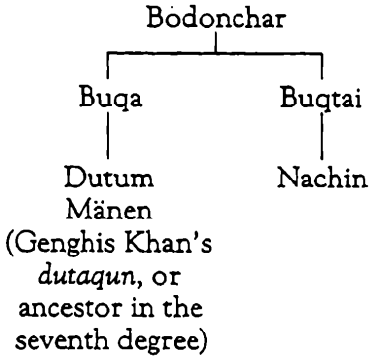
(2) The story of Bodonchar Khan, his wives and sons, and their offspring, in two parts

Part One: An introduction to his sons

Bodonchar was the third son of Alan Qo'a. In his own time he was the leader and monarch of many Mongol tribes, and he was an extremely brave warrior. He had two sons. The elder's name was Buqa, and the younger's name was Buqtai.[1] Genghis Khan's lineage and that of many other Niru'un tribes go back to Buqa, who was his father's designated heir. After his father's death he succeeded to his father's position and post. He had a son named Dutum Mänen. Buqtai also had a son, whose name was Nachin. This Nachin requested in marriage a girl from the Mongol tribes and used to frequent their place as a son-in-law. They say that some of the Tayichi'ut tribes are descended from him, but this claim has no basis in fact since in the books of history kept in the imperial treasury, which the great officers have preserved and which is called the *Altan Daftar* [The Golden Record], it says that the Tayichi'ut tribes are descended from Charaqa Lingqum, one of the sons of Qaidu Khan and grandson of Dutum Mänen. The only mention of Nachin is that he helped his nephew Qaidu Khan escape from the Jalayir and protected him. He came away with him, and they settled near each other in the Onon and Kerulen area. It is possible, since the Tayichi'ut tribes were numerous, that Nachin's sons united with them, mingled with them, and took their name, particularly inasmuch as they were cousins. That is how this mistake must have happened, for otherwise his progeny would have had a separate mention. His progeny is also Niru'un, but it has not been ascertained which of the Niru'un tribes that have been mentioned are descended from him. **[174]**

Part Two: A description of Bodonchar and his son's offspring

As has been mentioned, Bodonchar had two sons, Buqa and Buqtai. Buqa's son was Dutum Mänen, the progenitor of Genghis Khan's line. His story will be given shortly. Buqtai's son was Nachin, whose branch is not known for certain. Their relationship is as follows:



Another version says that Dutum Mänen was the son of Bodonchar, but they are correct who make him a son of Buqa, for that is what the ancient manuscript says.

(3) The story of Dutum Mänen son of Buqa son of Bodonchar Khan, his wife Monolun, and his sons, in two parts.

Part One: Preface and Introduction.

Dutum Mänen was Genghis Khan's ancestor in the seventh degree, which the Mongols call *dutaqun*. He had nine sons. When

[1] According to *Secret History* §43, Bodonchar's sons were Barim Shi'iratu Qabichi Ba'atur and Je'üredei. The Buqa of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* takes Qabichi Ba'atur's place as Dutum Mänen's father. Barim Shi'iratu Qabichi appears in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* several generations later as the second son of Tumina Khan (text p. 185 below).

he died, his wife, Monolun by name and mother of those sons, was left behind. Her sons each took a bride from a different tribe in a different direction and went there as sons-in-law. Monolun was rich and well provided for, and her residence and *yurt* were in a place called [A]nosh Ärgi[1] and Black Mountain. Every few days she would order the herds gathered. The horses and sheep were too many to be counted, **[175]** but when enough animals stood to cover the ground with their hooves from the top of the mountain, where she dwelt, down to the bottom, where a large river flowed, she would say, "All have been gathered." Otherwise she would order people to go out in search of the herds and flocks.

At that time there were several tribes of the Mongols called Jalayir and of the Dürlükin (an explanation of whom has already been given) that dwelt in the vicinity of the Kerulen. They were seventy *gürä'äns* (*gürä'än* means a circle of tents pitched in the wilderness). At that time a *gürä'än* was what they called a thousand of these tents so dwelt in. By this reckoning that tribe consisted of seventy thousand households. The Kerulen being near the territory of Cathay, they and other Mongol tribes as well were perpetually at war with the Cathaians. At that time a large army from Cathay came to raid and plunder them. When the Jalayir saw the army, knowing that the Kerulen River lay between them and there was no crossing nearby, and relying on the Cathaians' being unable to cross, they waved their hats and sleeves in derision and called out to them, taunting them, saying, "Come over and plunder our animals!" Since the Cathaian army was numerous, they gathered sticks and branches, built a bridge during the night, crossed the river, massacred the Jalayir down to toddling infants, and plundered their animals.

There was one separate clan of the Jalayir off to one side the enemy did not reach. Seventy householders of them fled with their women and children and came to the territory of Monolun, Dutum Mänen's wife. Since they were suffering from hunger, they pulled from the ground and ate the root of a plant called *südüsün*, which is eaten in that region. By that act the place where Monolun's sons raced their horses became pitted and rough. Monolun asked, "Why do you create such roughness **[176]** and ruin [?] my sons' racing ground?" They therefore seized Monolun and killed her.

Since each of Monolun's sons had joined a different tribe, and their relatives had become many, they refused to tolerate this from [the Jalayir], so they blocked their way and killed eight of their sons.

[Monolun's] youngest son, Qaidu by name, had married into the Känbä'üt[2] tribe, and his uncle, Nachin, had also gone to that tribe as a son-in-law, as previously mentioned. When [Nachin] heard of the affair of the Jalayir and his brother's sons, he hid Qaidu under a large vat-like jar in which the Mongols put kumiss. When that clan of the Jalayir committed this act, the other remaining Jalayir clans made an enquiry of the seventy men, saying, "With what elder and younger brothers did you consult to commit such an outrageous act?" In revenge and vengeance they killed them all, and their women and children became slaves to Monolun's son Qaidu, although several of their small children were kept and made slaves to [the Jalayirs'] families. From that date until now that clan of the Jalayir have been hereditary slaves and were inherited by Genghis Khan and his offspring. Great officers have arisen from them, as will be mentioned under their respective branches.

Nachin and Qaidu decamped and left that place. Qaidu took up residence in Borqujin

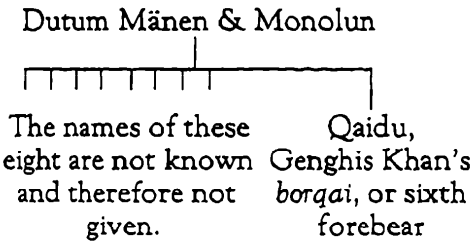
[1] Reading ارکی (*ärgi* 'escarpment') for the text's اوکی.

[2] Unidentified tribal name, کنبنوت (Känbä'üt?).

Tögüm [Barghujin Hollow], one of the Mongols' frontiers. For irrigation and crossing he constructed a crossing over the river and called it Qaidu-jin Olum [Qaidu's Ford].[1] Nachin took up residence downstream on the Onon River, and his offspring formed a separate branch, of which nothing is known, as was stated in the previous story.

Part Two: The relationship of Dutum Mänen, his wife Monolun, and the branch of their sons

Dutum Mänen had nine sons, as was reported. Eight of them were killed, and their names are not known. The one who survived was Qaidu Khan, from whom Genghis Khan's illustrious lineage descends. The relationship of this branch is as follows: **[177]**


Dutum Mänen & Monolun
The names of these eight are not known and therefore not given.
Qaidu, Genghis Khan's *borqai*, or sixth forebear

The mother of these nine sons was Monolun Khatun, who is also called Monolun Targhun (which means fat). When, for the reasons mentioned in the history, the Jalayir clans killed her and her eight sons, Qaidu Khan, the youngest, escaped because his father's cousin Nachin hid him under a kumiss vat. Some of the Jalayir tribes then became their slaves because of that crime.

(4) Beginning of the story of Qaidu Khan

Many people have had great hopes that did not come to fruition and were dashed, and many are the hopeless raised by God to exalted positions. Some initially experience various afflictions, and after suffering difficulties and losing hope they are granted relief—"relief after constraint, and with difficulty comes ease"—and in a little while they become chiefs and leaders and attain high position. Now God's purpose in both states must be for the people of the world to know of His omnipotence and learn a lesson—**despair not of the mercy of God**[2]—lest they lose hope of His merciful court. Proof of this contention is the history of Qaidu Khan, for after so many difficulties God rewarded him with all sorts of bounty. **God strengthens with his help whom he pleaseth. Surely herein is an example unto men of understanding.**[3] **[178]**

The story of Qaidu Khan son of Dutum Mänen, and of his sons, in two parts.

Part One: Introduction to him and his sons.

Qaidu Khan was Genghis Khan's ancestor in the sixth degree, which is called *borqai* in the Mongolian language.

When Qaidu Khan's brothers were killed by the Jalayir, as was mentioned in the previous story, he left that territory with his cousin and settled in Mongolia in the place mentioned. It was God's will that the pearl of Genghis Khan's existence be nourished with the passage of time in the shell of the loins of [Qaidu Khan's] offspring, so He bestowed fortune upon Qaidu Khan, from whom Genghis Khan's lineage comes, so that he had wives, followers, flocks, and herds beyond number. Three sons upon whom fortune smiled were also born to him.

The first was named Bai Sinqor, and he was Genghis Khan's ancestor. The middle son was Charaqa Lingqum. The youngest

[1] Reading قایدوجین اولوم for JT_K's قایدووجراقلوم. *Olum* is a good Mongolian word for ford or crossing. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:178 §55.

[2] Kor. 12:87.

[3] Kor. 3:13.

was named Cha'ujin,[1] and from him descend the two clans Ö[r]tägin and Sanchi'ut.[2] In Chinese *lingqum* means great commander,[3] and since they were near the territory of Cathay, Cathaian idioms and titles gained currency among them. Because the ordinary Mongols did not know what *lingqum* meant, they called him Charaqa Lingqu. According to the version in the *Altan Daftar*, he is the ancestor of all the Tayichi'ut clans, and that version is nearer to the truth than any other.

The Tayichi'ut are a numerous and powerful tribe, and mighty monarchs have emerged from among them. They have gone on numerous campaigns and expeditions. Each clan had its own separate commanders and leader, but they were all in accord. In every age and epoch they elevated a monarch or a khan from amongst themselves and followed him. When as a boy Genghis Khan was bereft of his father, **[179]** most of his father's followers and warriors went over to the Tayichi'ut, and that is why he and the Tayichi'ut fought many battles and skirmishes, as will be explained in the course of his history. Although Genghis Khan was only a child and had few warriors, since destiny's ultimate purpose in creating all these tribes and clans was to elevate Genghis Khan's might, how could a thousand powerful men stand against one so chosen for fortune? Had the Tayichi'ut clans understood the wisdom in this, they would have chosen to serve him while he was yet a youth; however, since the mind of man cannot fathom the depths of divine wisdom, they can be excused. They strove and fought as hard as they could, but the way of right guidance was blocked to them, and so they wrongheadedly chose to fight and resist Genghis Khan until the root of the tree of Genghis Khan's fortune reached the water of perfection, spread its shade, and bore fruit. Then all the Tayichi'ut and their rulers, as well as the other tribes who were united with them, were overcome and conquered by God's might. They all chose to submit and become Genghis Khan's slaves, soldiers, and subjects against their will and by force, as will be narrated.

The branches of Charaqa Lingqum and Cha'ujin will be reported in this story, and as much of their history as needs be will be explained so that it will not be necessary to treat each separately. Their genealogical chart will also be given in this story.

Lingqum's branch is as follows. He had several sons, and his eldest son succeeded him. His name was [Sorqaduqtu China[4]], the *qu'dud* of Tumina Khan.[5] He had a son named Hambaqai Qa'an, who ruled for a time and was the *qu'dud* of Qabul Khan. His history is quite well known. Once the Tatar nation seized him without warning and sent him to Altan Khan of Cathay, who, out of the unbridled enmity and hatred he harbored for them, nailed him to a wooden donkey with iron spikes. Hambaqai Qa'an's son was Qada'an Taishi, the *qu'dud* of Bartan Bahadur. His son was the Tödä'ä who lived during Genghis Khan's time and was one of the leaders of the Tayichi'ut. However, their monarch in Genghis Khan's time was Tarqutai Qiriltuq, son of Adal Khan. Those of his cousins who were chiefs **[180]** of the Tayichi'ut were Quril Bahadur,[6] A[']u]chu, and Huqu-[chu].

Charaqa Lingqum had other sons. When

[1]Read جاورجين (Cha'ujin) for the text's جاورجين.

[2]The Charaqai Lingqu and Cha'ujin Örtegei of the *Secret History* §47. In the *Secret History*, however, the clans that descend from Cha'ujin are Oronar, Qongqotan, Arulad, Sönid, Qabturghas, and Geniges.

[3]See note to text p. 142 above.

[4]See note to text p. 142 above.

[5]*Qu'dúd* is the Arabic term for the person next in seniority to the elder of a tribe, or the senior member of a branch collateral to that of the tribal elder.

[6]Quril is the Mongolian for Cyril.

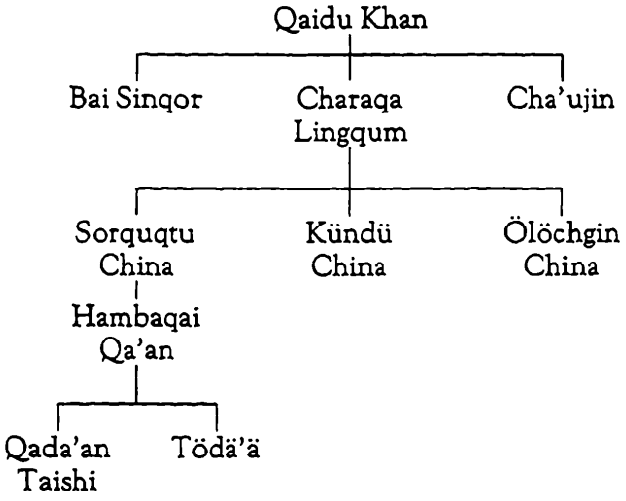
his elder brother, Bai Sinqor, died, he took [Bai Sinqor's] wife as a *yengä* [and had two sons by her]. One was named Kündü China, and the other was Ölöchgin China.[1] Two other tribes are descended from him through these two sons, and they are called the Chinas tribe (Chinas is the plural of China). *Kündü china* means male wolf, and *ölöchgin china* means female wolf. They were united with Genghis Khan. The Chinas clan is also called Nüküz, but this is different from the ancient Nüküz, with whom they have nothing in common other than the name. By the time of Yesügäi Bahadur the Tayichi'ut clans had become followers of him and his ancestors, but when he died they began their enmity and hostility. The Chinas clan took Genghis Khan's part.

Cha'ujin, Qaidu Khan's third son, had sons, and he was the ancestor of many branches. The Ö[r]tägin and Sanchi'ut are descended from him. These clans were with Genghis Khan during the dispute with the Tayichi'ut. As much of their history as is known will be mentioned under the branches of that tribe.

All these tribes are Niru'un.

Part Two: The relationship of Qaidu Khan, his wife, and their sons.

As previously reported, Qaidu Khan had three sons, Bai Sinqor, Charaqa Lingqum, and Cha'ujin. Since Genghis Khan's lineage goes back to Bai Sinqor, a separate story will be devoted to him next. The relationship of Qaidu Khan and his wife and the chart of the branches of their three sons and their offspring—exclusive of the offspring of Bai Sinqor, which will be given separately—is as follows: **[181]**



In some manuscripts Bai Sinqor's name and that of Cha'ujin Hör[tä]gäi do not occur,[2] and they say that Tumina Khan was the son of Qaidu. However, we have seen in some manuscripts that Bai Sinqor and Cha'ujin Hör[tä]gäi were Qaidu's sons, and Tumina Khan was Bai Sinqor's son, and this is correct, so we have included Bai Sinqor here.

The Ö[r]tägin and Sanchi'ut clans are descended from Cha'ujin Hör[tä]gäi. The Qongqotan also stem from this origin. One of his sons was named Yesuqu, and another was named Durubtu. When these two boys ran, a sound came from their noses, and therefore they and their sons were named Qongqotan. Details have already been given in the part on the Qongqotan. There are many branches of the Qongqotan, and most of them were supporters of Genghis Khan and his sons.

As for Charaqa Lingqum, it is stated in some manuscripts that he was a son of Nachin, but it is more correct to say that he was a son of Qaidu Khan because in the family tree it is said that Charaqa married his *berigän* [elder brother's wife], i.e. Bai Sinqor's wife, and by her had two sons,

[1] This is at total variance with the *Secret History* §47. There Charaqai Lingqu had by his former sister-in-law one son, Besütei, the ancestor of the Besüd clans.

[2] In the *Secret History* §47, the name occurs as Cha'ujin Örtegei. In the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* it is consistently چاورجين هوركر, for which we emend هوركر to هورتكى for Hörtägäi.

Kündü China and Ölöchgin China. Consequently he must have been slightly junior to Bai Sinqor because if he had been Nachin's son, he would have been his [Bai Sinqor's] cousin and Bai Sinqor's wife would have been Charaqa's cousin's wife, and by Mongolian custom it would have been inappropriate for him to marry her. It is therefore more correct to make him a son of Qaidu Khan and the Tayichi'ut of his tribe. This has occasioned confusion because Nachin's sons and offspring are also Tayichi'ut. Now it is not necessary that only the sons of Charaqa be called Tayichi'ut. **[182]** All of their relatives and dependents who were with the Tayichi'ut united with them and were called Tayichi'ut. All of Cha'ujin Hör[tä]gäi's clans and sons, as well as his relatives and dependents, who were with the Tayichi'ut, since they were chiefs and rulers of that tribe, were called Tayichi'ut, just as now every tribe that has mingled with the Mongols and taken on their nature and united with them, even though they are not Mongols, is called Mongol nonetheless.

Of the sons and grandsons of Qaidu Khan's son Charaqa Lingqum and the Tayichi'ut clans there have been many commanders, some prior to Genghis Khan's time and others during his time. They have always failed to get along, and their names appear in every register and every tale, just as they appear everywhere in the history we have written. However, since it is known for certain whose son each of them is, it has been possible to create a separate branch for each of them. Their names will now be written so that the leaders and chiefs of the Tayichi'ut be known: Jochi and his troops were united with Genghis Khan; Quril Bahadur was in Genghis Khan's time; Nachi'un Beki was with Ong Khan and opposed to Genghis Khan; Udur Bayan was in Genghis Khan's time; Baqaji was in Genghis Khan's time; Adal Khan was before Genghis Khan's time; he had a son during Genghis Khan's time named Tarqutai Qiriltuq, who was opposed to [Genghis Khan] and rebelled; he was a bad man (*qiriltuq* means jealous), and he fought much with his own relatives; Angqu Huquchu was in Genghis Khan's time.

There were many other commanders from the Tayichi'ut clans, but those who are known and of whom tales are told in various manuscripts are these who have been mentioned.

Hambaqai Qa'an had two sons, Qada'an Taishi and Tödä'ä. Qada'an Taishi succeeded to Hambaqai Qa'an's place. When the Tatar tribes seized Qada'an Taishi, they sent him to the king of Cathay **[183]** to be killed. The rule then should have gone to his brother, Tödä'ä, but because his cousins would not agree with him he could not become ruler. Because of their inability to agree the Tayichi'ut never had a ruler or leader, and therefore they were overthrown.

(5) The story of Qaidu Khan's son Bai Sinqor and the branches of his sons, in two parts.

Part One: An introduction to him and his sons.

Bai Sinqor was Genghis Khan's ancestor in the fifth degree, which is called *bodakür* in Mongolian. His son was Tumina Khan, and although he certainly must have had other sons, no mention of them has come down. The only one of his sons known is Tumina Khan.

Part Two: The relationship of Bai Sinqor and his wife and the branch of his son Tumina Khan.

Bai Sinqor & his wife

|

Tumina Khan

(6) Beginning of the story of Tumina Khan.

When divine grace favors a person, [184] a little on his part will yield a lot, and he will surpass others as assistance comes to him moment by moment and his affairs blossom and multiply. It is like a mulberry seed and a poppy seed. Although in size, weight, and form they are equal and similar, when the poppy seed sprouts it produces a weak stalk and does not last more than a season, while the mulberry seed is the germ of a tree that grows, produces a hundred thousand stalks, bears fruit, and is beautiful. Its root is strong, firm, and stable, and its branches are high and unshakeable. It lasts for many long years, and from it is produced choice fruit. From its leaves comes silk, which is the finest raiment. It is unlike other trees, which, although they too have numerous branches, do not bear fruit and serve little purpose. So also when God selects a servant for his favor, he causes traces thereof to appear in that person's career and grants him fortunate and worthy sons. When such favor is extreme, that person's sons are capable of being leaders and worthy of greatness: among their contemporaries they become chiefs of tribes, and by virtue of his renowned predecessors his and his innumerable offspring's names remain forever. This is like Tumina Khan, from whom came into being a splendid line of mighty khans and forbidding emperors, each of whom was a sun in the firmament of success. Their memory will last through the ages, God willing, because of the blessed existence of the Padishah of Islam, Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan, who is the sun in the firmament of that family.

(7) The story of Bai Sinqor's son Tumina Khan, in two parts.

Part One: An introduction to him and his sons, and a mention of their lines.

Tumina Khan was Genghis Khan's ancestor in the fourth degree, which is called *bodatu* in Mongolian. [185] He had nine intelligent and competent sons, from each of whom a clan branched off to become important and well known. Now each of those clans numbers twenty to thirty thousand households and the number of men and women may reach a hundred thousand individuals. This must not be attributed to exaggeration, for it has been the Mongols' custom from ancient times on to keep their origin and genealogy, and since they have no religious community or religion in which to instruct as others do, fathers and mothers inculcate into every child that is born their tribe and genealogy. They have maintained this as a constant rule, and even now the rule is of great importance for them. The Arabs also do this. It is well established what name and epithet each of the nine branches has acquired, and now their sons and grandsons are called by that name. Of the nine sons, the five elder ones were of one mother, and the other four were by another. Their names and those of the grandsons of each branch are as follows.

(1) Those who are the elder and born of one mother.

The first son was Jaqso,[1] from whom the Noyaqin, Uru'ut, and Mangqut clans descend. He had sons, the eldest of whom, and the one who succeeded him, was Budun, and his eldest son was Jochiya, and his eldest son was Märkitäi, and his son was Sügä Beki, the *qu'dud* of Genghis Khan's sons.

The second son was Barim Shi'iratu Qabuchu, from whom the ___ clan descends. He had a son named Urum, and

[1] A Noyakin named Jungso is mentioned in the *Secret History* §120. The "Jaqso" here may reflect the same name.

he had a son named Jadanchar.[1] Jadanchar's eldest son was Taichu, and his son was Sibani,[2] who was the *qu'dud* of Genghis Khan's sons.

The third son was Qachulai, from whom the Barulas clan is descended. His eldest son was [Erdämchi[3]] Barula, and his eldest son was Tödö'än. His eldest son was Jochiya, and his eldest son was Buluqan Qilich, who was the *qu'dud* of Genghis Khan's sons.

The fourth son was Säm Qachi'un, from whom the Hadargin clan is descended. His son was Adar Märgän, **[186]** and his eldest son was Na'uqun. Na'uqun's son was Huqu, and his eldest son was the Borchu who was the *qu'dud* of Genghis Khan's sons.

The fifth son was Bat Gälgäi, from whom the Buda'at clan is descended. His eldest son was Kölgän Märgän, and his eldest son was Tarqutai. Tarqutai's eldest son was Qoridai, [and his son was] Jirqidai, who was the *qu'dud* of Genghis Khan's sons.

(2) Those who were younger and by a different mother.

The sixth son was Qabul Khan, from whom Genghis Khan was descended. Several other lines descended from him, and since they will all be mentioned, we will not go on at length here.

The seventh son was Udur Bayan, from whom the ___ clan is descended.

The eighth son was Bodonchar Doqolan, from whom the Doqolat are descended.

The ninth son was Chintai, who was also called Jochi Naghu, from whom the Besüt are descended. He was the *otchigin*. The word *otchigin* means the youngest son, who stays in the home and *yurt*, i.e. "master of the fire."

All of the above-mentioned brothers and their sons became numerous and many clans. They were all champions and of importance; however, only the names of those who were elder and succeeded [their fathers as leaders] have been written. Of the others nothing is known.

The names of Tumina Khan's grandsons who succeeded to their fathers' positions have been written so that it may be known which of them was a *qu'dud* to which of Qabul Khan's sons and grandsons, down to the fifth generation, which is that of Genghis Khan's sons. To be easily understandable, their names are written in a chart, as follows. **[187–188]**

All these branches and clans served Genghis Khan, and they still continue to do so now.

Some of them performed valiant feats; others united with enemies, but in the end they received their just deserts, most being killed, and those who remained became slaves, as will be mentioned in the history of Genghis Khan. Some of their history has been mentioned in each section, to which referral is made for further information.

Part Two: On Tumina Khan, his wife, and the branches of his sons.

As was said in the previous part, Tumina Khan had nine sons. The branches of them and their sons at present are other than the sons of Qabul Khan. Since the latter are ancestors of Genghis Khan, their history will be given separately. The genealogical chart is as follows.

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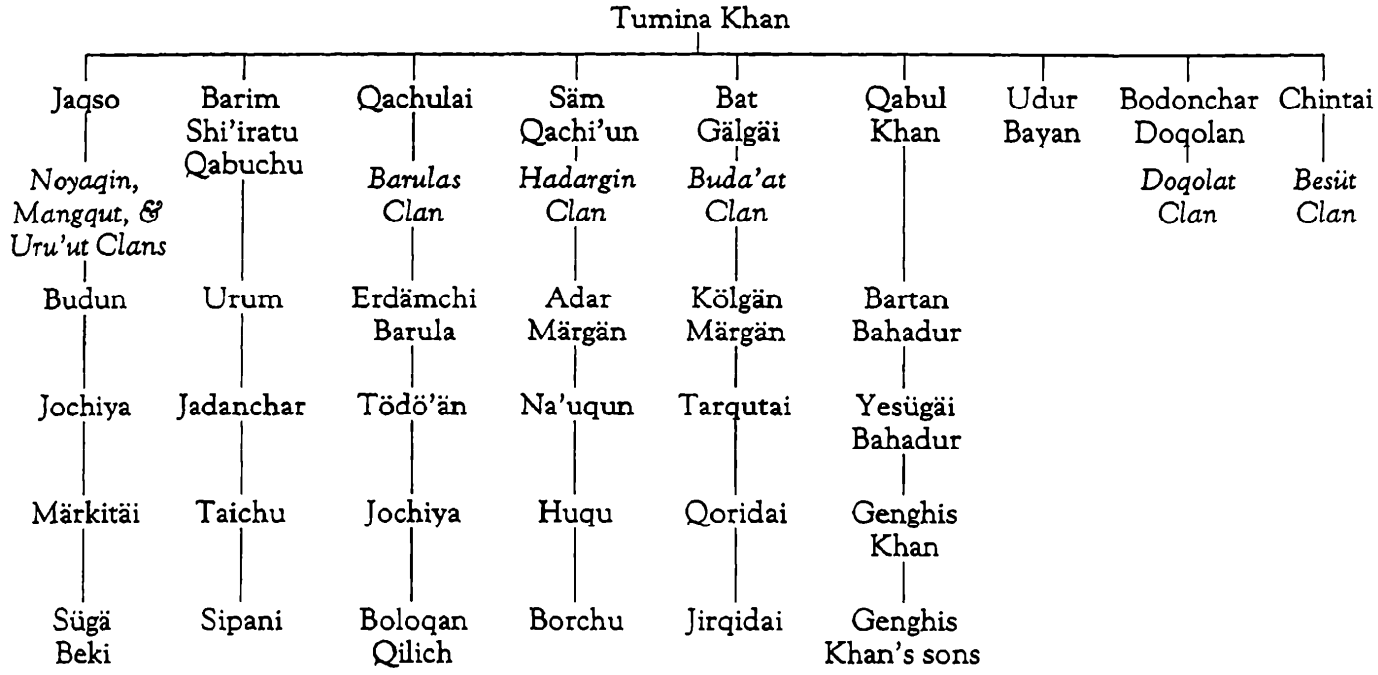
[1]Reading, with Berezin (JT_B 13:29) جادنجر (Jadanchar) for JT_K's جارينجر.

[2]Clearly written سپاهی (Sipahi) in the text here, although such a Persian word is out of place. In the following chart the name is written سپانی (Sipani), which may reflect the name سيبان Siban/Shiban, which Berezin (13:29) transcribes as Шибани.

[3]Variously spelled in the text, usually ارومجر; read as ايردمجی. This is the Erdämchi Barula who figures in Amir Temür's genealogy.



(8) The Story of Qabul Khan son of Tumina Khan, in two parts.

Part One: Introduction to him and his sons.

Qabul Khan was Genghis Khan's great-grandfather. The Mongols call the great-grandfather *elänchik*. Many lines branched out from him, and his sons and grandsons are called the Qiyat.

His eldest son was Ökin Barqaq.[1] *Ökin* means girl, and he was so called because he was so extremely beautiful and handsome that all who gazed upon the beauty of his countenance were inflamed and dazzled. He had a large, broad, and very round face and a full double chin. He was called "Ökin" Barqaq, and he died young. He had a son named Sorqadu Yürki, and his grandson was Sacha Beki.[2] All the Yürkin Qiyat descend from him. The story of their opposition to Genghis Khan will come in the proper place.

The Tatar tribes were subservient to the ruler of Cathay, the Altan Khan, who was an implacable enemy to Qabul Khan because Qabul Khan had killed his emissaries. Furthermore, Qabul Khan's sons were at odds with the Tatar tribes for a reason that will be mentioned. **[190]** [The Tatars] were therefore constantly lying in ambush. Once they succeeded in capturing Ökin Barqaq and sent him to the Altan Khan, who ordered him killed by being nailed to a wooden donkey with iron spikes.

The second son was Bartan Bahadur, Genghis Khan's grandfather. The branches of his sons will be mentioned separately later.

The third son was Qutuqtu Münggü[r], from whom are descended many clans. He had a son named Taichu, from whom some of the Qiyat are descended.

The fourth son was Qada'an Bahadur, from whom many clans and officers are descended. There are many stories about them.

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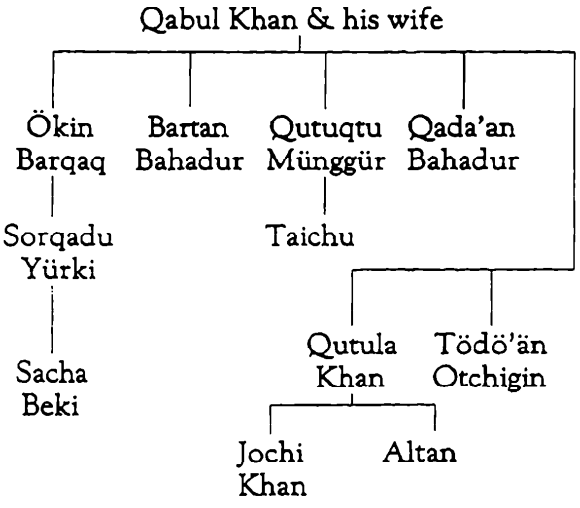
[1] For the text's برقان, read برقاق (Barqaq) for the *Secret History*'s Ökin Barqagh or Ökin Baraqagh (§§48, 139).

[2] For the text's بيجر, read سجه (Sacha) per *Secret History* §49.

The fifth son was Qutula Khan.[1] Despite the existence of his brothers, he ruled after his father. His history would take too long to tell, but although he was initially united with Genghis Khan, he later allied himself with Ong Khan. The story will be told in the proper place in the history of Genghis Khan. His elder son, who succeeded him, was Jochi Khan. He and his *hazara* were allied with Genghis Khan and formed part of his army. [Qutula Khan] had another son named Altan. He was initially allied with Genghis Khan, but later he got offended and went over to Ong Khan because when Genghis Khan was fighting the Tatars, it had been established that there would be no looting. [Altan] broke his word, and Genghis Khan confiscated his share of the booty. In the end he was killed by Genghis Khan's soldiers.

The sixth son was Tödö'än Otchigin.

The genealogical chart of Qabul Khan and his wife and sons is as follows:



[191]

Part Two: The history of Qabul Khan and his sons; the battles and engagements they fought, as has been learned from various miscellaneous sources.

There are many stories about Qabul Khan, and he is held in the highest regard by the Mongol peoples, for he was the ruler and leader of his tribes and followers. Since he and his sons were all champion warriors and very brave and courageous, their repute spread to the realm of Cathay to the Altan Khan and his commanders. Since [Qabul Khan] was considered to be of importance by the Altan Khan, who wanted to gain access to him and create a bond of friendship, he dispatched emissaries to invite him [to enter into negotiations]. When [Qabul Khan] went there, the Altan Khan received him with great honor and had delicious foodstuffs and unlimited wine brought. Since the people of Cathay were known for their trickery and treachery and for doing away with powerful adversaries by secret deceit, and since they had a reputation for giving poison, Qabul Khan suspected they would put poison in his food. On the constant pretext of going outside to relieve himself, he kept going and coming, and since the weather was warm he kept going into the water, claiming that it was to cool off. He had also wagered that he could stay under water for the length of time it took them to eat a sheep. As he was accustomed to do, he stayed under water and regurgitated everything before returning to the Altan Khan and continuing to eat and drink prodigiously. The Cathaians were amazed, for he kept saying that God had made him so strong and powerful that he had the strength not to get full or weak and not to vomit no matter how much he ate or drank.

Later he went before the Altan Khan one day dead drunk, clapping his hands and dancing, and pulled the Altan Khan's beard in derision. When the commanders and guards saw such audacity and hilarity, they said, "What levity is this he does with our

[1]Qutula Khan's name varies in spelling in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* as Qutula ~ Qutila. We will opt for Qutula throughout, as in the *Secret History* §§53, 57.

king?" and started to attack him, but when he saw the Altan Khan laughing and happy, he stepped forward and said, "I have been bold and audacious. If the Altan Khan accuses me of an offense and lets me live, it is up to him. I am defenseless, and what I did I did." Since the Altan Khan was a tolerant and intelligent ruler, he realized that Qabul Khan **[192]** possessed clans and followers. If he had him killed for this slight, his relatives would rise up in enmity to avenge him, and there would be long drawn-out hostilities. Therefore, attributing [Qabul Khan's actions] to levity and playfulness, he assuaged his wrath and spared his life. He ordered much gold, jewels, and textiles brought from the treasury and stacked to Qabul Khan's height. All this he gave him and then let him return home in great honor.

In private the officers said to the Altan Khan, "It is not wise to permit him to depart and ignore his action." Immediately an envoy was sent on his heels to bring him back. Qabul Khan said, "We have completed the discourse and negotiations between us and them, and we parted with permission. What does this summons mean?" He spoke roughly, and the envoys turned back.

The next time the Altan Khan sent an envoy to summon him, Qabul Khan was away from his tent, and his wives said to the envoys, "He has gone to bring his sons and daughters-in-law." The envoys turned back. Along the way they saw Qabul Khan and several companions coming in haste. They recognized him, seized him, and took him away. Along the way they came to the tent of his *anda*, Salji'utai. When he informed Salji'utai of what was going on, he said, "He has not summoned you for good. He intends to kill you." [Salji'utai] had a fast grey stallion. He gave it to him and said, "When you have a chance, whip it and make it run. They will not be able to catch up with you." By night the envoys tied his legs with a stirrup, but one day he got a chance to turn his reins, spur his horse, and get away. They were unable to catch up with him before he got home. The envoys came in pursuit. A daughter-in-law he had requested from the Qorolas named Matai had a new, decorated tent. He had it fixed for the envoys and invited them in. After that, because his sons were not there, he said to his daughters-in-law and the servants, "I have taken you and keep so many servants and retinue so that at a time like this, when there is mortal danger, you can act in consonance with me to kill these envoys. If you don't, I'll kill you. If the Cathaians attack me, I won't survive, but I'll get to you first. As they say, 'Death in a group is pleasant.' " All united with him to attack the envoys and kill them, and thereby he escaped with his life. Some time later Qabul Khan fell ill and died a natural death, turning the world over to his sons. **[193]**

The story of his sons is as follows. They were all champion warriors and so courageous that not one of them ever turned away from a fierce army, and no enemy ever had the chance or strength to equal them. There are many tales of their prowess. All six sons were of one mother, and her name was Qo'a Qulqu. *(Qo'a* means pure, and Qulqu is a name.) This lady was from the Qunqirat. She had a younger brother named Sayin Tegin, and it was on his account that Qada'an Bahadur fought many battles with the Tatar. It came about as follows.

Once Sayin Tegin fell ill, and a shaman from the Tatar nation named Jorqul Bödöi was summoned to treat him. He worked his shamanism, but he died. They gave the shaman something and sent him back home. After that, Sayin Tegin's brothers went and killed the shaman, and because Qabul Khan's sons were blood-brother al-

lies to Sayin Tegin, it was necessary for them to fight the Tatar tribes. They drew up ranks at a place called Naran Sangdan. Qada'an Bahadur and Mataz Bahadur, the first warrior of the Tatar, stood opposite each other at a distance to which a *qodali* [blunt arrow] would reach, cried out, and invited to battle. Qada'an Bahadur picked up a lance, charged Mataz, and struck the lance on his saddle horn with such force that it split the saddle horn and went into Mataz's and his horse's bodies. Man and horse were both wounded and felled. Mataz suffered from that wound for a year, but when he recovered he went back out to a place called Bula Ilgit and Kärü Ilgit. There the two of them did combat again, and Qada'an Bahadur struck Mataz in the back so hard that the lance went through his stomach, killing him. It was in that battle that Husun's father, Äbügän Qayin, who was on Qada'an Bahadur's side, was shot in the neck with an arrow and killed. [Qada'an Bahadur] was coming on foot, and ten horsemen with spears were coming. He turned toward them, put them all to flight with blows of his sword, and emerged triumphant and victorious. After that, Qabul Khan's sons did many battles with the Tatar, and mention of these stories and other feats they performed will be made later.

Among Qabul Khan's six sons, Qutula Qa'an became the ruler, and he served as khan for a time. Although his brothers were all champions, he was greater than they were in strength and bravery. Mongol poets have composed much poetry in praise of him and described his bravery and courage. They say that his voice was so loud that it could reach the other side of a hill and resembled an echo reverberating from a mountain or cliff. **[194]** His hands resembled a bear's claws. He could take the burliest and strongest man and bend him and break his back as effortlessly as if he were an arrow shaft. It has been related that on winter nights he would place logs on the fire and sleep naked next to it. As the fire burned, embers would fall on his body and burn it; he paid no attention, and when he woke up he would think he had been bitten by lice. He would just scratch himself and go back to sleep. His food at every meal was a large portion of sheep and an *arghut* [leather skin] of kumiss, and he was still not satisfied. Because the Tatar tribes had captured and sent to the Altan Khan his brother Ökin Barqaq and his father's cousin Hambaqai Qa'an, the grandson of Charaqa Lingqum, and the Altan Khan had killed them by nailing them to wooden donkeys, he gathered his army and set out for Cathay, where he did battle with the Altan Khan's peoples and armies and pillaged some of his territories.

When Genghis Khan set out for Cathay and mounted to wage war on the Altan Khan, he besought the deity, saying, "Inasmuch as the rulers of Cathay unjustly killed Hambaqai Qa'an, Ökin Barqaq, and Qada'an Bahadur, who were my elder brothers, let me go to avenge them, and I ask Thee, O great God, for assistance and strength." Thereupon he mounted and set forth.

Qutula Qa'an goes to war with the Altan Khan, the ruler of Cathay, to avenge the blood of Hambaqai Qa'an; the armies of Cathay are defeated, and much plunder is taken; he falls captive to the Dörbän tribe on his return journey, but he escapes and reaches home just as they are about to mourn his loss.

Hambaqai Qa'an, the grandson of Charaqa Lingqum, the son of [Sorqaduqtu China[1]], who was then the ruler of the Tayichi'ut tribe, went to the Tatar tribes in order to choose one of their daughters for himself.

[1] See note to text p. 142, above.

They were offended, saying, "How can he ask for our daughters like this?" and seized him and several of his liege men. Since they were followers of and obedient to the Altan Khan, they sent him there, and the Altan Khan ordered, as was their custom, that he be nailed to a wooden donkey until he died. **[195]** As they were conducting him to the place of execution, he sent one of his liege men named Bolghajai to the Altan Khan with a message, saying, "You did not take me with manliness and virtue or with your own troops. Others captured me and brought me to you. If you kill me in such a vile and mean way, you will make enemies of Qada'an Taishi, Qutula Qa'an, Tödä'ä, and Yesügäi Bahadur's sons, who are kinfolk to our clans and the Mongol nation, and you will stir up a vendetta, for they will certainly rise up to requite my blood. It is unwise of you to do this."

The Altan Khan took this lightly and said mockingly, "You who have brought this message, go and inform that group." And when he had killed Hambaqai Qa'an, he gave the above-mentioned Bolghajai a pack horse and sent him off to take the news to his people. Along the way he came across the Dörbän tribe and asked them for a horse. They refused. "If upon the morrow I do not bring our troops here like a heavy mountain and flowing water, what sort of man am I?" he said to them. "Beware lest you have regret and say, 'Why did we not grant Bolghajai's request?' " They paid no attention, and he made the Cathaians' pack horse continue. Since the horses had grown tired, he left them along the way and went on foot to take the news of how Hambaqai Qa'an had been killed to his son Qada'an Taishi, his son Tödä'ä, Qutula Qa'an, the leader of the tribe, and Yesügäi Bahadur, who was a cousin to Hambaqai Qa'an's father.

(The lineages of those who have been mentioned are as follows. Hambaqai Qa'an was the son of Sorqaduqtu China, the son of Charaqa Lingqum, the son of Qaidu Khan. Qada'an Taishi was the son of Hambaqai Qa'an. Tödä'ä was the son of Hambaqai Qa'an. Qutula Qa'an was the son of Qabul Khan, the son of Tumina Khan, [the son of Bai Sinqor,] the son of Qaidu Khan.)

When the bad news arrived, Qada'an Taishi, Tödä'ä, and Yesügäi Bahadur took counsel with many Mongol clans and tribes to avenge the blood of Hambaqai Qa'an. Qutula Qa'an was appointed khan, and all the troops inclined to him as they set out in the direction of Cathay. When they arrived there, they fought and defeated the Altan Khan's army, killing many Cathaians. They pillaged and looted beyond measure, distributed the loot among the soldiers, **[196]** and withdrew. Qutula Qa'an was journeying unescorted with a pair of horses. When the Dörbän tribe saw him unescorted, they took advantage of the opportunity, gathered their forces, and attacked him on the road. His soldiers and liege men scattered, and he escaped to reach a place where there was a large morass. He drove his horse into it, but the horse fell and got stuck in the mud. He put one foot on the saddle and nimbly jumped onto the bank. The enemy, coming from behind, approached his direction and called out, "What can a Mongol separated from his horse do? Come back with your mind at ease!" He paid no attention, shot a few arrows at them, and drove them away. Then he went back to the water's edge, grabbed his horse by its mane, pulled it from the mud without difficulty, and cast it onto the ground. Then he mounted and set out, leaving the enemy on the other side of the water.

Qutula Qa'an's soldiers and liege men who had been routed arrived before he reached home. Since he had not followed them, it appeared certain that he had been killed. Yesügäi Bahadur had a meal prepared and took it to Hambaqai Qa'an's

people, Qada'an Taishi, Tödä'ä, and Qutula Qa'an's wife to inform them of the death and offer a toast. When he informed them, Qada'an Taishi and Tödä'ä cried and wept aloud. Qutula Qa'an's wife said, "Since the band of younger brothers came together and went out together and were dispersed, I find it strange to think that anything could have happened to them. Now that I hear this news I don't believe it. 'I believe not these words from anyone; perhaps I am asleep and dreaming.' Qutula Khan is he of whom they have said that his voice is like an echo against the sky and his hand is like a three-year-old bear's claw. He is not one whose fate is in the hands of the Dörbän. God willing, he is occupied with some task and will show up without warning."

When Qutula Khan pulled his horse from the mud and set forth, he said to himself, "How can those men do such a thing to me and I not take anything from them to return home empty-handed?" He turned around, and in the area in which their herds were grazing he caught a fine stallion, rustled a herd of mares, and set out at a gallop. Since it was springtime, there were a lot of duck eggs in the plains, but he didn't have anything to put them in. He took his felt stockings off and filled them with duck eggs, hung them from his saddle ring, **[197]** mounted the stallion bareback, and, leading his own horse, drove the mares until he reached home. Yesügäi Bahadur had taken the food and they were busy with the mourning, and when their gaze fell upon him they all rejoiced. His wife said, "Didn't I say he wasn't a man who could be captured?"

A world champion was Dastan of Sam: not in jest does he put his head in the noose.

The Tayichi'ut clans hold a council after Hambaqai Qa'an.

As has been described, the Tatar tribes captured Hambaqai Qa'an and took him to the Altan Khan, who killed him. After a while his relatives, sons, and the commanders of the Tayichi'ut gathered to elect someone as ruler in his stead. They deliberated for a time, unable to decide on any one. Finally one day when they had assembled they said to Nurdu Bilgäshi, one of their cousins and a great tribal leader, "What say you in this regard? Whom do you consider worthy?"

"Let Tarqutai Qiriltuq say," he replied.

[Tarqutai Qiriltuq], also one of the cousins and the son of Adal Khan, said, "What can I say? Let Mätügün Sächän say."

"What can I say?" said Mätügün Sächän. "Should I leap like a sparrow into a snare so that my foot may get caught in a trap? The black swallow went on top of a tree and did [not] fall into a snare.[1] What qualifications have I, a common slave, to speak? You lords speak wise and good words so that we commoners can be kept amused like a colt that drinks the milk of two mares and gets full and fat. If you agree in council on one person, everything and all the people will be as you wish. If you do not agree, all sorts of dissention and strife will befall your nation." In this regard he spoke many rhymed words, proverbs, and homilies and left the gathering, weeping. At that session no one was elected ruler.

After that, despite research, it is not known upon what individual the choice fell, but it comes in the history that when Yesügäi Bahadur died young and the Tayichi'ut tribes opposed Genghis Khan, Adal Khan's son Tarqutai Qiriltuq was more in opposition than anyone, **[198]** and Tödä'ä, Quril Bahadur, A'uchu, Huquchu, and several other commanders—as will be

[1]Read the negative نيفتاد for the text's بيفتاد; Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:45) also translates as negative: Черная ласточка, взетев на вершину сосны [?], не попадет в силки. The word "tree" is modified by an indecipherable قناقته, possibly a miscopying of اقاقيه *aqáqiya* 'acacia.'

mentioned—gave Tarqutai Qiriltuq the leadership and rule, as has been mentioned previously. It is certain that after Qutula Khan's death, his nephew, Yesügäi Bahadur, the son of Bartan Bahadur and father of Genghis Khan, ruled. Although there are many stories about Qabul Khan's sons other than Bartan Bahadur, in this history we will content ourselves with this much, and the stories of Bartan Bahadur and his sons will be written in a separate section.

(9) The story of Bartan Bahadur, son of Qabul Khan, in two parts.

Part One: Introduction to him and his sons and those who branched off from them.

Bartan Bahadur was Genghis Khan's grandfather, which is called *äbügä* in Mongolian. He had a chief wife named Sünigil Füjin of the Tarqut tribe. By her he had four sons.

The first was Mönggädü Qiyan,[1] who had many sons, but his heir was Chingsut,[2] who commanded Mönggädü Qiyan's soldiers, clan, and followers in Genghis Khan's time, and he attended Genghis Khan with the Tayichi'ut and his own soldiers. After them were their sons Köki Noyan and Mögätü Bahadur. Mögätü Bahadur was a *hazara* commander and leader of the Mönggädü Qiyan clan. Due to their having multiplied at that time, they now constitute more than a *tümän* of Mongols. Most of that clan are in the Qipchaq Steppe with Toqta, and their officers are numerous and important. There are also some in service to the qa'an. The Qiyat clans are many, but these are separate Qiyat. Of the branches of the Qiyat some who are known are ___. Some stories connected to them will come throughout the history, whence information can be had.

The second son was Näkün Taishi, from whom is descended the Hoyin clan, and they are called the *hoyin irgän*. The reason is that they rebelled during Genghis Khan's time and deserted him, going to the Tayichi'ut tribe and into the forest. Their epithet therefore became the "forest clan" in belittlement. **[199]** The Tayichi'ut and several other tribes are also known by this name because every tribe whose *yurt* is near a forest is known as a "forest tribe."

Since the forests are in territories far removed from one another, their tribes, clans, and divisions had no contact with each other. Although they call them all "forest tribes," according to the location of the forest it is clear to them which tribe is meant.

Näkün Taishi had many sons. The eldest, who succeeded him, was Quchar. He could shoot arrows extremely far and accurately and gained renown for that. He could shoot so far that the Mongols praised him for it, saying exaggeratedly, "Quchar's arrow flies so far that it disappears." When Genghis Khan was bereft of his father as a child and his clans inclined to the Tayichi'ut, Quchar allied himself and his soldiers with Genghis Khan, served him for a long time, and performed valiant feats. When Genghis Khan was doing battle with the Tatars and had stipulated, saying, "Let us fight together and not take booty. After that, what we find we will divide equally so that the battlefield not be *osal* [sloppy]." Qabul Khan's son Altan, Qutula Khan's son, this Quchar, and Genghis Khan's uncle Daritai Otchigin broke their promise and took booty. Genghis Khan ordered their booty taken from them. They therefore rebelled. When

[1]His name appears variously in the *Secret History* as Mönggetü Kiyan (§213), Münggetü Kiyan (§120), and Menggetü Kiyan (§50).

[2]There is a Jüngshöi in the *Secret History* §202 whose name may be the same as the text's "Chingsut." On text p. 244 below, it is "Chingshut." Berezin (13:47) reads Джинкшутъ, and Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:46) reads Чаншиут.

Genghis Khan was in dispute with Ong Khan, they took Ong Khan's side, helped and aided the enemy, and stirred up strife and war. When Ong Khan was defeated, they fled and went to the Naiman. They fought Genghis Khan once again, and in the end God gave him victory and killed Quchar and Altan. For this reason those of his sons and family who remain have neither importance nor renown. Relative to Genghis Khan's other relatives they are also few.

Näkün Taishi had a grandson named Bügün Cha'uqat. Genghis Khan favored him and went around with him. His sons and their clans are with Chaghatai's offspring, but they do not have much importance.

The third son was Yesügäi Bahadur, the father of Genghis Khan. The Qiyat and Borjiqin Qiyat **[200]** are descended from him. *Borjiqin* means having gray eyes, and as it happens the sons who were born to Yesügäi Bahadur and to his sons and offspring down to the present mostly have gray eyes and are of a yellowish color. This is attributed to the fact that when Alan Qo'a was pregnant she said, "A light like a person comes before my eyes at night and then goes away. It is of a yellow color in form and has gray eyes." When this trait reemerged in the eighth generation, which was Yesügäi Bahadur, they said it was the sign Alan Qo'a had spoken of, that her sons would be rulers, and it indicated the truth of her words and that it was imminent.

Since stories connected to Yesügäi Bahadur's branch will come separately, we will not go on at length here.

The fourth son was Daritai Otchigin. Because he opposed Genghis Khan mightily, in the end his family became slaves. Even though at first, when Genghis Khan's clans and soldiers went over to the Tayichi'ut, he and his soldiers were allied with him, after a time he allied himself with the Tayichi'ut. He came back to Genghis Khan, but he rebelled again over the matter of taking booty, as has been related, and went to Ong Khan. He then went to the Naiman, and then he allied himself with the Dörbän tribe and fought Genghis Khan many times. Finally he came back to him, but he, Altan Khan, and Quchar were killed, and many of his clan and family were put to death. He had a son who was his heir and successor, Tanyal Bey. At Genghis Khan's order he and two hundred of his men were given to Genghis Khan's nephew Elji'idäi Noyan, and they were ranked as his slaves. His family is still with Elji'idäi Noyan's family now. Of that clan and family is Burqan, who came [to Iran] with Hülägü Khan. Although he did not have the rank to sit in the row of sons, Hülägü Khan ordered that since there were few princes to sit in the row, Burqan should be allowed to sit in the row of sons. Of his sons was Kürüh,[1] commander of a division of a thousand, to whom Burqan's post was transferred. Of his relatives was Boralghi Qiyatai, Arghun Khan's *sükürchi*[2] [parasol bearer] and *inaq* [advisor]. He was one of the officers who plotted treachery against Arghun Khan. **[201]**

Part Two: On Bartan Bahadur and his wife, and a genealogical chart of their sons.

As has been written in detail, Bartan Bahadur had four sons. A genealogical tree of him and his wife Sünigil Füjin, and of his sons and grandsons, aside from Yesügäi Bahadur's sons, which will be given separately, is as follows.

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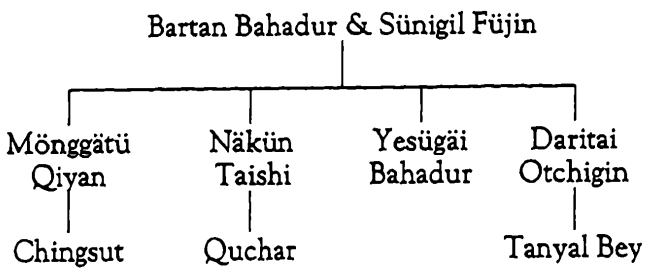
[1] In both JT_K and JT_B (13:81) the name is كروه (Kürüh?). Berezin (13:51) reads it as Кургъ; Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:48) reads it as Курух.

[2] Reading سوكورجى *(sükürchi)* for the text's obviously miscopied بيوكورجى.



Beginning of the history of Yesügäi Bahadur

When the divine will decreed from all eternity that a fortunate, mighty, and powerful one who would be a cavalier in the field of world conquest and raiser of the edifice of rule should be garbed in the raiment of existence and seated on the throne of mastery in the world of generation and corruption at a specific time, the hand of divine power gradually nourished the pearl of his being in the shells of his ancestors' and ancestresses' loins and wombs until, level by level and stage by stage, he was brought near the level of perfection. When it came time for the appearance of signs of that fortune, first the dawning lights gleamed from the veil of the horizon of creation. An example is the career of Yesügäi Bahadur, whose peerless person was a shell in the sea of world rule and the rising of the stars of his fortune was a preface to the arrive of the retinue of Genghis Khan's rule, and from their renowned and mighty sons, offspring, and progeny, particularly the Emperor of Mankind, the Padishah of Islam, Succorer of God's Religion, Sultan Mahmud Ghazan—may the ropes of the tents of his rule be reinforced and held tight by the pegs of eternity, and may the those who support him be infinite in number, through the Unlettered Prophet and his noble family, upon him and upon them be prayers and peace. [202–203]

(10) The Story of Yesügäi Bahadur son of Bartan Bahadur, in two parts.

Part One: Introduction to him, details of his sons, and some stories about them.

Yesügäi Bahadur was Genghis Khan's father, and the Mongols call the father *echigä*. He was the ruler of many Mongol clans, and his *aqa-ini*, i.e. his uncles and his uncles' sons, were all obedient to him and followers of his, and they unanimously elected him ruler. He was renowned for his bravery and courage, and he fought many battles with other Mongol tribes, especially with the Tatars and the commanders and soldiers of Cathay. His fame and renown spread abroad, and he was respected and feared by all. He had many wives from every clan, the chief of whom and mother of his important children and sons was Ö'älün Füjin. She was also called Ö'älün Ekä, and she was from the Olqunu'ut clan. In the Cathaian language *füjin* means lady, and their terminology was used because their territory was nearby. Taichu Gürägän,[1] to whom Genghis Khan gave his youngest daughter, Altalun, was Ö'älün Ekä's brother. By this great lady he had four sons and no daughters. Another son, the youngest of all, was by a different lady, and his name was Bälgütäi Noyan, but he did not achieve the importance of the other four.

[Yesügäi Bahadur's first son, Genghis Khan]

The first, eldest, and best son was Tämüjin, who was named Genghis Khan when he became ruler at the age of fifty-one and killed the ruler of the Naiman. Stories about him are too numerous to be related, but some of them will come in the history.

[Yesügäi Bahadur's second son, Jochi Qasar]

[1]Reading تایچو (Taichu) for the text's تاچر. For this person, see note at text p. 124 above.

The second son was Jochi Qasar. Jochi is a name, and *qasar* means wild beast. He was given this name because he was huge, powerful, and mighty. They say his shoulders and chest were so broad and his waist so narrow that when he lay down on his side a dog could go under him. He was so strong that he could grab a man in his two hands, bend him, and break him in two like a wooden arrow shaft. Most of the time he was allied and cooperative with his brother Genghis Khan, although during the battle with Ong Khan he was separated from him. **[204]** Several other times incidents took place for which he was charged with insubordination. However, in Genghis Khan's big battle with Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman, he ordered Qasar to command the center of the army. He performed valiant feats in that battle, and therefore Genghis Khan rewarded him and gave him and his sons fraternal and princely rank and status over all the brothers and nephews. Until the present it is customary that, of all the uncles and cousins of Genghis Khan's family, only Jochi Qasar's offspring are seated in the row of princes. The others sit in the row of commanders. Some stories about Jochi Qasar and his sons will come in the course of the history of Genghis Khan.

He had many children. It is related that he had nearly forty sons, but only three are well known, Yegü, Tuqu, and Yesünggü. However, in Genghis Khan's decree the names of Yegü and Yesünggü appear, but Tuqu's does not. Yegü was short, and Tuqu was even shorter, while Yesünggü was tall and red of face and kept his countenance and beard drawn. When Jochi Qasar died, his most respected son, Yegü, took his place. When Yegü died, his son Harqasun took over his post. After him, his uncle Yesünggü succeeded. During Mänggü Qa'an's and Qubilai Qa'an's time Jochi Qasar's successor was Yesünggü, and his name and repute are well known. He participated in weighty matters and consultations of affairs of state, and they respected him greatly. In accordance with the rule for all the army and his father's clan, he was in charge of the *aqa-inis*. When dispute broke out between Qubilai Qa'an and Ariq Bökä, Yesünggü was with Qubilai Qa'an and served in his army, as will be related in the history of Qubilai Qa'an.[1] They say that when he attended a *quriltai* with Qubilai Qa'an at the age of seventy-five, not one strand of his hair had turned white. When Genghis Khan was dividing the army among his sons, he gave one thousand to the sons of Jochi Qasar who were grown, like Yegü, Tuqu, and Yesünggü, and he gave a hundred men from the miscellaneous corps. After that, everyone of his progeny who commanded his place took command of those troops, **[205]** and now, due to their having multiplied, they are many. In Mänggü Qa'an's time several of Jochi Qasar's great wives were still alive, and he held them in great respect and honor. Yesünggü's and Jochi Qasar's offspring's *yurt* and dwelling place are inside Mongolia, on the northeastern side, in the vicinity of the Argun, Na'ur Lake, and the Qailar,[2] near the location of the *yurts* of Jibu, Otchi Noyan's son, and his grandson Taghachar. Yegü's son's name was Baitaq,[3] and he had another son named Harqasun, who commanded a company of a hundred. Tuqu's son Äbügän also commanded a company of a hundred. In Qubilai Qa'an's time Yesünggü's son Ämägän commanded in Jochi Qasar's place and his *ulus*. Ämägän's son Siktür, who was also in Qubilai Qa'an's time, succeeded to his father's position. In the end he conspired with the grandsons of Taghachar, the offspring of Otchi Noyan,

[1] Yesünggü ~ Yesünggä. See text pp. 623–29.

[2] Reading قيلار (Qailar) for the text's قبلار. See note at text p. 23 above.

[3] In the text, يايتاق; in the chart, بانكداق. See Hambis.

and plotted against Qubilai Qa'an, but Qubilai Qa'an had them executed and dispersed their troops. One branch of Jochi Qasar's offspring came to this land. They were here during Abaqa Khan's time, and some of them are still here now.

Jochi Qasar had another son named Maquldar. He was known for a slight weakness in his constitution. His mother was Altan Khatun of the Qorolas clan. Maquldar had two sons. One was Jirqidai, and he had five sons, (1) Qipchaq was born of a concubine, and he had two sons, Taichu and Huladai; (2) Sutu[1] was born of ___ Khatun, and he had no sons; (3) Kökä was born of ___ Khatun, and he had no sons; (4) Tödä'än[2] Toqtai was born of ___ Khatun; and (5) Tärgil[3] was born of ___ Khatun, and he had three sons, Baba, Boralghi, and Bolad.

Maquldar's other son died in childhood, and his name is unknown.

Jochi Qasar had another son named Qaralchu. His history is as follows. Jochi Qasar had a slave named Tuminai who had a good-looking wife named Kökchir. Jochi Qasar saw her once in the fields and was taken by her good looks. He slept with her and then, worried that since **[206]** he had been with her, she might have become pregnant, he ordered her kept by herself. After nine months she gave birth to a son he named Qaralchu and gave to his wife, Altan Khatun, saying, "You have one son. Let this one be a son to you also." Altan Khatun brought the child up. Qaralchu had seven sons, whose names and those of the grandchildren they produced are as follows: (1) Temür, who had no sons; (2) Sali, who had two sons, Bügärtäi and Qurumshi; (3) Mügädü, who had a son named Arslan who came with Hülägü Khan, rebelled, and died; (4) Qutuqu, who had two sons, Qurjan and Jamuji; (5) Salintuqa [?],[4] who had one son named Örüg Temür; (6) Qurtqa, who had no sons.[5]

They say that when Ögödäi Qa'an was ruler and Chaghatai was living apart from him among his nation, [Chaghatai] sent a message to Ögödäi Qa'an, saying, "Those with whom we are intimate and with whom we eat and drink are few. If the qa'an would be so kind as to send a few people from this clan, he is the ruler." Ögödäi Qa'an appointed several people of Jochi Qasar's offspring, among them Qaralchu. Altan Khatun, who had reared him, said, "How can we let him go alone?" So she accompanied him, bringing her grandson Jirqidai, who was still an infant, and came to Chaghatai. When Baraq, Chaghatai's grandson, went to battle against Abaqa Khan, Qaralchu's sons and Jirqidai, as has been mentioned, accompanied him and fought. When Baraq took flight and his troops were dispersed, the next year they held council and said, "Before this, the qa'an sent us. Now let us go to Abaqa Khan and fight for him." They all came, appeared before Abaqa Khan at Surlut, and presented gifts, for which they were rewarded. **[207]** He ordered Kökä to accompany Arghun. After that, he ordered Sutu to accompany him. He made Tödä'än an *idächi*. He went around with Gäräi[6] and Hindu. Tärgil was also made an *idächi*, but since he

[1]For the text's سوتر, read سوتو (Sutu). See Hambis, *Yuan Che*, p. 28.

[2]Reading تودان (Tödä'än) for the text's تودايا. On p. 207 what is apparently the same name is written توباين.

[3]For the text's تركك, read تركل. See Hambis, *Yuan Che*, p. 28.

[4]Thus in the text, سالنترقا, but there are massive variants. Hambis postulates Sharsukta (*Yuan Che*, tab. 8).

[5]The name of the seventh is missing, but it is supplied in the following chart as Mundar.

[6]For JT_K's كواى, read with Berezin (JT_B 13:94) كراى, which he transcribes (13:59) as Кирей. I take this to be the name that much later in the Ulus Jochi becomes "Gerai" and transcribe it as Gäräi.

was incompetent he was dismissed and attached to the retinue. [In his place] he appointed Tödä'än.[1] Temür, Sali, Mügädü, and Qutuqu were in a *tamma* [garrison] in Shirämün Noyan's *tümän*. Salintuqa, Mundar, and Qurtqa accompanied Abaqa Khan as princes.

[Yesügäi Bahadur's third son, Qachi'un]

The third son was Qachi'un. He had many wives and sons, but his successor was Elji'idäi,[2] who was of great importance. Ögödäi Qa'an, Mänggü Qa'an, and Qubilai Qa'an all respected and honored him greatly and consulted with him on weighty matters. His *ulus* and *yurt* were directly to the east inside Mongolia near the wall the Cathaians built from the Qara Müren [Yellow River] to the Jurcha River. It is near the territory of the Jurchids, and the places that are nearby are the ancient *yurt* of the Ikiräs clan, the place called Qalajin Älät and the vicinity of the Alghui River. Until now his sons and troops serve the qa'an. In this land there is no one of their offspring. When Genghis Khan was dividing the troops among his sons, he gave Elji'idäi Noyan three thousand men whose leader was Aqsu'udai Ujqash Guyang[3] (Aqsu'udai is the name of a clan, Ujqash is a personal name, and Guyang is a title). Elji'idäi had many sons, and his successor was Chaqula. He too had many sons, and his successor was Shinglaqar.[4] Qubilai Qa'an ordered Elji'idäi's branch counted as a test, and they turned out to be six hundred individuals. This son was the last who conspired with Otchi Noyan's offspring and other princes against Qubilai Qa'an, who had them all executed and dispersed their troops.

[Yesügäi Bahadur's fourth son, Tämügä Otchigin]

The fourth son was Tämügä Otchigin. Tämügä was his name, and Otchigin means master of the fire and *yurt*. The youngest son is always called Otchigin. He became known as Otchi Noyan. He had a great lady wife named Sandaqchin of the Olqunu'ut clan. **[208]** She was a relative of Genghis Khan's mother, and therefore she was greatly revered and respected. Of all the Mongols, Otchi Noyan loved building, and everywhere he went he built palaces, pavilions, and gardens. Genghis Khan loved him more than any of his brothers and seated him above his own elder brothers. Until now his sons still sit above the sons of the other two brothers. When Genghis Khan was distributing the troops among his sons, he gave him five thousand men, two thousand of whom were of the Oronar clan of the Kilungghut clans, one thousand of whom were of the Besüt clan, and two thousand of whom had been assembled from various clans.

He had many sons. His successor was Taghachar Noyan. He also had a large *ulus* and many troops, and through multiplying and generation the five thousand men became a large and consequential army. His territory and *yurt* were in the northeast, the farthest reaches of Mongolia, so far in that direction that there were no other Mongol tribes. He was always at *quriltai*s and councils on weighty matters with Qubilai Qa'an, and he was respected and revered. When Ariq Bökä rebelled against Qubilai Qa'an, Qubilai Qa'an made [Taghachar Noyan] leader of the army and sent him to do battle. He defeated Ariq Bökä's troops. After

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[1]Read with Berezin (*JT*$_B$ 13:94) تودانا (Tödänä for the Tödä'än above). Berezin gives variants that point to a Toqan (توقان), for which *JT*$_K$ has ترقان.

[2]Elji'idäi's name occurs in the *Secret History* as Eljigidei and a few times in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* as Eljigidäi (p. 410 below, e.g.). The normal spelling in *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, ايلجيداى, probably reflects Elji'idäi.

[3]Reading Aqsu'udai for the text's Aqsu'urai. See text p. 412.

[4]In the text شينكلقر; in the following chart, شينكلقر. In Hambis, *Yuan Che*, the name occurs as both Shinglaqar (31[11]) and Shingnaqar (32[11]).

that, he was continually sent on campaigns by Qubilai Qa'an's order.

Otchi Noyan lived an exemplary life and reached a fine old age. He had many sons, and his successor was Jibu, who also had many sons. His successor was Taghachar, and he too had many sons and served Qubilai Qa'an with the many troops that were under his command. He had many sons, and his successor was Achul. He too had many sons, and Nayan was his successor. Qubilai Qa'an ordered them counted. Otchi Noyan's offspring were seven hundred individuals. Nayan was at the end of Qubilai Qa'an's time. He conspired with the princes who were his cousins like Siktür of Jochi Qasar's offspring, Shinglaqar of Elji'idäi Noyan's offspring, Äbügän of Kölgän's offspring, the offspring of Ögödäi Qa'an's son Kötän,[1] and other princes who were with Qubilai Qa'an. They all conspired to join Qaidu and rebel against the qa'an. When the conspiracy was unmasked, **[209]** the qa'an led his army, seized them, executed some of them, and disbanded their troops. Now there is no one left of their *ulus*.

[Yesügäi Bahadur's fifth son, Bälgütäi Noyan]

The fifth son was Bälgütäi Noyan. He was born of a different mother and was not included among the other brothers. He was always in Genghis Khan's service. When Genghis Khan was hosting a banquet with the Yürkin Qiyat clan, the chiefs of which were Sacha Beki and Taichu, a dispute broke out. During the dispute Bälgütäi Noyan, who was guarding the *kiriyäs* [dismounting place], received a sword cut on the shoulder. This story will be told during Genghis Khan's history.[2]

He had many sons. One of them was Ja'utu, [who was his successor[3]]. He was called Ja'utu because he had a hundred wives and a hundred sons.[4] He grew so old that he couldn't recognize his wives or sons. When Qubilai Qa'an sent his son Nomoghan and other princes to do battle with Qaidu, those princes held council and decided to attack Nomoghan and take him captive. Ja'utu was present at that council and agreed with them. When he returned, there was a commander, Tachar Noyan, of Elji'idäi Noyan's offspring. He sent a message to the qa'an, saying, "Ja'utu has taken such-and-such a step. Shall I execute him or not?" The qa'an said, "I owe him a debt of gratitude. I will not kill him." The debt was that during the battle with the qa'an Ja'utu had helped the qa'an, and for that reason he did not kill him. He sent him to the shores of Chin, setting a guard over him. Ja'utu at that time wore rough Cathaian boots, and he used to go out and collect kindling himself to cook food. The guards said, "We will bring it." He said, "It is appropriate for me to do it since I initially served well but in the end I suffered loss and committed a crime, but he spared my life." Thus was his end, and thus did he live.

Qubilai Qa'an had his offspring counted, and they numbered eight hundred individuals. "How is it," he asked, "that from the offspring of Jochi Qasar's sons, who were forty persons, eight hundred have been born, while from the sons of Bälgütäi and Ja'utu, who were a hundred, only eight hundred individuals and no more have been born?" The reply was given that Jochi Qasar's offspring were wealthy and rich, while Bälgütäi Noyan's were poor. **[210]** Therefore they had multiplied less. At present his offspring serve the qa'an

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[1] Reading كوتن (Kötän) for the text's كويين. See text p. 657f.

[2] See text p. 249.

[3] Reading [مقام] قايم for the text's قايم.

[4] I.e., the name Ja'utu is thought to derive from *jaghun* ~ *ja'un* 'hundred.'

The details of the branch of Yesügäi Bahadur's sons, except for Genghis Khan, are as has been mentioned.

The battles and encounters [Yesügäi Bahadur] fought.

Most of Yesügäi Bahadur's battles and encounters were with the Tatar tribes, who were the most famous of the Turkic tribes at that time and had the largest armies. From the time that hostilities broke out between Qabul Khan's sons and the Tatar tribes over the death of Sayin Tegin, Qabul Khan's wife's brother, and their murder of Jorqul, the Tatar shaman (as has been mentioned in the history of Qabul Khan[1]), there was constant strife on both sides and they fought battles with each other. In the end Yesügäi Bahadur defeated them. After that, Genghis Khan brought the entire tribe, and many others as well, into servitude and captivity, as can be seen today that all the Turkic tribes are servants and soldiers of Genghis Khan's offspring.

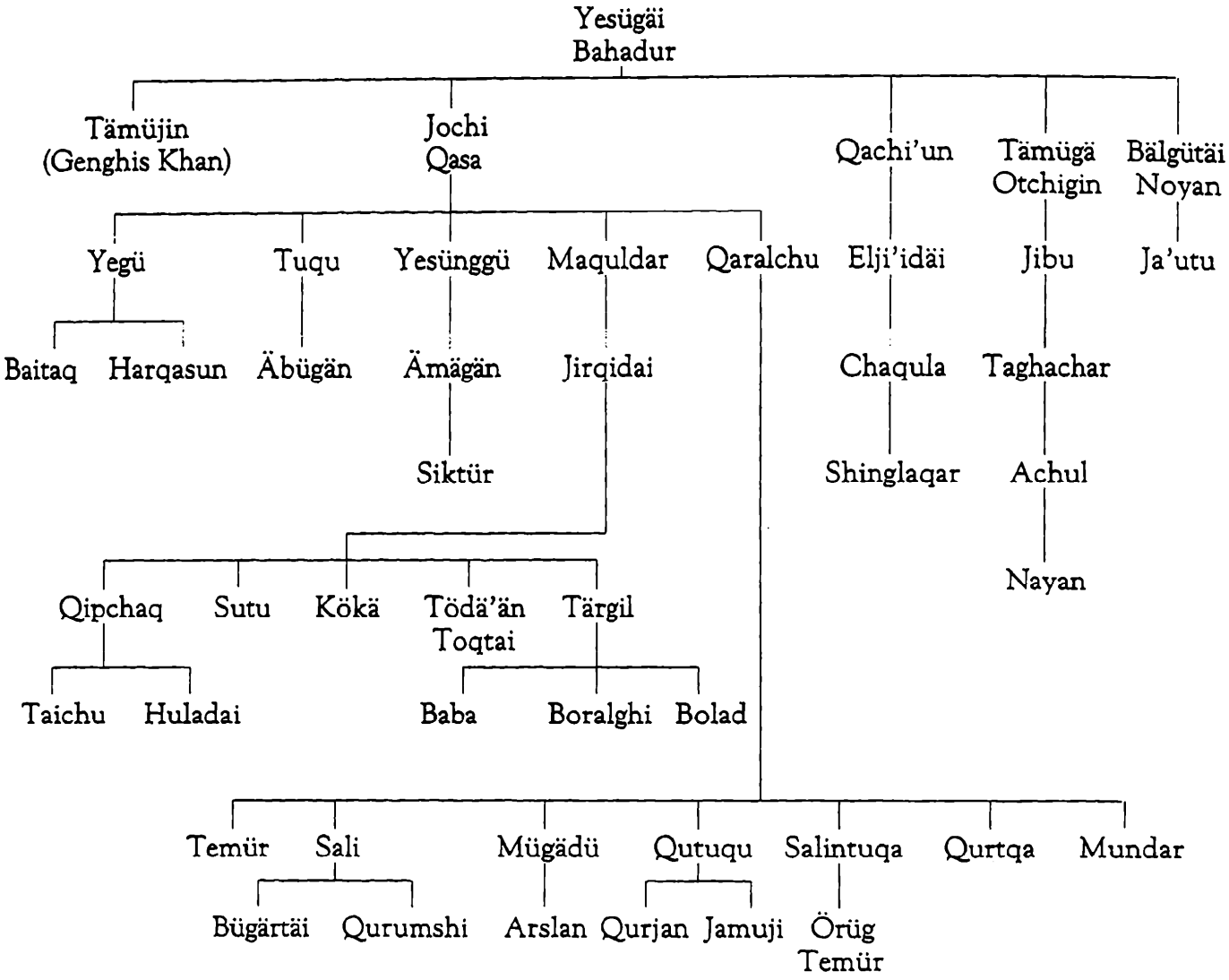
Just at the time of Genghis Khan's blessed birth, Yesügäi Bahadur was off on a military expedition against the Tatar. He killed Tämüjin Ögä and Qor[i] Buqa, the rulers of the Tatars, and plundered their goods and possessions. When he returned home, Genghis Khan had been born. He took this as a good omen and named him Tämüjin. This will be mentioned in the history of Genghis Khan, God willing.

Part Two: Genealogical Chart of Yesügäi Bahadur and his wife and sons.

As was mentioned in the previous section, Yesügäi Bahadur had five sons, and they had large families and many sons. Aside from Genghis Khan, those who are the most famous and of the most importance have been written about. In this section we will give a genealogical chart of him and his wife and the names of their sons and grandsons.

[The section on] the Lord of the World, Genghis Khan, will follow as a separate history. His name was Tämüjin. He was thirteen years old when his father died, and most of his relatives and followers abandoned him. For twenty-eight years he was in distress, but thereafter his fortune waxed. When he defeated Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit, he was named Chingri, meaning magnificent emperor. After that, when he killed Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman, and the rule was confirmed on him, a nine-legged white banner was erected and he was named Chinggiz [Genghis]. The one who so named him was Münglig Echigä's son Täb Tänggri (whose name was Kököchü, and whose epithet was Täb Tänggri). ~

[1]See text p. 193.


Yesügäi Bahadur
Tämüjin (Genghis Khan)
Jochi Qasa
Qachi'un
Tämügä Otchigin
Bälgütäi Noyan
Yegü
Tuqu
Yesünggü
Maquldar
Qaralchu
Elji'idäi
Jibu
Ja'utu
Baitaq
Harqasun
Äbügän
Ämägän
Jirqidai
Chaqula
Taghachar
Siktür
Shinglaqar
Achul
Nayan
Qipchaq
Sutu
Kökä
Tödä'än Toqtai
Tärgil
Taichu
Huladai
Baba
Boralghi
Bolad
Temür
Sali
Mügädü
Qutuqu
Salintuqa
Qurtqa
Mundar
Bügärtäi
Qurumshi
Arslan
Qurjan
Jamuji
Örüg Temür

۞ CHAPTER TWO OF PART TWO OF TOME ONE OF THE COMPENDIUM OF CHRONICLES

THE HISTORY OF GENGHIS KHAN AND HIS ILLUSTRIOUS OFFSPRING, SOME OF WHOM HAVE BECOME RULERS IN EVERY ERA, OTHERS OF WHOM HAVE NOT BEEN RULERS OF A SPECIFIC ULUS, ALONG WITH A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE RULERS OF THE WORLD CONTEMPORARY WITH THEM DOWN TO THE YEAR 705 OF THE HEGIRA [A.D. 1305–6]

THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY OF GENGHIS KHAN

May it not remain concealed from those of thought and contemplation that every destruction of a country or dispersal of a people that occurs through changeability and mutability in the world of generation and corruption is caused by divine grace and justice and contains within its folds great and magnificent godly wisdom. The carrying out of God's fiat in creating infinite beings necessitates that, since with the passage of eons all things must fall into lassitude, and with the turning of days and nights nations and realms must fall into ruin, in every epoch a great and mighty lord of fortune be singled out by heavenly assistance and garbed in a raiment of power in order to do away with that lassitude and degeneration and to endeavor mightily with his glittering sword to lay anew the foundation and base, to cleanse the field of realms, which has become a snare of destruction, of the defilement of all types and sorts of evil and self-serving men, and to cause the dust of sedition and corruption to settle.

The gist of the foregoing is that before his time, [214] since in all parts of the world different views had appeared as well as all sorts of obstinate people, and the bonds of orderly world rule had been damaged by strife and discord, as necessitated by divine will and eternal wisdom, the lord of the world Genghis Khan, the great warrior in the battle of world conquest, placed the foot of might in the stirrup of fortune and unleashed the hand of domination over the proud. Like the wind, sparks from the flame of his glittering lance raised the dust from the realms of the evil of the day, and blows from his citadel-cracking mace and his blood-shedding sword felled all opponents. Since his personal determination was in conformity with destiny, everything to which he turned his face fell subject to him, and everyone to whom he motioned became obedient to his command. Those who resisted forfeited not only their own lives but also those of their families. After subjugating many of the realms of the world in a short time, he had the customs and laws of the imperial *yasaq* [ordinance] and *yosun* [custom] arranged and codified, and he put into practice customs of spreading justice

and nurturing subjects. He commanded that the bases and foundations of the realm be reaffirmed by the words of the leaders of every community and the gates of beneficence and reward be opened to all classes of people.

Inasmuch as during the completion of his task of world conquest his hosts encountered Islamic urban areas, divine wisdom ordained that, as a balm to that wound, the peoples who had inflicted those very wounds would become Muslim in order that the perfection of divine power be clear and obvious to all people in the world. This conversion took place through the magnificent being of the Padishah of Islam, Emperor of Mankind, Shadow of God, Supporter of God's Religion Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan—may God make his rule eternal—the pearl of the ocean of Genghis Khan's offspring and sun of the sky of the imperial dynasty for all to see, in the mirror of whose blessed radiant conscience, which without exaggeration is a goblet that reveals the world of reality, was reflected the reality of faith through divine guidance, and on the tablet of whose tranquil breast, which is truly a locus of the emanation of divine lights, the rule of the power of Islam took root. He brought all the Uyghur, Mongol, and fire-worshipping peoples into the circle of the religion of Islam, **[215]** totally overthrew their illicit idol houses and temples, cleansed the face of the earth of polytheists and opponents of religion, propagated the ordinances of the Muhammadan law, repulsed the darkness of the unjust, and eliminated the people of hostility and tyranny in such a way that in no era or time after the epoch of prophecy has Islam been so adorned or the people so at peace as in this age. How can those of us who have attained the felicity of living in this imperial era and happy time give thanks for this great gift and mercy? The burgeoning of the bazaar of Islam and the end to misery and anxiety our fathers hoped for and sought have been given to us, and the gates of safety and security have been opened to us through great imperial kindness.

THE STORY OF GENGHIS KHAN SON OF YESÜGÄI BAHADUR, COMPRISING THREE SECTIONS AS FOLLOWS

Section One: On his progeny, with an exposition of his sons and daughters, and their offspring who have branched off down to today, and a mention of his wives and sons-in-law with a genealogical chart.

Section Two: On the history and stories of the time of his rule, an image of his throne;[1] the ladies, princes, and officers when he mounted the khan's throne; the relationships of the officers; a mention of the battles he fought at every time and the conquests he made, and the length of his rule.

Section Three: Events that occurred during his rule; the words of wisdom he spoke; evidences of his good character not given in the previous two sections—since these have been learned from various and miscellaneous sources, both oral and written, **[217]** they will be given separately. ~

[1]It is clear from the wording of this section—and the corresponding sections for each of Genghis Khan's successors—that an illustration was originally planned for each of these sections. Few of the illustrations survive.

❧ SECTION ONE

ON THE PROGENY OF GENGHIS KHAN, HIS WIVES, SONS, DAUGHTERS, AND SONS-IN-LAW, AND A GENEALOGICAL CHART OF HIM AND HIS OFFSPRING

Although the history of his forebears back to Alan Qo'a has been given in a separate section, his genealogical tree will be given clearly and in detail in this section for the reader's quick reference before going on to other matters. We will also mention by what names the Mongols refer to their fathers and forefathers.

Genghis Khan's descent is as follows: his father (in Mongolian, *echigä)* was Yesügäi Bahadur; his grandfather (in Mongolian, *äbügä)* was Bartan Bahadur; his great-grandfather *(elänchik)* was Qabal Khan; his great-great-grandfather *(bodatu)* was Tumina Qa'an; his ancestor in the fifth degree *(bodakür)* was Bai Sinqor; his ancestor in the sixth degree *(borqai)* was Qaidu Khan; his ancestor in the seventh degree *(dutaqun)* was Dutum Mänen; and his ancestor in the eighth degree was Bodonchar. There is no term for ancestors above the seventh degree: they are called *echigin-äbügä* in the aggregate. The ancestress of them all was Alan Qo'a.

(According to one report Alan Qo'a was his ancestress in the tenth degree because Bodonchar is said to have had two sons, Buqa and Nachin, and Buqa's son was Dutum Mänen. Inasmuch as this differs from the preceding report it has been given here as a variant lest anything be omitted.) [219]

It has been established through ancient tales and legends that Genghis Khan was the quintessence of all the Niru'un tribes descended from Alan Qo'a. After his emergence the people of the world witnessed how he had been singled out for divine assistance to subjugate with his mighty power and strength and enslave all the tribes of the Turks and Mongols and others as well. Like one matchless pearl in the midst of others, he rose to a superior position from among all those tribes by virtue of the nobility of his person and refinement of his characteristics. He brought the realms of all climes of the world under his control and rule, and his glorious sons and renowned offspring became possessors of crowns and thrones in all directions throughout the seven climes. In the end, the religion of Islam, through the strengthening of the lord of the world, succorer of God's religion, Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan—may God extend his reign forever—who was the ultimate reason for the existence of all those tribes and clans, became so firm and strong that all, from far and near, Turk and Tajik, bear witness to the wish that, God willing, the fortune of this imperial era increase daily forever.

Inasmuch as stories concerning Genghis Khan will be given in detail in their proper places in the second section of the history, here, as an introduction, a short summary will be given in order that the reader be aware in a general way, and in order that

Genghis Khan's wives and the branches of his sons that will come be more understandable. We say, therefore—and success is through God—that Genghis Khan was orphaned of his father in childhood at the age of thirteen. When the many tribes that had previously gathered obediently around his father, Yesügäi Bahadur, saw Genghis Khan as a mere child, they abandoned him. Since his mother, Ö'älün Ekä, was extremely competent and intelligent, she preserved and protected him and the followers and soldiers left by Yesügäi Bahadur. Many times Genghis Khan experienced setbacks, and several times the Tayichi'ut clans seized the opportunity to take him prisoner, but God delivered him from the brink of death. Inasmuch as it had been God's will from all eternity that he become ruler of the world, he gradually grew in strength until, by virtue of painful labors and having forbearance in the face of great obstacles, he was able to bear difficult tasks with patience so that when he attained rule and ease **[220]** he was able to appreciate such a great good thing and be grateful, and also so that when he reached lofty heights he was capable of keeping every person in the world in his proper place.

Despite his setbacks and the multiplicity of difficulties, he was magnificently brave and courageous as well as extremely intelligent, skilled, farsighted, and cultured. His name and reputation for generosity and beneficence spread in all directions, affection for him appeared in all natures, and nations inclined to him so that he grew strong and mighty and rendered his friends victorious and prosperous and his enemies vanquished and despised. He often quarreled with and suffered various torments from his and his father's relatives and cousins because they were envious of him, particularly the tribes of the Tayichi'ut, who were neighbors and whose *yurts* were nearby. It was more important to deal militarily with them than with those who were unrelated and separated by greater distances. Finally he conquered that nation and brought those who remained under the yoke of subjugation, as will be described. After that, a tribe of his relatives united with Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit with whom Genghis Khan had a long-standing friendship and father-son relationship, and planned to assassinate him. Since their dwelling place and *yurts* were near and contiguous with his, it was necessary to launch a campaign against them. Many battles were fought until Genghis Khan finally conquered and annihilated them.

After that, he campaigned against Mongol tribes that lived in the vicinity of his *yurts*, most of whom were inimical and envious. Genghis Khan having done battle with them before, enmity and rivalry existed, and rancor was fixed in their breasts. The environs of the territory near Genghis Khan had been cleared of opposition as far as the borders of the Naiman, and some of Genghis Khan's enemies, both his relatives and Mongol tribes, had gone to [the Naiman], where they initiated aggression against him. For these reasons it became necessary to wage war with them until they were vanquished and subjugated. After that, the emperor of Cathay, the Altan Khan, an extremely great ruler **[221]** to whom most of the Mongol and Turkish tribes submitted because they were in the vicinity of the territory of Cathay, expected that Genghis Khan too would submit in the same way. As has been said in the preceding section, the emperors of Cathay had killed several of Genghis Khan's ancestors, for which reason enmity and hostility existed between them. When God gave Genghis Khan strength and power, and many soldiers gathered around him, he considered it necessary to take revenge for the ancient wrong. He set out with a large army against the Altan Khan, subjugated

most of the realm of Cathay, and vanquished their rulers and those who opposed him, and those who survived became obedient and submissive by the sword. After that, he stationed his army in that area for five years and withdrew of his own volition.

After that, he conquered the realm of Tibet and Tangqut, which was in his territory. It was in his mind to go against Cathay to conquer that realm once and for all and also to subdue the province of Qarajang, which is next to Cathay and near Mongolia. The Hindus and people of Qarajang call it Kandar, and the Tajiks call it Qandahar.[1] He therefore determined to wage a campaign, but Güshlüg Khan,[2] the son of the Naiman ruler, had fled to Turkistan when his father was killed, and he and some Mongol tribes that were hostile to Genghis Khan had taken over the province of Turkistan, which was held by the Gür Khan of the Qarakhitai. When the Gür Khan died and a report of the situation reached Genghis Khan, he cancelled his plans to go to Cathay and that region and undertook to deal with Güshlüg's sedition. He dispatched Jäbä with the army and vanquished him too. Güshlüg had taken Turkistan, a realm of great length and breadth, from the Gür Khan upon the advice of Sultan Khwarazmshah, and Güshlüg took over part of it and the Khwarazmshah took over the other part. When Genghis Khan's army removed Güshlüg, Sultan Khwarazmshah seized all of the realm of Turkistan along with Otrar, the frontier. Not only was this an affront to Genghis Khan's dignity, but also a group of Muslim merchants Genghis Khan had sent to the sultan as a show of unity and friendship were capriciously killed in Otrar by the sultan's uncle Inalchuq, **[222]** who was called Ghayir Khan.[3] Genghis Khan was so overcome by fury and rage that he forgot about Cathay, Chin, and Qarajang and set out immediately for Turkistan and Iran. Together with his sons and with the help of his officers he subjugated both realms.

After [Genghis Khan's death], Ögödäi Qa'an, together with his brother Tolui, took the entire realm of Cathay. With their nephews they took the realm of Kiral-Bashghurd,[4] Bular, the Qipchaq Steppe, Rus, Circassia, and As to the farthest reaches of the north, and to the south as far as Abyssinia. They likewise took the realm of Solangqa [Korea].

During Mänggü Qa'an's reign his brother Qubilai Qa'an took what remained of Cathay, and in one fell swoop their brother Hülägü Khan took Baghdad, the territory and fortresses of the Heretics [Ismailis], Syria, and the realm of the land of Iran all the way to the farthest reaches of Anatolia.

While Qubilai Qa'an was emperor, he took Chin, Qarajang, and part of Hindustan.

So too it continues until now: year by year, and day by day, Genghis Khan's progeny and offspring are still conquering territories in their vicinities, and such magnificent things have been and continue to be done through the fortune of Genghis Khan and his family. Each and every one of these things will be reported in detail in the proper place. This has been just a summary account as an introduction. Now we will begin with the details of Genghis Khan's

[1]This is Yunnan in southwestern China.

[2]Güshlüg Khan's name, usually so spelled in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* (كوشلوك), appears variously as Güchülüg in the *Secret History* (§194, 237) and as Güshülüg in some other Persian sources. The name comes from the Turkic *güchlüg* 'powerful' (cf. modern Turkish *güçlü*). We will write Güshlüg, as in the Persian.

[3]Reading غاير (Ghayir) for the text's غاين.

[4]The text's كول represents a miscopying of كرل (Kiral), for the "Kerel" of the *Secret History* §§262, 270. The combination Kiral-Bashghurd means Hungarians. See note to text p. 23 above.

wives and a mention of how many children he had by each wife.

Genghis Khan's Wives and Sons

Genghis Khan had nearly five hundred wives and concubines, and each was taken from a different tribe. Some he requested after the Mongolian fashion of marriage, but most he took as booty when he conquered a territory or tribe. However, those who were great ladies and attained great prominence were five, as follows. **[223]**

The First Wife, Börtä Füjin, daughter of Däi Noyan, chief and ruler of the Qunqirat nation

She was the most important and grandest of all the wives, and she was the mother of the four elder sons who were of importance and of five daughters.

The eldest son was Jochi,[1] from whom are descended all the rulers and princes in the Qipchaq Steppe. It is related that when Genghis Khan fought the Märkit nation and they were victorious, Börtä Füjin was pregnant with Jochi. The Märkits carried her off as booty, and since at that time there was peace between the Märkit and Ong Khan, they sent her to Ong Khan, who held her in honor and respect. Because of the old friendship he had with Genghis Khan's father and because he called Genghis Khan "son," he kept her like a daughter-in-law.

"Why don't you take her for yourself?" the officers asked.

"She is my daughter-in-law," he replied. "It would be unchivalrous to look upon her with a view to treachery."

When Genghis Khan was informed of this, he sent Säbä, the grandfather of Sartaq Noyan of the Jalayir tribe, to Ong Khan to request the return of the lady. Ong Khan complied and turned her over to him. Jochi was born while they were on the road back to Genghis Khan, and because the road was dangerous and there was no place to stop and make a cradle, Säbä kneaded a bit of flour dough, wrapped the child in it, and took him on his lap to protect him and keep his limbs from harm. He was named Jochi because he was born unexpectedly.

The second son was Chaghatai,[2] to whom was turned over governance of the realm from the beginning of Turkistan to the farthest end of the Oxus River. Alughu and Baraq were in command of his *ulus*,[3] and now Dua and his son Qutlugh-Khwaja are in command of it.[4] Details of the branch of his sons will come in the proper place.

The third son was Ögödäi Qa'an,[5] who became qa'an after Genghis Khan's death and ruled for thirteen years. **[224]** His eldest son was Güyük Khan. Qaidu and several other princes who are in that area

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[1]Throughout the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, Rashiduddin takes the meaning of Jochi to be 'unexpected guest' because he was born unexpectedly while Bürtä Füjin was being returned from captivity to her husband. The Mongolian for guest is *jochin*; in Persian sources the name is given as Jochi (consistently without the final *n*); see Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:299f. §167. Pelliot (*Marco Polo* 1:287) takes the name to have front vowels, i.e. Jöchi. A variant of the name, common in some Persian sources, is توشی Töshi (or Tüshi). The Chinese transcription for Jochi is 朮赤 Chu-ch'ih.

[2]Chaghatai, generally so spelled in Persian (چغتای). In the *Secret History* the name is normally Cha'adai. Other variants, like Jagatai, also occur; Marco Polo accurately renders the name as Ciagatai, and the Chinese transcriptions are 察合台 Ch'a-ho-t'ai and 察罕岱 Ch'a-han-tai (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:250–54).

[3]Alughu (~ Alghu) ruled the Ulus Chaghatai from 1261 and died in 1264 (see text p. 545 below); and Baraq ruled it from 1264 to 1270.

[4]Dua Khan of the Ulus Chaghatai, ruled until 1306.

[5]The name is generally spelled اوکتای in Persian, reflecting a likely pronunciation of Ögätäi; in the *Secret History* the name occurs as Ögödei, and the Chinese transcription is 窩闊台 Wo-k'uo-t'ai. Carpini (p. 81) calls him "Occoday Cham." Here we will opt for Ögödäi throughout.

are descended from him. Their stories will be related in the proper places.

The fourth son was Tolui, who was nicknamed Yäkä Noyan and Ulugh Noyan.[1] Genghis Khan called him *nökär*, and most of the time he was in his father's service and with him on his campaigns. In the Mongolian language *tolui* means mirror.[2] From the time he died until now this word for mirror has been taboo. The word for mirror in Turkish is *küzgü*, and now the Mongols also call a mirror *küzgü* for this reason. Mänggü Qa'an, Qubilai Qa'an, Hülägü Khan, and Ariq Bökä were his sons, and now of their offspring and progeny Temür Qa'an and the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan are qa'an and padishah. Other branches of his progeny have become qa'ans and padishahs in every clime, and the story of each will come separately.

These four sons of Genghis Khan were all intelligent, competent, courageous, and valiant, and they were loved by their father, the army, and the subjects. They were like four pillars to Genghis Khan's realm, and he envisioned each of them as a ruler and called them the "four *külügs*"[3]—*külüg* being a word applied to a man or horse that is superior to or faster than others. Aside from those [sections] we will write for each, there are many stories connected to these four sons that will come in the course of the narrative about Genghis Khan. From these will be learned the commanders and armies that were formed and given to each son. There also the particulars of the commanders will be given, God willing.

The names of the five daughters by this lady, and the names of those to whom they were given in marriage are as follows.

The eldest daughter was Füjin Beki. She was first requested for Sangun's son and Ong Khan's grandson Tosun Buqa, but the union did not take place, and that occasioned displeasure. After that she was given to Näkün's son, Butu[4] Gürägän of the Ikiräs nation. [225]

The second daughter was Chächäyigän.[5] She was given to Törälchi Gürägän, the son of Qutuqa Beki, ruler of the Oyirat nation.

The third daughter was Alaqai Beki. She was given to Chigüi,[6] son of the ruler of the Öng'üt.[7]

The fourth daughter was Tümälün. She was given to the son of the ruler of the Qunqirat whose name was Gürägän. Although *gürägän* means son-in-law, his name was actually Gürägän.

The fifth daughter was Altalun, also called Altaluqan. She was given to the son of [___], Taichu Gürägän of the Olqunu'ut

[1]Both the Mongolian Yäkä Noyan and the Turkish Ulugh Noyan mean 'great lord.'

[2]Tolui's name is spelled in Persian تولوی and تولی; the Chinese transcription is T'o-lui. A reflex of the word *tolui*, ᠲᠣᠯᠢ *toli(n)*, is still used today in Mongolian for mirror. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:274–76 §143.

[3]In the *Secret History*, the epithet *dörben külü'üd* (the Four Stalwarts) consistently refers to Bo'orchu, Muqali, Boroghul, and Chila'un, not to the four sons (see *Secret History* §163, §177). On text p. 271 below, *külüg* (pl. *külü'üd*) is used for the four friends, not for the sons. The word *külüg* is still used in modern Mongolian (ᠬᠥᠯᠦᠭ, хөлөг) for a strong, swift horse.

[4]Read برتو (Butu) for the text's برقو. Butu of the Ikiräs is mentioned as a son-in-law in the *Secret History* (§§120, 202).

[5]Spelled جیجکان in the text, which probably reflects a pronunciation of Chechigän unless it is a miscopying of ججیکان for Chächäyigän. She is mentioned in the *Secret History* (§238) as Checheyigen. According to the *Secret History* she was married to Inalchi, the brother of Törälchi (Törölchi), who was given Jochi's daughter Holuiqan.

[6]JT_K has جینکوی; JT_B 13:128 has شیکوی (Shigüi) with a variant of چیکوی (Chigüi). This "Chigüi" should be the same as the Chigü (also Chügü) Güregen mentioned twice in the *Secret History* (§§202, 251). On text p. 100 above, he is called "Shigü."

[7]Thus in the *Secret History* (§239), where her name is given as Alaqa Beki ("He gave Alaqa Beki unto the Önggüd").

tribe.[1] [Genghis Khan] called him Cha'ur Sächän. Taichu Gürägän was Genghis Khan's mother's brother, and Genghis Khan loved this one more than any of his other daughters. There are many stories concerning her that will be given.

There are many stories about these five daughters and their husbands. Since the lineage of each and their stories will come during the history of Genghis Khan, Ögödäi Qa'an, and Güyük Khan, if the reader pays attention everything will be understood. This has been a brief mention of the children born of the chief wife, [Börtä] Füjin.[2]

The Second Wife, Qulan Khatun

She was the daughter of Dayir Usun, chief of the Uhaz clan of the Märkit, who submitted and, as ordered, brought his daughter to Genghis Khan. By her he had a son named Kölgän, but he did not attain the status of the four sons already mentioned.

The history of Kölgän and the line of his sons is as follows. He had four sons. The eldest was named Qucha. When his father died he was given six thousand men and awarded his father's position. Qucha had a son named Uru'udai. He too inherited his father's position and army and became a retainer of Qubilai Qa'an's. He had a son named Äbügän, and he inherited his father's place and army; however, when Taghachar Noyan's offspring, Naya'a and other princes, rebelled against Qubilai Qa'an **[226]** and decided to join Qaidu, when Qubilai found out about it he had him and the others executed.

The Third Wife, Yesügän[3]

She was of the Tatar nation. By her Genghis Khan had a son named Cha'ur, who died in infancy.

The Fourth Wife, Gungju Khatun[4]

She was the daughter of the Altan Khan, the emperor of Cathay. It is well known that she was [not[5]] beautiful, but because her father was an extremely great emperor she was given great importance and respect. Genghis Khan had no children by her. She lived until Ariq Bökä's time and died thereafter. In this lady's *ordu* was an Örmüg girl who was a *ba'urchi*, Huqutai by name, and she acquired great influence and renown.

The Fifth Wife, Yesülün[6]

She was a sister to the above-mentioned Yesügän and was also of the Tatar nation.

❁

Aside from the wives mentioned above, Genghis Khan had several other wives who were highly respected but not numbered among the five grandest ladies. Among them was one named Ibaqa Khatun, daughter of Jagambu, the brother of Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit. She had a sister named Begtutmish Füjin whom Genghis Khan had married to Jochi Khan. One night, however, without warning Genghis Khan had a dream and gave [Ibaqa Khatun]

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[1] See note on text p. 124.

[2] The *Secret History* (§238) says that there was a daughter called Al Altun, who was given to the "*idu'ud* of the Ui'ud," i.e. the Idiqut of the Uyghur. The chart on text p. 228 adds a concubine-born sixth daughter named ايل اكتى (El Ägätäi?, called Alajai on p. 108 above) who was given to the Idiqut of the Uyghur.

[3] Reading يسوكان (Yesügän) for the text's يسوكات. In the *Secret History* §155f. she is named Yesügen Qadun, daughter of Yeke Cheren of the Tatar.

[4] This wife is known by this name, although in reality Gungju is her Chinese title, 公主 *kung-chu* 'princess.' Her name was 岐國 Ch'i-kuo, and she was the daughter of Wei-shao-wang. See text p. 326 below.

[5] The negative is missing in the text, but it is supplied by JT_{AJ} 47: *Khatay'ning pádsháhsı Altan Khan'nıng qızı erdi, valí khúbsúratlig ermäs erdi.*

[6] Reading يسولون (Yesülün) for the text's يسولون. In the *Secret History* (§155) she is called Yesüi, of which Yesülün is a diminutive.

to an officer who was on guard that night. His name was Kähätäi Noyan of the Uru'ut tribe. He gave him all the horses, servants, followers, household slaves, herds and flocks, treasures and stores he possessed, except for one cook and one golden goblet from which he drank kumiss, both of which he kept as souvenirs. [227] All the rest he gave, along with the lady, to the officer. This story has already been related in the section on the Uru'ut.[1]

Another was Gürbäsü Khatun, who was first married to Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman. She was the chief of his wives, and he loved her very much. Some time after Tayang Khan was killed she was brought to Genghis Khan, who married her according to Mongol custom and ritual.

Another was [Chaqa[2]] Khatun, daughter of the ruler of the Tangqut. He asked for her as a *sawqat* [gift], and she was given to him.

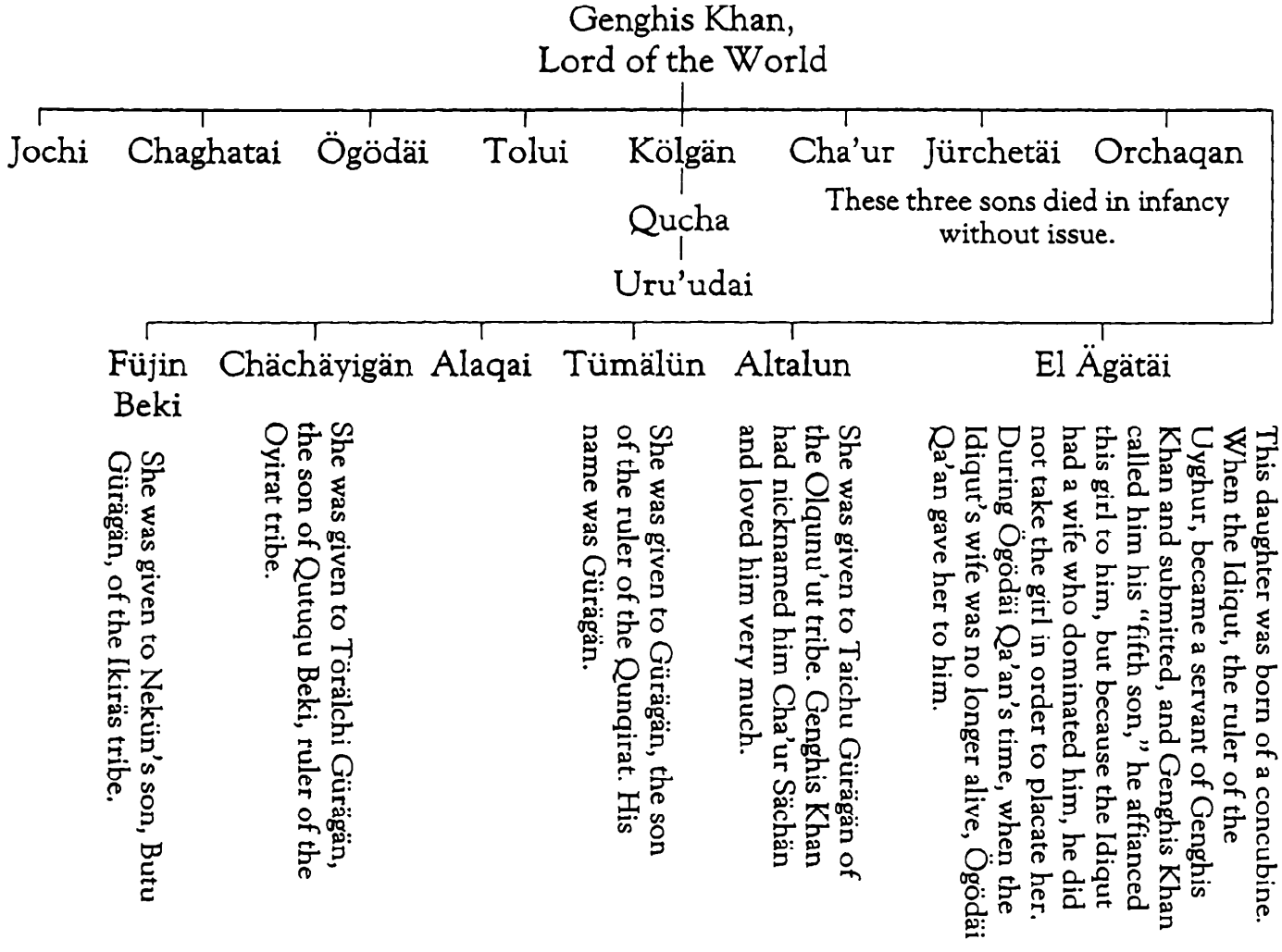
Many daughters of rulers and officers were wives of Genghis Khan, but they were not counted among the great ladies. By a concubine from the Naiman nation he had a son named Jürchetäi. This son died before any of the others. His mother's name is not known. He had another son named Orchaqan who also died in infancy. His mother was a concubine from the Tatar nation, but her name is not known.

This has been a mention of Genghis Khan's wives and sons.

Inasmuch as the four sons who were of importance and were called the "four *külügs*," i.e. the four pillars, and each became a ruler in his own right, in the following chart of Genghis Khan's sons their and their offspring's branches will not be given because those branches will come separately later. Since we will not give a separate section on Kölgän, his and his sons' branch will be given. Since the husbands of the daughters were all from different tribes, the daughters' offspring will be mentioned under the respective tribes, and there is no necessity to give them here. Genghis Khan's family tree is thus as in the following chart. ~ [228]

[1] See above, text p. 148.

[2] Name missing in the text; supplied by the *Secret History* §249.


Genghis Khan,
Lord of the World
Jochi
Chaghatai
Ögödäi
Tolui
Kölgän
Cha'ur
Jürchetäi
Orchaqan
These three sons died in infancy without issue.
Qucha
Uru'udai
Füjin Beki
She was given to Nekün's son, Butu Gürägän, of the Ikiräs tribe.
Chächäyigän
She was given to Törälchi Gürägän, the son of Qutuqu Beki, ruler of the Oyirat tribe.
Alaqai
Tümälün
She was given to Gürägän, the son of the ruler of the Qunqirat. His name was Gürägän.
Altalun
She was given to Taichu Gürägän of the Olqunu'ut tribe. Genghis Khan had nicknamed him Cha'ur Sächän and loved him very much.
El Ägätäi
This daughter was born of a concubine. When the Idiqut, the ruler of the Uyghur, became a servant of Genghis Khan and submitted, and Genghis Khan called him his "fifth son," he affianced this girl to him, but because the Idiqut had a wife who dominated him, he did not take the girl in order to placate her. During Ögödäi Qa'an's time, when the Idiqut's wife was no longer alive, Ögödäi Qa'an gave her to him.

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ℭ SECTION TWO

THE HISTORY OF GENGHIS KHAN FROM HIS BIRTH UNTIL THE TIME HE BECAME KHAN AND RULER, AN ILLUSTRATION OF HIS THRONE, WIVES, PRINCES, AND OFFICERS DURING HIS ENTHRONEMENT AS KHAN, THE LINEAGE OF THE OFFICERS, MENTION OF THE BATTLES HE FOUGHT AT EVERY TIME AND THE VICTORIES HE ACHIEVED, THE LENGTH OF HIS RULE UNTIL THE END OF HIS TIME, AND A MENTION OF HIS DEATH

Since this book is organized so that we record first the lineage of the offspring of every tribe and ruler, and then we begin with the history itself, the number of Genghis Khan's wives and details of his sons and daughters have already been mentioned in the first section of this chapter. Now, beginning with stories of Genghis Khan from the time of his birth, a summary account of several years will be given because for the first part of his career stories about him are not known in detail year by year. Thereafter, according to what has come in the records and histories of the Mongols, stories will be given in detail year by year. Although compilers and writers of ancient histories have produced books of every sort, [since] they have reproduced stories of various times without order, readers have been unable to make full use of them. In the year-by-year history that the late Ibn al-Athir[1] produced, although he put much effort into it, the stories of each ruler are not ordered, and although they follow more or less in sequence, the order is not known. This much is certainly apparent to those who read the book. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to the author of this book to record in sequence, for every few years of Genghis Khan's history that is written, the histories of other rulers of various parts who were contemporary with him so that the affairs of rulers contemporary with each other might thereby be known in general.

Since the ultimate goal of composing this book and gathering these stories together is to compile the blessed history of Ghazan Khan, [and] this principle of organization was not adopted in previous histories of long ago, and also since it would be too long, **[230]** [according to] the above-mentioned principle, from Genghis Khan's birth until the end of his life, and after him until the present time, every few years deemed appropriate the history of Genghis Khan and his sons and things that became customary during their times will be written about, and the history of other rulers at

[1]Reading اثیر (Athir) for the text's ابتر. The reference is to Izzuddin Ibn al-Athir (1160–1233), author of *al-Kamil fi't-tarikh*, a universal history to A.H. 628 (A.D. 1230–31). As Rashiduddin observes, Ibn al-Athir arranged his material by events as they happened year by year; there is therefore no continuity to the narrative. Almost all the periodic summaries of dynasties and rulers of the Islamic world in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* appear to have been extracted from Ibn al-Athir.

that time, as much as is known and verifiable and fits the context, will be appended thereto, down to this regal era and blessed time so that the reader may learn about the conditions of all. The principle of organization is then as has been stated. [231]

The History of Genghis Khan from the time of his birth, from the beginning of Qaqai Yil, the Year of the Pig, which corresponds to the year 549 of the Hegira and began in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da [January 1155], until the next Qaqai Yil, also the Year of the Pig, which corresponds to the year 562 of the Hegira and began in the month of Rabi' II [February 1167]. During this period his father, Yesügäi Bahadur, was alive. During the last year, the thirteenth, Yesügäi Bahadur died, and the thirteen-year-old Genghis Khan was bereft of him.

Since in Genghis Khan's and his father's time astrologers did not record times by astronomical observation and historians did not record the day or month, the hour and day of his birth are not known with exactitude. However, it is very well known to many Mongolian princes, commanders, and grandees that he lived for seventy-two years and died in his seventy-third year. Reliable astronomers have recorded the date of his death since he was so extremely great and such a perfect ruler. They have reported that he died in Qaqai Yil, the Year of the Pig, in the middle autumn month fifteen days from the end of the month. Since that was the seventy-third year from his birth, his birth must then have occurred in the middle of the year, reckoning the length of his life as seventy-two whole years. [232]

Since he spent his life until the age of forty-one partially in childhood and partially in deprivation, and historians did not record it year by year, the history of these forty-one years will be written as a whole. Thereafter until the end of his life has been detailed year by year, and we too will follow that system.

Having thus established the principle of organization, let us record the thirteen-year history of Genghis Khan from his birth to the death of his father.

While his father, Yesügäi Bahadur, was at the zenith of might and fortune and ruled and led all the tribes that were attached to his fathers and uncles, they made him their leader and chief and followed him obediently. Others tribes, like the Tatar and others, as has already been said in the section on the Tatar, were inimical to him, and many battles were fought between them. In the above-mentioned Qaqai Yil, when Yesügäi Bahadur mounted to do battle with the Tatar, his wife, Ö'älün Ekä, was pregnant with Genghis Khan. The rulers of the Tatar were Tämüjin Ögä and Qudu Buqa. Yesügäi Bahadur did battle with them and, having defeated and crushed them, he returned triumphant and victorious. He also plundered their families, flocks, and herds and camped in a placed called Deli'ün Boldaq. There, after some time, during the above-mentioned Qaqai Yil, under a favorable ascendant Genghis Khan was born, holding a blood clot the size of a knuckle bone like a piece of congealed liver. The signs of world domination were obvious upon his brow, and the luminescence of luck and success shone from his countenance. Since Yesügäi Bahadur's victory over his enemy, the Tatar and their ruler, Tämüjin Ögä, had recently occurred, he took it as a good omen and named his son Tämüjin after the Tatar king.

During his lifetime Yesügäi Bahadur was the chief and leader of the Niru'un and of his *aqa-ini*, but enmity existed between him and the rulers and commanders of other tribes, particularly the Tatar tribes. Now, because they have mingled with the Mongols and resemble them in form and epi-

thet, they are all called Mongol, but in ancient times each had its own name and epithet, **[233]** and they were not classified as Mongol. Yesügäi Bahadur did battle with most of those tribes and brought some of them under his sway. Most of them, both friends and enemies, were obedient to him out of fear of his power and dominion and in order to preserve their lives, and his condition was highly regulated and splendid. Aside from Genghis Khan he had several other sons, as was stated in his history. During this period of thirteen years he was firmly entrenched as ruler of his tribes, and every few months he would mount for a campaign to repel his enemies among the Turkic tribes that surrounded his *ulus*. In most battles victory was his, but certain of his relatives were jealous of him, as the proverb says, *al-aqárib ka'l-'aqárib* [relatives are like scorpions]. Because of the rancor and enmity they harbored in their breasts, and since they had no strength or power to resist, they planted the seed of revenge and enmity inwardly until the end of his life. When Yesügäi Bahadur died as a young man, the Tayichi'ut tribes—who were collateral relatives of Genghis Khan's on his father's side, as was stated in the section on his ancestors—were stronger and had larger fighting contingents, and their leaders were rulers of consequence. Although they had been friendly and obedient during Yesügäi Bahadur's time, after he died they manifested their enmity and hostility.

Genghis Khan was thirteen when his father died, and his brothers were also children. His mother, Ö'älün Ekä of the Olqunu'ut tribe, was highly intelligent and competent, but because of Yesügäi Bahadur's death they fell on hard times. The details of that period are not known.

Inasmuch as the history of Genghis Khan has been written in summary from his birth, which occurred in Qaqai Yil, which corresponds to the year 549 and began in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da [January 1155], until he was thirteen years old, let us now write the history of the sultans and other rulers of climes who were contemporaries of Genghis Khan during those thirteen years. **[234]** After that, we will return to Genghis Khan's history after those thirteen years.

The history that is known of Genghis Khan's contemporaries, the monarchs and khaqans of Cathay, Chin, the Kerayit, the Naiman, the Mongols, the Uyghur, Turkistan, Kiral-Bashghurd, Qipchaq, Orus, Circassia, As, Transoxiana, and the caliphs and sultans of Iran, Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, &c. who ruled from the beginning of the Qaqai Yil that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da of 549 of the Hegira [January 1155] through the next Qaqai Yil, which began in Rabi' II 562 of the Hegira [February 1167], a period of thirteen whole years, as well as unusual events that happened during that period.

A history of the rulers of the Khitai and Qarakhitai during this period

Those who ruled that territory during this period were not of the lineage of the ancient monarchs of that realm. In the year 287 of the Hegira [A.D. 900] the ruler of the Khitai, the Qarakhitai, the Jurchids, Manzi (which is also called Chin), Machin, and Nankiyas, was a person of the ancient lineage of kings named Liang Taizu.[1] During his reign a nomadic commander named Julunchi Abagi rebelled and seized part of the kingdom of the Khitai, Qarakhitai, and Jurcha.[2]

Nine generations after that, the ruler of

[1]Liang T'ai Tsu (梁太祖) of the posterior Liang Dynasty, ruled 907–913.

[2]This is Yeh-lü A-p'ao-ch'ih (d. 926), the founder of the Khitan (Liao) dynasty.

the Jurcha rebelled, took that realm from the <Qara>khitai,[1] and overthrew them in the year 519 [1125–26].[2] In the year 522 [1128] the ruler of the Jurcha seized dominion over all the kingdom of Cathay. Gaozun,[3] the rightful ruler of Cathay, took refuge from him in Machin, with which he and his sons contented themselves and where they remained until the end of their time. [235]

The ruler who took over the realm of the <Qara>khitai and the Jurcha called himself Dai Liao,[4] meaning monarch of the world. When Genghis Khan seized realms, the people of Cathay named him by this term Dai On,[5] meaning great ruler, because his command encompassed the world.

We have put into an appendix to this blessed history of Ghazan Khan the history of the rulers of Cathay and Machin from ancient times on, as recorded in their books, in detail year by year and ruler by ruler. If readers wish to learn all that history, they may consult it there. Here will be given the names of the rulers who were in those realms contemporary with Genghis Khan during those thirteen years and who were from the lineage of the Jurchid king mentioned, all of whom were entitled Altan Khan, although each had his own name and epithet in the Cathaian language: Hizun [Hsi Tsung] [ruled a total of] fourteen years, five years [of which were of the thirteen]; Liang Taizu [ruled a total of] twelve years, eight [of which were of the thirteen].[6]

The history of the rulers of Machin—which the Cathaians call Manzi and the Mongols call Nankiyas—who were contemporary with Genghis Khan during the above-mentioned thirteen years.

These rulers were of the lineage of the original rulers of that realm, who were monarchs from ancient times over all the territories of Khitai, Qarakhitai, Jurcha, and Machin. As already mentioned, in the year [519] Julunchi Abagi seized the realms of the Khitai, the Qarakhitai, and the Jurcha. After the Jurchid ruler's rebellion, Gaozun [Kao Tsung], who was the ancestor of these rulers, went from Cathay to Machin. Since their history will be given in detail in an appendix, there is no sense in going on at length here. The name of the person who was monarch during the thirteen-year period and the length of his reign are as follows: [236] Nam-Sun Gaozun,[7] [with a

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[1]Oddly enough, almost everywhere the Khitai are meant, Rashiduddin writes "Qarakhitai," which he also uses when the Qarakhitai are meant. To avoid confusion and at the same time to maintain the integrity of the text, we will write <Qara>khitai when the meaning is clearly the Khitai.

[2]Although the date is spelled out in Arabic in the text as 419, it should be 519. A reference to the Jurchid Wan-yen Aguda (1113–23). In the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* Appendix fol. 257a (Blair, *Compendium*, K17), the name of the emperor is given as كمزون (Kimzun for 欽宗 Ch'in Tsung, the last Sung emperor overthrown in 1127). Below him is written: "During this Kimzun's reign the Jurcha tribe rebelled and took over the kingdom of the Khitai. One of them, Agudai Nujaq took over the rule and was entitled Taizun QRWN (or FZWN). The Turks called him and his sons the Altan Khan."

[3]Kao Tsung (高宗), a member of the imperial family, was proclaimed emperor of the Southern Sung at Nanking in 1127 and ruled until 1162.

[4]For the text's راى ليو, read داى ليو for *dai liao* for 大遼 *ta(i) liao* 'great Liao,' the title of the Khitan dynasty. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:197 §1178.

[5]For the text's راى ون, read داى اون *dai on[g]*, from the Chinese 大王 *ta(i) wang* 'great prince.' See Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:197 §1177.

[6]These are the third and fourth emperors of the Jurchid Chin dynasty, Hsi Tsung (熙宗) and Hai-ling Wang (海陵王), whose reigns were respectively 1135–49 and 1149–61, ten years earlier than Rashiduddin's calculations. The reigns of fourteen and twelve years given by Rashiduddin agree with the figures given in the Appendix in the Khalili manuscript, fol. 257b (Blair, *Compendium*, K18). The "Liang Taizu" of the text is clearly a mistake that repeats the name of the earlier Liang T'ai Tsu; it represents Hai-ling Wang.

[7]"Nam-Sun Gaozun" for 南宋 Nan-Sung (South-

reign of] forty years, of which twenty-five years were before and two years were after the thirteen years.

The history of the rulers of Turkistan and Transoxiana during this period.

When the ruler of the Jurchids rebelled against the ruler of the <Qara>khitai and, as previously explained, annihilated him, a high-ranking officer of the Qarakhitai named Nushi Taifu fled from there and emerged in Qirqiz and Uyghur territory and Turkistan.[1] He was an intelligent and extremely competent man who with good strategy gathered around himself a group from that region and seized the entire area of Turkistan. His epithet became Gür Khan, which means exalted monarch. This took place in 522 and 523 [1128–29]. When this Gür Khan died, he left an eight- or nine-year-old son who was installed in his father's place, and he too was called Gür Khan. He lived a long time, ninety-two Turkish years, or ninety-five lunar years. He died around the year 610 [1213].[2] In the year in which Genghis Khan was born this Gür Khan was thirty-four years old and had reigned for nearly twenty-five years. He was Genghis Khan's contemporary in Turkistan for the entire period of thirteen years.

The history of the caliphs, sultans, kings, and atabegs of Iran, Anatolia, Egypt, &c. who were Genghis Khan's contemporaries during this period.

At the time of Genghis Khan's birth Muqtafi of the Abbasid House was caliph in Baghdad. He was alive until 556 [1161], in which year he died and his son Mustanjid was installed as caliph.[3]

In the year Genghis Khan was born the caliph of the Ismailis in Egypt was Zafir.[4] He was killed in Muharram of that year, and his son Fayiz was installed as caliph. He died in the year of Muqtafi's death, 556,[5] and his cousin, Adid, **[237]** was installed as caliph.[6]

In Khurasan, the Seljuqid Sultan Sanjar b. Malikshah was ruling.[7] Two years prior to Genghis Khan's birth the Oghuz tribes took him to a hunting preserve and imprisoned him there. In Ramadan of the year of Genghis Khan's birth he escaped and fled to Termez.[8] Ali Beg, the chief of the Qarluq clans, a mortal enemy of the sultan's, died, and the Qarluqs pledged obedience to the sultan. Thereafter he was afflicted with colic and dysentery and died in Rabi' I 552 [April 1157].[9] The Oghuz moved to the city of Nishapur, and they massacred, pillaged,

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ern Sung) 高宗 Kao Tsung (ruled from 1127 and abdicated in 1162).

[1]This is Yeh-lü Ta-shih (ca. 1124–43) of the Qarakhitai. Emending the text's طايقو to طايفو (Taifu) for *dai fu*. The نوشى "Nushi" (variant, توسى Tusi) part of the name is apparently not a mistake for Ta-shih but something else, perhaps another title. Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:78) reads the name as Туси Тайфу without explanation.

[2]Apparently, since all the Qarakhitai rulers had the clan name Yeh-lü and the title Gür Khan, they must have been indistinguishable in Rashiduddin's sources. The rulers of the Qarakhitai are as follows: (1) Yeh-lü Ta-shih, 1124–43; (2) his widow Hsiao Ta-pu-kan, 1144–50; (3) Ta-shih's son Yeh-lü I-lieh, 1151–63; (4) his sister Bu-su-wan, 1163–78; and finally (5) I-lieh's son Yeh-lü Chih-lu-ku, 1178–1211.

[3]al-Muqtafi was caliph from 1136 until 1160 or 1161 (according to Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:256, he died on 2 Rabi' I 555 [March 12, 1160]). He was succeeded by al-Mustanjid, who ruled from 1160 (or 1161) to 1170.

[4]Correcting the text's Záhir to Záfir.

[5]According to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 11:255) al-Fayiz died in Safar 555 (February 1160).

[6]The Fatimid caliph al-Záfir ruled from 1149 to 1154, succeeded by al-Fá'iz, who ruled from 1154 to 1160, who was succeeded by al-'Ádid (1160–71).

[7]Sultan Sanjar ruled in eastern Persia from 1097; from 1118 to 1157 he ruled as supreme sultan of the Seljuqs.

[8]In 551 (Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:210).

[9]Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:222.

took captives, and plundered.[1]

In Khwarazm, Atsiz b. Muhammad b. Begma Tegin, a pillar of the Seljuq state, was ruling, having seized some of Turkistan and the Qipchaq Steppe. He died of colic in the year 551 [1156] at the age of sixty-one.[2] After him, his son El Arslan took over the rule of Khwarazm.[3]

In Persia, the Seljuqid Sultan Muhammad b. Mahmud b. Malikshah ruled from Isfahan. Around that time he gathered an army and laid siege to Baghdad. Battles were fought back and forth, during which he heard that his brother Malikshah and Atabeg Eldigüz of Tabriz, the husband of Arslan b. Toghril's mother, had laid siege to Hamadan along with the aforementioned Toghril. In anger with his brother he turned back to repel them, and his soldiers dispersed. When he reached Hamadan he set out for Eldigüz's territory but died of consumption.

As he lay dying, he ordered his commanders to mount and to have displayed before him all his wealth and possessions, jewels, cash, everything that was in his treasuries and buried hoards, all his valuables and beautiful slaves. As he gazed down upon them from a belvedere, he wept and said, "All these commanders, soldiers, followers, servants, retinue, textiles, goods, jewels, pearls, and valuables cannot decrease my pain and suffering one iota or add one instant to my life. **[238]** Unlucky is he who strives to accumulate worldly goods." So saying, he gave away all his possessions to those present.

Sultan Muhammad had an infant [son named] Lashkari, of whom he said, "I know that the military will not obey him," so he entrusted him to Aq Sonqur Ahmaddinli,[4] the governor of Maragha, who took the child to his region and raised him. When [the sultan] died, the amirs rebelled, some inclining to his brother Malikshah and others to his uncle Sulayman Shah. When Sulayman Shah arrived in Isfahan, he had with him Atabeg Dägäshä of Fars, Shumla the Turcoman governor of Khuzistan, and a group of other amirs. The son of Qazi Sadruddin Khujandi turned Isfahan over to him, and Sulayman Shah summoned the soldiers who were in the Hamadan vicinity, but they refused to obey. In the year 555 [1160] Sulayman Shah went to the gates of Isfahan.[5] The soldiers assembled and captured him. In Rabi' II 556 [April 1161] they strangled him and raised Toghril's son Arslan, the son of Atabeg Eldigüz's wife, to the throne.[6]

In Anatolia, Sultan Mas'ud b. Qilich-Arslan was ruler. He died in Konya in 553,[7] and in his stead his son,[8] Qilich-Arslan, was

[1]Telescoped into the sentence is a great deal of material on the Oghuz and their movements from Balkh to Merv, Sarakhs, and Nishapur, where they submitted to Jalaluddin Muhammad, son of Sultan Mahmud. The Oghuz invited the city of Tus to submit, and when their offer was refused, the Oghuz pillaged the area and then returned to Nishapur. They later laid siege to Sabzavar in 554, but the siege was ended with a truce, and the Oghuz retreated to Nasa and Abivard (Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:230–33).

[2]According to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 11:209) the Khwarazmshah Atsiz died on 9 Jumada II 551 (July 30, 1156) from misuse of medicine for his paralysis (فالج), not from colic (قولنج).

[3]Ala'uddin Atsiz ruled from 1127 to 1156, when he was succeeded by El Arslan (r. 1156–72).

[4]The name should be Ahmadílí, but the variant Ahmaddínlí is used here. The line took the name from their overlord, the Rawwadid Ahmadil of Tabriz. See C. E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000–1217," *Cambridge History of Iran* 5:170.

[5]Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:254.

[6]Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:266f.

[7]553 in the text, but according to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 11:210) he died in 551 (1156).

[8]For *pidar* (father), read *pisar* (son).

elevated to the rule.[1]

In Kirman, Abu'l-Fawaris Muhammad b. Arslanshah b. Kirmanshah b. Qawurd b. Chaghir Beg b. Da'ud b. Mika'il b. Saljuq was ruler. He died in 551 [1156], and his son Toghril Shah succeeded to the rule.[2]

In Ghazna was Sultan Khusrawshah b. Bahramshah b. Säbüktegin. He died in 556 [1161], and his son Malik Shah succeeded.[3]

In Ghor was Sultan Ala'uddin Husayn b. al-Hasan. He also died in the above-mentioned year, and his son Sayfuddin Muhammad was elevated to the throne.[4] He was killed in '58 [1163] by brigands, and the brothers Sultan Ghiyasuddin and Sultan Shihabuddin Ghor, sons of Malik Sam, a nephew of the above-mentioned Malik Husayn, became rulers in Ghor and Ghazna.[5]

A History of Maliks and Atabegs

In Seistan was Malik Nasr b. Khalaf. He died in 558 [1163] after having lived for more than a hundred years. **[239]** His son succeeded him.

In Mazanderan was Shah Rustam Ali b. Shahryar b. Qarun.[6] He died in 558 [1163], and his son Ala'uddin Hasan succeeded.[7]

In Iraq was Atabeg Eldigüz.

In Azerbaijan was Aq Sonqur Ahmaddinli.

In Syria was Atabeg Nuruddin, Imaduddin Zangi's son.[8] Aq Sonqur took Damascus, the Shayzar fortress on the Orontes near Hama, and Baalbek.

In Diyarbekir was Atabeg Qutbuddin Mawdud.[9] Imaduddin Zangi [b.] Aq Sonqur, the father of the atabegs of Mosul, took Jazira.[10]

In the Maghreb was Abdul-Mu'min Malik.[11] In 556 [1161] he designated his son Muhammad as heir apparent, and after extracting an oath of allegiance he gave each of his other sons a province. He conquered all of Andalus, and the kingdom of the ...,[12] who had been kings for more than two hundred years, came to an end. In the year 554 [1159] he took the city of Mahdiyya back from the Franks.[13] He died in the year 558 [1163], and his son Muhammad succeeded.[14]

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[1]These are the Rum Seljuqs Ruknuddin Mas'ud I, r. 1116–56, and Izzuddin Qilich-Arslan II, 1156–92.

[2]Mughisuddin Muhammad I of the Seljuqs of Kirman ruled 1142–56. His son Toghril Shah ruled 1156–70.

[3]Mu'izzuddawla Khusrawshah of the Ghaznavids ruled 1152–1160. He was succeeded by Tajuddawla Khusraw Malik, r. 1160–86.

[4]He died in Rabi' II 556 (April 1161) according to Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:271.

[5]These are respectively the Ghorids Ala'uddin Husayn, r. 1149–61; Sayfuddin Muhammad, r. 1163–1203; Shihabuddin Muhammad, ruled in Ghazna from 1173.

[6]Of the Ispahbadiyya line in Tabaristan and Gilan, ruled 1140–63.

[7]Ala'uddin (or Ala'uddawla) Hasan ruled from 1163 to 1172.

[8]Imaduddin Zangi's son Nuruddin Mahmud ruled in Damascus from 1146 to 1174.

[9]Qutbuddin Mawdud ruled in the principal line of the Zangids in Mosul and Aleppo 1149–69.

[10]Jazíra, also known as Jazírat Ibn 'Umar, is the modern Cizre on the Tigris in Turkey.

[11]Abdul-Mu'min of the Almohads in North Africa and Spain, r. 1130–63.

[12]Name missing from the text, but in 557 (1162) the Almohades under Abdul-Mu'min took the Alhambra in Granada from the Zirids (Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:284). It is not clear who is meant by those "who had been kings for more than two hundred years"—the Zirids had been ruling only since 1012.

[13]Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:241.

[14]Abdul-Mu'min was succeeded, not by his son Muhammad, but by another son, Yusuf (Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:291).

Over Fars ruled Atabeg Dägälä of the Salghurids, a very just man.[1]

The history of unusual events that occurred during this period in all parts of the world

In the year 5[5]3,[2] the city of Baghdad was so inundated that most city quarters were destroyed, like Qarah Zafar, Mukhtara, Muqtadiyya, Darb al-Qabbar, Rayan, Khirbat Ibn Jurada, Qarah al-Qadi, part of Qati'a, part of Bab al-Azaj, some of Ma'muniyya, Qarah Abu-Shahm, Qarah Ibn Zarin, part of Zafariyya, and the ramparts. On the southern side Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal's grave and others were so flooded that dead bodies floated on the water.[3]

In Sha'ban 557 [July–August 1162] thirty thousand Georgians came to the city of Dwin,[4] a dependency of Azerbaijan, and killed more than ten thousand persons. They also took many captives and burned the city mosque. When Atabeg Shamsuddin Eldigüz of Tabriz heard about it, he assembled a large army and set out to wreak vengeance on them with the help of Shah-i-Arz, Sökmän Qutbi's[5] son the governor of Akhlat, **[240]** Aq Sonqur's son the governor of Maragha, and more than fifty thousand horsemen. They arrived in Georgia in Safar 558 [January 1163] and did battle for an entire month. In the end, the army of Islam was victorious, killing many and taking much plunder.[6]

Also in Safar of that year sectarian violence broke out among the cadis of Isfahan. The fighting lasted seven days, and people were killed and houses were destroyed on both sides. The Heretics besieged Qazwin.

Now that the history of rulers contemporary with Genghis Khan from the Qaqai Yil that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da 549 [January 1155] to the next Qaqai Yil, which began in Rabi' II 562 [February 1167], a period of thirteen years, and the unusual events that happened during this period have been written, we will next begin the history of Genghis Khan after this thirteen-year period and proceed according to the same principle. ~

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[1]The Salghurid Dägälä ruled in Fars from 1175 to 1194.

[2]According to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 11:248, the inundation took place on 8 Rabi' II 554 (April 29, 1159), not 553. See account in next note.

[3]Ibn al-Athir's account is as follows (*Kamil* 11:248): "In this year [554], on the eighth of Rabi' II [April 29, 1159], the Tigris began to flood, and al-Qawraj upstream from Baghdad was inundated. Then the crest approached Baghdad, and the fields and the city trench were filled. The water damaged the walls and breached them on Saturday the nineteenth of the month [May 10]. Some of the walls collapsed and dammed the water. Then the water created another breach, but it was neglected in hopes that it would recede without the walls collapsing; however, the water was overwhelming, and it was impossible to stop it. Qarah Zafar, al-Ajama, al-Mukhtara, al-Muqtadiyya, Darb al-Qabbar, Kharabat Ibn Jurada, al-Rayyan, Qarah al-Qadi, some of al-Qati'a, some of Bab al-Azaj, some of al-Ma'muniyya, Qarah Abi al-Shahm, some of Qarah Ibn Zarin, and some of al-Zafariyya were inundated.

The water seeped underground into some buildings, and they collapsed. As people began to cross over to the western side, the price for crossing escalated to many dinars, which was more than most people could pay. Then the waters began to subside, bringing down the walls. The water that was inside the walls remained, seeping into the quarters that had not been flooded. Much destruction was wrought, and quarters could not be recognized except by mounds of rubble. People had to estimate the boundaries of their property.

On the western side, the cemetery of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and other cemeteries were inundated, the mausolea sank, and dead bodies rose to the surface of the water. It also happened in al-Mashhad and al-Harbiyya. It was a dreadful thing."

[4]Dwin was the old capital of Armenia. Its ruins are located about twenty kilometers south-southeast of modern Erevan.

[5]Emending the text's سكاز to سكان (Sökmän).

[6]Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:286f.

The history of Genghis Khan after the age of thirteen, when he was orphaned of his father, from the beginning of Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that began in Rabi' I 563 [December 1167], until Bars Yil, the Year of the Tiger that began in Safar 590 [January–February 1194], a period of twenty-seven years. In the last year Genghis Khan was forty years old.

Since his condition during this period is not known year by year, it will be written generally. During this time he fought battles with the Tayichi'ut clans, and several times they took him captive and held him in chains. However, with God's help, he escaped in destitution. Finally, after these twenty-eight years, God gave him strength and assistance, and things picked up for him. When Genghis Khan lost his father in childhood, the Tayichi'ut clans, the leaders of which were relatives and envious, revealed the old hatred they had kept hidden during his father's lifetime. **[241]** Tarqutai Qiriltuq, Adal Khan's son and Qabul Khan's grandson, and his cousin Quril Bahadur, both of whom were kings and rulers of Tayichi'ut clans, began to disobey and act arrogantly out of the envy they had harbored during Yesügäi Bahadur's time. Because the Tayichi'ut were the greatest of the branches, gradually it came about that the other relatives and soldiers who followed Yesügäi Bahadur turned away from his sons and joined the Tayichi'ut so that they became mighty and strong. Some of them became known as the *hoi-yin irgän*, or people of the forest, because their *yurt* was in the forest.

At that time Yesügäi Bahadur's and his sons' *yurt* was in the Onon and Kerulen vicinity. When most of Yesügäi Bahadur's followers decamped and joined the Tayichi'ut, Tödö'än Qamurchi, the *aqa* of all, also began to decamp. Genghis Khan, who was then called Tämüjin, went to him himself and humbly asked him not to go. Refusing to listen and quoting a proverb in Mongolian that means "I have made my decision to go, I am no longer free to act, and it is impossible to remain," he mounted and rode away. Genghis Khan's mother, Ö'älün Ekä, got herself to horse, raised her *tugh* [banner], had her soldiers mount, and went in pursuit of those who had fled in order to turn them back. When they clashed, ranks were drawn and they did battle. In the end she managed to make some of her clans and *ulus* return. During the battle Charaqa Äbügän, who was an old man and one of the great amirs, was hit in the back by an arrow. When he returned from the battle Genghis Khan went to inquire after him. Charaqa said, "After your late father's death the clans and soldiers turned away from you in rebellion. I wanted to prevent them from doing it, but heavenly fate was lying in ambush for me and wounded me without warning." When Genghis Khan perceived that his wound was serious and he wouldn't recover, he wept. No sooner had he come away than Charaqa died. (The amirs El Temür, Bürküt, and Atilkür in Hülägü Khan's and Abaqa Khan's time were descended from him.) **[242]**

The beginning of Jamuqa Sächän's rebellion; he joins the Tayichi'ut; the Tayichi'ut, the Ikiräs, and others plan to attack; [Genghis Khan] learns of their plan and organizes thirteen gürä'äns of soldiers and defeats his enemy.

Also during that time, Jamuqa Sächän, who was from a branch of the Niru'un and the chief and commander of the Jäjirät clan, had a relative named Nägüchär.[1] He and a

[1]In the *Secret History* §128, this "Nägüchär" is called Taichar, Jamugha Darmala's brother.

few horsemen went to a place called Ölägäi Bulaq in the vicinity of Sa'ari Kähär, Genghis Khan's *yurt*, to steal animals from the house of Jochi Tarmala of the Jalayir tribe because some Jalayirs had killed Dutum Mänen's wife Monolun and her sons and taken Genghis Khan's ancestors prisoner. (From [Jochi Tarmala[1]] are descended many amirs in that area, like Elgäi Noyan.) Getting wind of this, Jochi Tarmala sent his household away and hid himself among the horses and herds. When Nägüchär arrived, Jochi Tarmala shot him with an arrow and killed him. For this reason Jamuqa Sächän laid the foundation of hostility toward Genghis Khan, began to stir up sedition, and joined the Tayichi'ut clans with his own clan and soldiers. Aside from him, other tribes and clans also joined the Tayichi'ut, among them one from the Ikiräs, which is a branch of the Qunqirat, and one from the Qorolas clan, who are Dürlükin Mongols. There were also the Uru'ut clan and the Noyaqin, who are Niru'un. Agreeing to help one another, this group set out to attack Genghis Khan. For a long time they fought with him. Genghis Khan was unable to overcome them, and finally things got so bad that all his followers left him. Once Genghis Khan fell captive to them, and Sorghan Shira of the Suldus tribe rescued him, as has been mentioned.[2]

Over a period of several years all sorts of things happened until once again God came to Genghis Khan's aid and made him strong. Once his tribes were reassembled, the Tayichi'ut and others who had conspired with them finally set out with thirty thousand horsemen to attack Genghis Khan while he was unaware of their treachery and deceit. Fortunately someone from the Ikiräs, **[243]** Näkün by name, who was with the Tayichi'ut, was sympathetic to Genghis Khan because his son Butu was Genghis Khan's attendant. The tribes were in a place called Güräl'ü (which later became one of Genghis Khan's *yurts*). To expose the treachery and deception, Näkün sent Genghis Khan a message with two men from the Barulas clan, Mülqa and Totaq, who had gone there on a mission and were on their way back. Genghis Khan was in Dalan Balji'us. These two came in secret via a road between two hills called [A]la'u'ut [and] Tur'a'ut[3] and warned Genghis Khan of the setting forth of the enemy. Thus forewarned, Genghis Khan immediately arrayed his soldiers and informed the tribes and clans that were friendly to and supportive of him. When they assembled, they were assigned to units of ten thousands, thousands, hundreds, and tens—thirteen *gürä'äns* in all. (A *gürä'än* means a ring, and in olden times when a tribe encamped in a place in a circle with the chief in the middle, they called it a *gürä'än*. It is also used when an enemy approaches and they camp in this fashion so that strangers and enemies cannot get in.) The dispositions of the thirteen *gürä'äns* are as follows:

(1) Genghis Khan's mother, Ö'älün Ekä, and her clans and followers, relatives, *evoghlans* of the *ordu*, servants, and persons who were attached to her.

(2) Genghis Khan and his sons, liege men, and persons like amirs, amirs' sons, and guards who were attached to him.

(3) Boltachar Noyan, a descendant of Qabul Khan's elder brother Säm Qachi'un; [some] of the ___ clan, which is a branch of the Kerayit, along with the Hadargin tribe, the leader of which was Moqur Qauran of the Niru'un (the Büküräi who was in Khurasan was descended from him); and the Qorolas clan of the Dürlükin, whose

[1]See text p. 49 above.

[2]See text p. 133f. above.

[3][A]la'u'ut and Tur'a'ut are the *Secret History* (§129)'s Mounts Ala'u'ud and Turgha'ud.

chief was Cha'urqa.

(4) Sorqada'an's sons, Darangi[1] and his brother Qoridai (they are of the Niru'un and Qiyat clan), along with the Buda'at clan, who are also Niru'un. **[244]**

(5 and 6) Sorqoqtu Yürki's sons, Sacha Beki, and his cousin Taichu, and the Jalayir clans. *(Sorqoqtu* means having a birthmark on the body.) The Yürkin Qiyat are descended from him, and Amir Nurin is of his *urugh*.[2]

(7) Utuchu's sons , Qudu and Ardangi[3] of the Qiyat clans and those who were attached to them.

(8) Mönggädü Qiyan's sons, Chingshut[4] and [his] brothers, who were Genghis Khan's cousins; and the Baya'ut clan of the Dürlükin, whose chief was Önggür.

(9) [Genghis Khan's] uncle Daritai Otchigin; and his cousin Quchar, the son of Näkün Taishi; Dalu, a relative of theirs; the Doqolat clan of the Niru'un; and the Nüküz, Quriqan, Saqayit, and Taijin [?] clans of the Dürlükin.

(10) Genghis Khan's cousin Jochi Khan, son of Qutila Khan, and his followers.

(11) Altan, who was also a son of Qutila Khan.

(12) Daqai Bahadur of the Qinqiyat, who are Niru'un, and the Sügän, also Niru'un.

(13) Kündü China and Ölöchgin China, sons of Charaqa Lingqum. They are called Nüküz, but they are not the original Nüküz because they are Niru'un, as detailed in the section on the Tayichi'ut.

These thirteen *gürä'äns* of soldiers camped in circles according to the arrangement detailed above. In this same fashion the thirteen *gürä'äns* of soldiers on Genghis Khan's side assembled. The Tayichi'ut forces decamped, passed beyond Ala'u'ut [and] Tur'a'ut hills, camped in Dalan Balji'us,[5] and stood facing Genghis Khan. The two sides did battle, and God helped Genghis Khan, who defeated thirty thousand horsemen with his thirteen *gürä'äns*. By the heat of the sun of Genghis Khan's fortune the enemy were swept away like dust motes in the air. **[245]** The Udu'ut and Budu'ut clans, whose chiefs were Udut and Budut, joined and submitted. At that place there was a large forest on the river bank. Genghis Khan camped there and commanded seventy cauldrons set over fire and the seditious enemies who had been captured boiled in them. Frightened by that, the Jä'üriyät submitted and joined, bringing their tents near Genghis Khan's *yurt*.

Once again some of them rebelled, and in that battle the Tayichi'ut tribes, which were extremely numerous, powerful, and mighty, were dispersed, and every one fell away in a different direction.

Ölüg Bahadur and Taghai Dalu submit to Genghis Khan along with the Jä'üriyät clans attached to them, but they break their word and become enemies again.

This came about as follows. They [i.e. the Jä'üriyäts] were near Genghis Khan's *yurt*. One day they mounted together to go hunting and formed a hunting circle on the hill called Uchal Jalaman, which is located in the middle of a vast plain. They completely encircled Genghis Khan's *utu* (meaning the center of the hunting ground) and closed the circle, having a very good hunt. To

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[1] درنکی in the text; vocalization unknown, and the person does not appear elsewhere. Berezin and Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:87) read Дерингги.

[2] JT_K has تورین, but this must be the Amir Nurin (نورین) Aqa who figures prominently in the history of Ghazan Khan and was executed in 1297 (see text p. 928).

[3] اردنکی in the text. Berezin (text 13:153; trs. 13:95) reads differently and translates as дѣти Отоджуху-Дорданги.

[4] Or perhaps Jüngshöi; see note on text p. 198.

[5] This is the Dalan Baljud of the *Secret History* §129. See note to text p. 23 above.

Genghis Khan they said, "Let us sleep together there." They were four [hundred] persons altogether. Since they had neither kettle nor fodder, two hundred went with their tents, and two hundred persons slept there together with Genghis Khan, who ordered them given what kettles and fodder they needed. The next day they hunted, and they were given more than their share of the kill and shown much sympathetic kindness.

As they were parting from each other and setting off for their homes, they were profusely grateful to Genghis Khan, saying, "The Tayichi'ut tribe left us and dispersed, paying no attention to us. Genghis Khan, without prior cause, showed us such favor and goodness. He is a ruler who takes care of his subjects and knows how to command." All along the way they expressed their thanks to Genghis Khan, and they spread the word to all the clans.[1] When they reached their homes one of the chiefs, **[246]** Ölüg Bahadur, took counsel with Maqui Yadana[2] as a consequence of their thanks, saying, "Let us do valiant deeds for Genghis Khan and obey his command." Maqui Yadana did not agree, saying, "What bad have the Tayichi'ut done us? They are also *aqa* and *ini*. How can we turn away from them without cause and go to Genghis Khan?" When he refused to agree, Ölüg Bahadur went to Genghis Khan with Taghai Dalu and the Jä'üriyät tribe, which was attached to them, and said, "We have come like a woman without a husband, a herd without a master, a flock without a shepherd. The sons who are of the chief wife will kill us. We together will wield our swords in friendship to you and kill your enemies."

In reply to Ölüg Bahadur, Genghis Khan said, "I was like a person asleep whose forelock you have pulled and awakened. I was sitting, and you pulled me up by the chin. I will do whatever is possible to earn your trust." And he treated them kindly and ingratiated himself with them.

Some time later, when they had gained influence and power, the Jä'üriyät amirs went back on their word and roamed through the territory until finally a Märkit named Qodun Orchang defeated Taghai Dalu. Then the Jä'üriyät tribe were left powerless and dispersed. After that, the chief of the Jä'üriyät tribe, Jamuqa Sächän, who was known for his intelligence, competence, and judiciousness, but who was also very tricky—and Genghis Khan called him *anda*—however much he kept to the terms of fraternity and outwardly claimed friendship and dedication, inwardly he was inimical and harbored thoughts of opposition and gaining power for himself. During the time of the strength of the Jä'üriyät tribe and after their dispersal, he was always jealous of Genghis Khan and, although outwardly he claimed to be a friend, inwardly he was an enemy. Many times he united with his opponents and enemies, and those stories will come in their proper places.

After a while, the above-mentioned tribes united, saying, "The commanders of the Tayichi'ut harass us and are aggressive toward us for no reason. This prince Tämüjin would give the shirt off his back and the steed on which he rides. The person who can maintain the territory, keep the army, and guard the *ulus* is he." After much thought and consultation they went to Genghis Khan and willingly submitted to rest in the shadow of his fortune. **[247]**

Chila'uqan Bahadur, the son of Sorghan Shira of the Sulduz tribe, and Jäbä of the Besüt come to Genghis Khan before the

[1]Emend JT_K's چار to جار *(jar)* 'herald, announcement.'

[2]MSS vary considerably here. Berezin (13:97) reads as two names and transcribes as Багуй и Бадагана. Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:89) reads the name as Макудай-Яданэ.

Tayichi'ut clans do.

Before the Tayichi'ut clans came, Chila'uqan Bahadur, the son of Sorghan Shira of the Sulduz tribe, and Jäbä of the Besüt (a branch of the Niru'un) came to Genghis Khan. Both were attached to Tödä'ä and of his elite. (This Tödä'ä was the son of the Qada'an Taishi who was chief of a branch of the Tayichi'ut.) They both deserted him and came to Genghis Khan. The reason for Chila'uqan Bahadur's desertion of the Tayichi'ut was that when Genghis Khan was at enmity with the Tayichi'ut, once without warning they found an opportunity to seize Genghis Khan. With good tactics Chila'uqan Bahadur rescued him, as has been mentioned in the section on the Sulduz.[1]

The reason Jäbä left the Tayichi'ut and came was that the Tayichi'ut had grown weak, and Jäbä was wandering alone in the mountains and forests. When he saw that there was no benefit in that, he turned in helplessness to Genghis Khan and submitted. This story has been given in the section on the Besüt, by reading which the details may be learned.[2]

Shirgü'ätü Äbügän of the Ba'arin and his sons Naya'a and Alaq come to Genghis Khan.

When most of the Tayichi'ut clans turned toward Genghis Khan, a great amir of the Ba'arin clan, Shirgü'ätü Äbügän by name—from whom is descended the Bayan who was sent from there to Qubilai Qa'an—picked up his two sons, Naya'a and Alaq, and came. Naya'a was alive through Genghis Khan's time and, after him, during the times of Ögödäi Qa'an and Mängü Qa'an. He lived a hundred twenty years. During Mängü Qa'an's reign he said, "When Genghis Khan was born, I ate of the meat at his banquet." [248] This story has already been given in the section on the Ba'arin.[3] Anyway, Shirgü'ätü Äbügän, who had brought his two sons, captured Huquchu Bahadur of the ___ tribe, and Tarqutai Qiriltuq, the chief of the Tayichi'ut, brought them to a place called ___ and held them there for a time. When he released them and let them go, they took flight. It was during that time that Jochi Cha'urqa, the leader of the Dolangqayit clan, a branch of the Jalayir, submitted to Genghis Khan at a place called Turaqun Singut.

Genghis Khan gives a banquet [attended by] his mother, Ö'älün Ekä, and Ökin Barqaq's sons and family, and Genghis Khan's cousins Sacha Beki and Taichu, the chief of the Yürkin Qiyat, and their mothers; a dispute breaks out among them at the banquet, Genghis Khan overwhelms them, and therefore hostility ensues.

One day Genghis Khan's mother, Ö'älün Ekä, Genghis Khan, and his brothers Jochi Qasar and Otchigin Noyan gathered in the forest with Sacha Beki and Taichu, the chief of the Yürkin of the Qiyat, at the Onon River. Having arranged for mares and *ündürs* of kumiss, they held a banquet.

The *ba'urchis* placed one large wooden bottle of kumiss for Genghis Khan's mother, Ö'älün Ekä, Sacha Beki, and Sacha Beki's "big mother" (meaning his father's wife who was elder to his own mother) Quhurchin Khatun, and they filled a bottle of kumiss to the brim and placed it before Sacha Beki's "little mother" (meaning the youngest of his father's wives), Emü'äi. When Quhurchin Khatun saw that they had filled a second bottle of kumiss and placed it before Emü'äi while she had to share one with the others, she was mortally

[1] See text p. 133.
[2] See text p. 157.
[3] See text p. 149f. (Naya'a ~ Nayaqa).

offended, flew into a fit, and struck Si'üchür Ba'urchi,[1] Genghis Khan's head *ba'urchi*. Si'üchür cried out in a loud voice, saying, "Only because Näkün Taishi and Yesügäi Bahadur are not alive has she struck me so!" [249] Genghis Khan and his mother took this tolerantly and said nothing.

During the banquet, the *kiriyäs*[2] of Genghis Khan, Sacha Beki, and their mothers was being manned by Genghis Khan's brother Belgütäi Bahadur, and he was holding the reins of Genghis Khan's horse. A man of the Qataqin clan, Qataqi by name, stole a tether, and he was a liege man of Büri's, a commander of the Tayichi'ut. Büri was allied with Sacha Beki, so he protected Qataqai. For that reason he and Belgütäi Noyan had words, and things went so far that Büri struck Belgütäi on the shoulder with his sword so that the flesh was cut. Genghis Khan's liege men were creating a ruckus when Belgütäi Noyan said, "This wound is nothing to me. There is no necessity for haste in requiting it, for it is not fitting for them to be on bad terms on account of me." With great insistence he forbade any show of hostility. However, when they saw that they had wounded him and struck Si'üchür Ba'urchi, they clashed and struck each other with branches of trees. Genghis Khan's liege men came out on top, and Quhurchin Khatun and Qorijin Khatun were both seized and held. Therefore Sacha Beki and all the Yürkin clan, who were his followers, parted from Genghis Khan.

Afterwards, in order to make peace, they sent the two ladies back, and emissaries on behalf of both sides had come together to discuss a truce when news arrived that a great amir named Chingsang was coming with an army from the Altan Khan of Cathay to attack Mä'üjin Sä'ültü, one of the commanders of the Tatar, and his clans. Genghis Khan mounted to help him fight the Tatar clans.

Genghis Khan learns that Mä'üjin Sä'ültü of the Tatar and his followers have fled with their women and children in retreat from Chingsang; Genghis Khan mounts to attack and seize them; Chingsang honors Genghis Khan.

Genghis Khan was informed that because the Tatar tribe did not obey the Altan Khan's orders [250] and also because they did not have the strength to offer resistance, they had been forced to take their women, children, flocks, and herds and decamp, and they were headed his way. The Tatar were strong and well supplied, and from ancient times on, Genghis Khan's forefathers and uncles had done battle with them, as will mentioned in the proper places.

When Genghis Khan saw such an opportunity, he immediately assembled the soldiers who were nearby and set out from the Onon to attack them, sending a message for the Yürkin clan to mount also, but after waiting for six days they did not show up. Genghis Khan then set out with the few soldiers who constituted his *gürä'än*. He blocked Mä'üjin Sä'ültü's way at a placed called Ulja[r], attacked his troops, seized him, and killed him. He also took all their flocks and herds and possessions.

It was during that raid that they found a silver cradle and gold-brocaded quilt, and because at that time such luxury items were rare among the Mongols, they were considered grand and gained renown.

Since this suited the Altan Khan and his amirs, Chingsang was pleased and praised Genghis Khan highly, giving him the title of

[1] In the *Secret History* (§130) his name is Shiki'ür.

[2] The word occurs in the *Secret History* (p. 61, note 5): "This word *[kirü'ese]* is glossed: '[place where] one lights off a horse.' " See also Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:464–66 §330.

ja'ut quri[1]—which means magnificent commander in Cathaian—before returning to the Altan Khan. It was also at that time that Chingsang gave the title of Ong Khan, which means ruler of a kingdom, to Toghril, the ruler of the Kerayit.

Genghis Khan decides to award a portion of the spoils taken from the Tatar to the Yürkin clan, who deserted him during the battle with the Tatar; some of them rebel nonetheless, and he attacks them and kills most of them.

When Genghis Khan defeated the Tatar and his soldiers and followers were enriched, he wanted to placate the Yürkin clan and give them something of what had been plundered. **[251]** He decided to go to them, but along the way some of the Yürkin clan united with a group of rebels, killed two of Genghis Khan's soldiers, took the horses from fifty men, and stripped them of their clothing.

When this was reported to Genghis Khan, he said, "They struck my brother Belgütäi Noyan on the shoulder with their sword, and when I say, 'Let us make peace,' they don't. Now they have united with rebels, and I am forced to deal with them."

He mounted in anger and went to attack them through the desert, striking at Dolo'an Boldaq and killing and plundering many of them. Sacha Beki and Taichi both took flight with their wives, children, and a few others and escaped.

Ong Khan's brother Jagambu deserts Ong Khan, and around him gathers a clan of the Kerayit called the Tongqayit; Genghis Khan does battle with that clan and subdues them.

After dealing with the Yürkin, Genghis Khan mounted, determined to do battle with Jagambu, the brother of Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit, Jagambu having deserted his brother, and Genghis Khan struck and defeated him. The Tongqayit clan was a branch of the Kerayit that were always servants and soldiers of the Kerayit ruler. (The Amir Ayachi Totqavul who was in this land and his sons are of this "bone," as are many other amirs, as has been mentioned in the section on the Kerayit.) The Tongqayit were dispersed for a while, but then they all came to Genghis Khan. Since Genghis Khan was on friendly terms with Ong Khan, he sent Jagambu and the Tongqayit clan back to him. After that, Jagambu was united with Ong Khan for a while, until once again they rebelled and went over to Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman, as will be explained.

Now that the history of Genghis Khan during these twenty-seven years **[252]** has been given in summary, we will commence the history of the rulers of Cathay, Qarakhitai, Chin and Machin, and the caliphs, sultans, and maliks of Iran who were contemporary with Genghis Khan during this period. The details having been given, we shall return to the history of Genghis Khan, God willing. ~

[1] Although it is clear that it meant something like Ward of the Marches, no satisfactory explanation of this title has been given. For a review of possibilities, see Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:282 §152.

History of the rulers of Cathay, Qarakhitai, Chin, and Turkistan, and the caliphs, sultans, and kings of Iran who were Genghis Khan's contemporaries from the beginning of Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that began in Rabi' I 563 [December 1167], until the end of Bars Yil, the Year of Tiger that began in Safar 590 [January 1194], a period of twenty-seven years, in the last year of which Genghis Khan was forty years old; and the unusual events that happened during the period.

The history of the rulers of Cathay, Qarakhitai, and the Jurchids who were in this period.

Liang Taizu[1] [ruled a total of] twelve years, of which eight were before, and four were during, this period.

Shizun [Shih Tsung] [ruled for] twenty-nine years.[2]

The history of the rulers of Machin who were in this period.

[none given]

The history of the rulers of Turkistan and Transoxiana who were in this period.

The same Gür Khan who was mentioned before was in Turkistan.

The history of the caliphs, sultans, kings, and atabegs of Iran, Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, &c. who were in this period.

History of the caliphs in Baghdad.

During the first part of the above-mentioned period, the caliph was al-Mustanjid-bi'llah. He died in the year 566 [1170],[3] and Mustadi' succeeded to the caliphate. He died in the year 575 [1180], **[253]** and al-Nasir-li-dini'llah succeeded.[4]

In Egypt, Adid was the caliph of the Ismailis. He died on *ashura*, the 10th of Muharram, in the year 565 [October 4, 1169], and Salahuddin Yusuf, the nephew of Asaduddin Sherkoh, had become ruler in Egypt in his uncle's place, as will be explained. On the first Friday after Adid's death, the *khutba* was read in the name of the caliph of the House of Abbas in Baghdad, and the caliphate of the Ismailis in Egypt came to an end. The total of those caliphs in North Africa and Egypt was fourteen individuals, and the length of their caliphate was two hundred seventy-two years.[5]

History of the sultans.

In Khwarazm, El Arslan, the son of Atsiz, occupied the sultan's throne. He died on the 19th of Rajab 567 [March 17, 1172] after having ruled for nearly seventeen years. His youngest son, Sultanshah, the designated heir, succeeded him with his mother, Malika Tärkän, as regent. The elder brother, Täkish, was in Jand. An envoy was sent summoning him, but he refused to go. Then they sent an army to attack him. Täkish found out about it and went to the Gür Khan of the Qarakhitai, whom he promised the wealth and treasures of Khwarazm and agreed to sent a stipulated amount as annual tribute. The

[1] Hai-ling Wang (海陵王) of the Chin, r. 1149–61 (1159–1171 by Rashiduddin's calculation). For "Liang Taizu" see note to text p. 235 above.

[2] Shih Tsung (世宗) of the Chin, r. 1161–90 (1171–1200 by Rashiduddin's calculation).

[3] Correcting date from 536 to 566. According to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 11:360) al-Mustanjid died on 9 Rabi' II 566 (December 20, 1170).

[4] al-Mustadi' died on 2 Dhu'l-Qa'da 575 (March 30, 1180) according to Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:459.

[5] He dates Fatimid rule from 293/905 (the usual date is 297/909) to 565/1169 (the usual date is 567/1171), giving 272 lunar years.

Gür Khan dispatched his son-in-law Fu-ma[1] and a huge army to go with Täkish. When they arrived near Khwarazm, Sultanshah and his mother took refuge with Malik Mu'ayyad, the ruler of Khurasan.

Täkish mounted the throne in Khwarazm on Monday the 22nd of Rabi' II 568 [December 11, 1172] and sent Fu-ma back with all honors in discharging his indebtedness.

Sultanshah's mother sent Malik Mu'ayyad gifts of precious jewels and treasures and offered him the kingdom of Khwarazm. Desirous of it, he assembled an army and set out for Khwarazm to help Sultanshah and his mother. When they reached the town of Su[ba]rnay,[2] which is under water at this time, Täkish had already camped there. Their troops poured out of the desert in droves and were able to get there. Malik Mu'ayyad [Ay]-Aba was in the vanguard. Täkish attacked that troop, killing most of them, and Malik Mu'ayyad [Ay]-Aba was brought before him as a captive. He ordered him cut in half at the gate to the court on Arafa day of ___.[3] **[254]** Sultanshah and his mother fled to Dihistan. Täkish went out in pursuit, seized that area, killed Malika Tärkän, and returned. In his flight Sultanshah went to Shadyakh to Toghanshah, Malik Mu'ayyad's son who had taken his father's place, and there he remained for a time. He then joined the sultans of Ghor, who showed him great honor.

Sultan Täkish consolidated his position in Khwarazm, but he ordered killed one of the Gür Khan's representatives who constantly came and, not satisfied with the agreed-upon tribute, made exorbitant demands and did not observe the niceties of etiquette. Therefore enmity broke out between him and the Gür Khan. Recognizing this as his golden opportunity, Sultanshah set out against the Gür Khan, amply provisioned by Ghiyasuddin of Ghor. When he reached the Gür Khan, he sent Fu-ma back out with a troop. Sultan Täkish [opened the dykes and] flooded the Oxus in their way and got busy readying himself for battle in the city. When Fu-ma saw that the people of Khwarazm were not inclined to Sultanshah, he pulled back. Sultanshah took a troop from him and without warning attacked Malik Dinar, an Oghuz amir, in Sarakhs. Malik Dinar threw himself in the moat, but they pulled him back into the fortress by his hair. Sultanshah went to Merv and took up residence there, sending the Qarakhitai commanders back. He kept attacking Sarakhs until most of the Oghuz were dispersed. Malik Dinar remained immovable in the citadel. He sent an envoy to Toghanshah, the chief of the Oghuz, and requested Bistam in place of Sarakhs. Toghanshah sent Amir Umar Firozkohi for Malik Dinar to turn the Sarakhs fortress over to before he went to Bistam. When Sultan Täkish reached Jajarm on his way to Persia, Malik Dinar joined Toghanshah, who sent Qara Qush, one of his father's slaves, to Sarakhs and recalled Amir Umar. Sultanshah attacked Sarakhs with three thousand cavalry, and Toghanshah also set out from Nishapur with ten thousand horsemen, headed for there. Battle was fought in Dhu'l-Hijja 576 [April 1181], and Sultanshah won, taking innumerable articles of booty. He then seized power over Sarakhs, Tus, and that part of Khurasan and constantly attacked Toghanshah until Toghanshah's troops were exhausted and his commanders joined Sultanshah. He was too weak to do anything but take refuge with Sultan Täkish and the sultan of Ghor

[1]Reading فوما (駙馬 Fu-ma, the Chinese title for imperial son-in-law) for the text's قرما.

[2]According to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 11:377), the place was called سوبرنى (Subarnay), a hamlet twenty leagues from Khwarazm.

[3]The date 556 is spelled out in Arabic in the text, but it is obviously wrong. Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 11:377) places this under the rubric of the year 568.

and ask for help. Once he went himself with a troop of a thousand, but it profited him little. He continued with such lack of success **[255]** until he died on Sunday night the 12th of Muharram 581 [April 15, 1185].[1] His son Sanjarshah was enthroned, and his tutor Mängli Beg gained power. He began exactions and extortions, and on account of his cruelty most of Toghanshah's officers joined Sultanshah.

In fear of Sultanshah, Malik Dinar went to Kirman, and the Oghuz Turks who had been lurking everywhere joined him. At the beginning of 582 [March 1186] Sultan Täkish went from Khwarazm to Khurasan. Sultanshah went to Khwarazm, but they did not allow him in, and Täkish camped at the gates of Merv. Sultanshah retreated. Then he came from Amuya with fifty warriors, attacked Täkish's camp by night, and went into the city. Täkish retreated, and in Rabi' I 582 [May–June 1186] he camped outside the city of Shadyakh and besieged Sanjarshah and Mängli Beg for two months before retiring under a truce. The great chamberlain Shihabuddin, Sayfuddin Mardansher the majordomo, and Baha'uddin Muhammad Baghdadi the secretary were sent to conclude the treaty and arrange terms of tribute with Mängli. With the sultan's retinue no longer around, Mängli Beg seized them and sent them to Sultanshah, where they remained in prison until an agreement was reached between the brothers. Sultanshah went to Shadyakh a second time and laid siege, but since the citizens overcame him, he set out for Sabzavar and installed a catapult. The people of Sabzavar cursed him, and in revenge he made every endeavor to take the city. In fear, the people of the city took refuge with Shaykh Ahmad Badili, a saint greatly respected by Sultanshah. Through his intercession their offenses were forgiven, and he went inside Sabzavar as promised and dwelt there for a time before going to Merv.

On Friday the 14th of Muharram 583 [March 26, 1187], Sultan Täkish camped on the outskirts of Shadyakh and set up catapults. Mängli Beg grew fearful and had the sayyids and imams intercede. The sultan gave him amnesty and swore an oath to that effect. Mängli Beg went out, and the sultan entered the city on Tuesday the 7th of Rabi' I [May 17, 1187] to "spread the carpet of justice." He put a warden in charge of Mängli Beg until he gave back everything he had taken illegally. In expiation for the blood of Qazi Burhanuddin and in accordance with a writ issued by the imams, he was ordered executed.

Nishapur was turned over to the Khwarazmshah, and his eldest son, Nasiruddin Malikshah, was stationed there as his representative. **[256]** In Rajab of that year [September 1187], he returned to Khwarazm. Sultanshah went back to the gates of Nishapur and laid siege. Both sides fought hard, and most of the walls were destroyed. Malikshah constantly sent messengers to his father to inform him of the situation. Sultan Täkish came with a large army and ordered an underling from Nasa to inform Sultanshah of the sultan's arrival. He burned the catapults and retreated. Sultan Täkish went to Nishapur and rebuilt what had been destroyed. That winter he was in Mazanderan, and all the officers of Khurasan joined him to be received warmly and be given rewards. In the spring a truce was made between him and his brother Sultanshah in the meadows of Radkan. The sultan gave the area of Jam, Bakharz, and Zer-i-Pul to Sultanshah, and he honored the ministers who had captured and sent Mängli Beg and then withdrew.

On Tuesday the 18th of Jumada I 585 [July 4, 1189], Sultan Täkish mounted the

[1] According to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 11:379), Toghanshah died in Muharram 582 (March–April 1186).

throne in Radkan, and his name was broadcast in all directions, and all were singled out for rewards and gifts. That fall he returned to Khwarazm.

The sultans of Ghor had fallen out with Sultanshah, who had done battle with his brother Täkish several other times. They did battle again in Marv Rud, and Sultanshah was defeated. On both sides the wisdom of a truce was acknowledged, and on the surface a cease-fire was arranged, although because Sultanshah dominated his brother and had taken several actions that would justify breaking a pact, the sultan moved against him from Khwarazm in 586 [1190] and took by force and destroyed the fortress of Sarakhs, which was in the hands of Sultanshah's men. That summer he went to Radkan, where once again the grandees arranged a truce between the brothers and outwardly an agreement was concluded.

In 588 [1192], ___[1] Khatun, the mother of Qutlugh Inanch, the son of the Atabeg Jahan-Pahlavan Muhammad b. Eldigüz, was going to poison Sultan Toghril b. Arslan Shah b. Toghril b. Muhammad b. Malikshah the Seljuqid, but a servant girl warned him. "You drink it,"[2] the sultan said. She drank it and died. The sultan imprisoned Qutlugh Inanch. After he was released he sent envoys to Täkish, offering to turn over the realm of Persia to him and requesting assistance so that they could attack Sultan Toghril. The sultan set out at once for Persia. **[257]** Qutlugh Inanch regretted what he had done and holed up in a fortress. The sultan arrived and took the fortress of Tabarak in one or two days, and his soldiers got plenty of booty. That summer he was in the vicinity of Ray, but the air was so putrid that many of his soldiers died. When Sultan Toghril learned of the quarrel between Sultan Täkish and Inanch, he sent presents and gifts, and the hostile air between them was cleared. Sultan Täkish stationed Amir Tamghach, one of his Turkish offices, with a troop in Ray and withdrew. Along the way heralds arrived to say that Sultanshah had laid siege to Khwarazm. In all haste he set out for Khwarazm, and when he reached Dihistan, heralds arrived to say that Sultanshah had pulled back. The sultan went to Khwarazm and spent that winter frolicking. In the spring he set out for Khurasan to attack his brother. When he reached Abivard, the grandees requested that a truce be made between them, but it could not be arranged. Just then the castellan of the Sarakhs fortress, Chaghr[i] by name, threw the keepers of the fortress into chains and dispatched a messenger to Abivard to summon the sultan. The sultan went hastily, and the castellan turned over the treasury and stores. In grief Sultanshah died two days later on Tuesday night the last of Ramadan 589 [September 29, 1193].[3] The sultan gained control of Sultanshah's realms and treasuries, and at his son Qutbuddin Muhammad's request he sent a messenger to Khwarazm. He gave him Nishapur, and to his younger son, Nasiruddin Malikshah, who had formerly been the governor of Nishapur, he gave Merv. Both sons became puissant in their respective realms.

During those days news arrived that Sultan Toghril had broken his pact. Tamghach had been harassed by him, and he had taken back the fortress at Tabarak. The sultan set out to take revenge, and at the beginning of 590 [December 1193], he headed for Persia. Qutlugh Inanch and the commanders of Persia came out as far as Simnan to greet him, and the sultan sent him back in the vanguard of the Persia

[1]Name unclear: JT_K has ـبـ; Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2: 100) reads Кубтуба.

[2]Reading *bikhwar* for the text's *makhwar*.

[3]Date confirmed by Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:384.

army. Toghril, who had made a large camp three leagues from Ray, raised his banners in opposition, and when Inanch approached he mounted, took hold of a heavy mace with which he had performed valiant deeds, and drove his army before him like a madman, reciting these lines from the *Shahnama:*

When, from that massive army, the warrior arose, the faces of our renowned fighters turned pale. **[258]** */ I picked up my mace and stationed the army right there. / I gave such a yell from the saddle that the earth ground them down like a gristmill.*

Like a lion-man, he felled several riders with his ox-headed mace, but he was so intoxicated that the mace hit his horse's knee and he was thrown. Just then Qutlugh Inanch came upon him and, not recognizing him, was about to deliver a blow. In order to make himself known, the sultan raised the flap of his helmet, and Inanch said, "You are what I was looking for!" With one blow he killed him and then he loaded his body on a camel and took it to Sultan Täkish.

Täkish prostrated himself in thanks and sent to Baghdad the head of this man who had vied with the Caliph Nasir for the caliphate. On Thursday the 29th of Rabi' I 590 [March 24, 1194] his body was raised on a gibbet in the marketplace. One of Sultan Toghril's companions was taken before Nizamulmulk Mas'ud the vizier, who said to him, "All this commotion about little Toghril amounted to nothing more than the fact that he didn't have the power to stand against the Padishah of Islam's vanguard."

The companion immediately replied, " 'The plain was more powerful than Bezhan. Craft becomes a defect when the sun turns its back.' "

Sultan Täkish set out from Ray for Baghdad, taking most of the fortresses of Persia. The Caliph Nasir expected that the sultan would turn over some of Persia to the caliphal administration. When the sultan did not respond, the caliph sent his vizier, Mu'ayyiduddin Ibn al-Qassab, to the sultan with a patent of investiture, robes of honor, and other diplomatic gestures.

When he reached Asadabad, more than ten thousand Kurds and Arabs gathered around him. Stupidly he sent a message to the sultan, saying, "Your patent of investiture has been issued by the caliphal chancery, and the minister of the realm has come this far to discharge deliverance of same. It would be an appropriate show of gratitude for you to come with a few men and much humility and walk on foot holding the minister's reins." The sultan, imagining that these words concealed treachery and a plot, sent his soldiers out to meet the vizier and attack him and his men. The vizier fled, and the honor of the caliphate was lost. The soldiers pursued them as far as Dinawar.

The sultan went to Hamadan and sent out tax collectors to gather the taxes of Persia. He gave Isfahan to Qutlugh Inanch and made him commander-in-chief of Persia. **[259]** Giving Ray to his son Yunus Khan, and setting Mayanchuq over the army as his atabeg, he returned triumphantly to Khurasan. Along the way he heard that his son Malikshah was ill due to the putrid air in Merv. He summoned him, but by the time he reached Tus he had regained his health, so his father gave him the emirate of Nishapur again. He assigned to Sultan Muhammad estates in Khurasan and made him a member of his retinue.

In Persia were Sultan Arslan b. Toghril b. Muhammad b. Malikshah the Seljuqid and the Atabeg Eldigüz. When Sultan Arslan died, his son Sultan Toghril mounted the throne with Eldigüz's son Jahan-Pahlavan as his atabeg. When Jahan-Pahlavan died Qizil Arslan wanted to become atabeg, but it was not possible. The end of the sultan has

already been given in the preceding section on Sultan Täkish the Khwarazmshah.

In Anatolia, Sultan Izzuddin Qilich Arslan b. Mas'ud b. Qilich Arslan had taken over the rule of Konya, Sivas, and Aq[sa]ra. Hostilities broke out between him and Zu'n-Nun b. Danishmand, the lord of Malatya, and Qilich Arslan took over his territory. Zu'n-Nun fled to Atabeg Nuruddin of Aleppo, who led his army out and took Sivas, the fortress at Mar'ash, and many of his possessions. Qilich sent envoys to intervene, but Nuruddin would not listen. Without warning news arrived that the Franks had rebelled. Nuruddin accepted a truce and stationed a troop with Zu'n-Nun, and Sivas remained under his control until his death. After that, Qilich Arslan took it back.

In Kirman the ruler was Toghrilshah b. Muhammad Abi'l-Fawaris. He died at the beginning of 563 [October 1167], leaving four sons, Arslanshah, Tärkänshah, Turanshah, and Bahramshah. Due to the entrance of the Oghuz into the area and their meddling in the affairs of Kirman, Bahramshah grew fearful and went out to kill, rape, and pillage until Malik Dinar, the Oghuz commander who was the son-in-law of Toghanshah b. Mu'ayyad [Ay]-Aba the governor of Nishapur, came to Kirman. In Rajab of 583 [September 1187] the city of Bardasir, the seat of Kirman, was turned over to him, and he put the affairs of the region in order. **[260]**

In Ghor and Ghazna were Sultan Ghiyasuddin and Sultan Shihabuddin. In 590 [1194] battle was fought between Sultan Shihabuddin of Ghor and the ruler of India. The Indians were defeated, and their ruler was killed. It is related that the ruler had seven hundred war elephants and a million men.

History of the maliks and atabegs.

In Mazanderan was Shah Ala'uddin Hasan b. Rustam b. Ali b. Shahryar.

In Persia and Azerbaijan was Atabeg Eldigüz. In 563 [1167–68] Aq Sonqur, the lord of Maragha, made a request of Baghdad that the *khutba* be in the name of his ward, the son of Sultan Muhammadshah b. Mahmud the Seljuqid. This news reached Atabeg Eldigüz in Hamadan, whose wife's son, Arslan Toghril b. Muhammad b. Malikshah, was supreme throughout his realm. Eldigüz was offended by this and sent his son Jahan-Pahlavan Muhammad with an army to do battle with Aq Sonqur. Aq Sonqur went in defeat to the fortress of Royindiz on the frontier of Maragha. Jahan-Pahlavan laid siege, but in the end a truce was arranged and Jahan-Pahlavan returned to his father in Hamadan. This took place in 563 [1167–68].

In 567 [1171–72] Atabeg Eldigüz died in Hamadan, and his son Jahan-Pahlavan Muhammad became atabeg with such power and might that when Sultan Toghril b. Arslan became sultan, he was ruler in name only in the *khutba* and coinage while the absolute ruler was Atabeg Jahan-Pahlavan.

When Aq Sonqur died in Maragha, his son Falakuddin took his place. Because they had taken control of Tabriz, he led his army against Jahan-Pahlavan, but he laid siege to Falakuddin in Royindiz and sent his brother Qizil Arslan to lay siege to Tabriz. The army of Maragha captured two of his men and took them into the city. Qazi Sadruddin had them clad in robes of honor and sent to Jahan-Pahlavan. He was delighted and made a truce at the cadi's suggestion, under the terms of which they were given Tabriz, and Maragha was given to Falakuddin. **[261]**

Jahan-Pahlavan stationed Qizil Arslan in

Tabriz and withdrew to Persia. When Jahan-Pahlavan died Qizil Arslan went to Persia, hoping to become absolute atabeg like his brother, but Sultan Toghril had grown up and become independent and paid him little attention. Battle was fought, Qizil Arslan was defeated, and most of his men went over to the sultan. Qizil Arslan was in dire straits for a while, but later he regained power, assembled an army, seized the sultan, and threw him into chains. He had drums sounded at his gate five times a day and claimed the sultanate.

One night in Sha'ban 587 [August–September 1191] while he was asleep in his house, someone killed him. It was never known who did it. People have attributed it to the fact that not long before, out of religious fanaticism, he had had a large number of proponents of the great Shafiite imam al-Muttalibi hanged in the marketplace in Isfahan.

In Mosul and Diyarbekir was Atabeg Qutbuddin Mawdud b. Zangi b. Aq Sonqur, the governor of Diyarbekir and brother of Atabeg Nuruddin Mahmud of Syria. He died in 565 [1169–70], and his youngest son, Sayfuddin Ghazi, took his place. In 571 [1175–76] battle was fought between him and Salahuddin the ruler of Egypt, and Sayfuddin fled. He died in Safar 576 [July 1180], and his brother Izzuddin Mas'ud took his place. He died at the end of Sha'ban 589 [August 31, 1193].

Mujiruddin Qara-Arslan b. Daud b. Saqman b. Artuq was the lord of Hisn Keyfa and most of Diyarbekir. When he died his son Nuruddin Muhammad took his place. He died in 581 [1185–86], and his son Qutbuddin Saqman was installed in his stead.

In Anatolia was Atabeg Nuruddin. He inaugurated a courier pigeon service in Syria along the Baghdad road in 567 [1171–72], and it is still functioning.[1] In Shawwal 568 [May 1173], when Salahuddin of Egypt did not come to fight the Franks, he set out for Egypt, but he fell ill and died on the 11th of the month [May 26, 1173]. **[262]** His eleven-year-old son Isma'il was installed in his place and named Malik Salih. When he died his cousin Sayfuddin Qazi, the son of Qutbuddin Mawdud the lord of Mosul, seized the realms he had possessed.

In Egypt was Asaduddin Sherkoh, the son of Shadi b. Marwan the Kurd, who was first a tax gatherer in Tikrit and then became lord and ruler. When Adid, the caliph of the Ismailis, had grown weak, his vizier, Shawar, had sought to gain dominance over him, but Adid sent to Atabeg Nuruddin of Syria requesting assistance to deal with his vizier. Nuruddin sent Sherkoh with two thousand men. Frightened, the vizier took took over the kingdom and asked the Franks for help. Sherkoh crossed the Nile and camped in the west. Battle was fought, and the combined armies of Egypt and the Franks were routed and took refuge on the shore. Sherkoh seized Alexandria and stationed his nephew Salahuddin Yusuf there while he went and took Upper Egypt. The Franks gained control of Egypt and Cairo. Kamil Shuja', son of the vizier Shawar, sent a message to Atabeg Nuruddin, inviting him to an *entente cordiale*, undertaking to send a yearly tribute to him. Nuruddin agreed to this, and in 564 [1168] Sherkoh took Egypt and killed the vizier Shawar. Sherkoh ruled for two months and five days, and on the 22nd of Jumada II [March 23, 1169] the above-mentioned ruler died and Salahuddin Yusuf became ruler of Egypt in his uncle's place. He sent his younger brother Shamsuddin Turanshah to Nubia, which he took with much plunder, and then he sent him to take the Yemen.

[1] Agrees with Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:375.

On the second Friday in Muharram 565 [October 4, 1169], when Adid died, the *khutba* was read in the name of the caliphs of Baghdad. Also during that year a quarrel erupted between [Salahuddin] and Nuruddin over the kingship of Egypt. Battle was fought between Salahuddin and Sayfuddin Ghazi, the lord of Mosul and parts of Diyarbekir, in 571 [1175–76]. Sayfuddin took flight, and Salahuddin seized the territories that had been held by Malik Salih, the son of Nuruddin, like Manbij[1] and that area. He laid siege to the fortress at Aleppo, where Malik Salih was, but since it was not possible to take it by force he withdrew under a truce.

In 581 [1185–86] he took Mayyafariqin and attacked Mosul. Conquest was impossible, and thereafter until the end of his life he performed great deeds. He took many territories from the Franks and of Diyarbekir and other areas. Each of his sons, brothers, and relatives **[263]** became a ruler in a region of the realm on his behalf.

In 589 [1193] he died in Damascus, having made his youngest son, Nuruddin Ali, his successor. He was installed in his father's place in Damascus and ruled as Malik Afdal, although some of his relatives who governed parts of Syria did not recognize him and followed another brother, Usman, whom they called Malik Aziz. He had been in Egypt and sought autonomy. In 590 [1194] he laid siege to Damascus. Malik Afdal sought help from his uncle Malik Adil, who, along with Malik Zahir Ghazi the lord of Aleppo, Nasiruddin Muhammad the son of Taqiuddin the lord of Hama, Asaduddin Sherkoh the grandson of the elder Sherkoh and lord of Hisn [Keyfa], set out from Mosul and Diyarbekir with a huge army to assist Malik Afdal. When Malik Aziz saw how strong Malik Afdal was, he agreed to a truce on terms that Jerusalem and the dependencies of Palestine would be annexed to Egypt and belong to Malik Aziz, while Damascus, Tiberias, and the dependencies of the Jordan Valley would be Afdal's. Jabla, Latakiya, and the shore would be Malik Zahir's, and the fiefs that Malik Adil had originally possessed in Egypt would remain as they were. Then each of the rulers returned to his own territory.

In North Africa was Yusuf b. Abdul-Mu'min. He took the territory of Qafsa,[2] one of the dependencies of Ifriqiya [North Africa].

In Fars was Atabeg Tägäla, but he died in the year ___,[3] and Atabeg Muzaffar b. Sa'd b. Zangi took his place. He was a very courageous and brave man.

The unusual events that occurred during this period.

In the year 565 [1170] an enormous earthquake occurred in Syria, Diyarbekir, and the lands of the Franks. It was so severe that most of the cities in those regions were destroyed.[4]

Now that the events of this period have been given, we will return to the history of Genghis Khan. ~

[1]Reading منبج (Manbij, Membij) for the text's منيج.

[2]JT_K has تقصه; read قفصه for Qafsa (see Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 142), the modern Gafsa in Tunisia.

[3]The Salghurid Tägälä (or Dägälä) ruled from 1175 to 1194. His death date is lacking in the text.

[4]Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 11:354: "In this year a terrifying and sustained major earthquake also occurred on 12 Shawwal 565 (June 29, 1170). No one had ever seen anything like it. It occurred generally throughout most of Syria, Upper Mesopotamia, Mosul, Iraq, and other places, but the worst was in Syria. It wrought devastation in most of Damascus, Baalbek, Homs, Hama, Shayzar, Baarin, Aleppo, and other places. Walls and fortresses were destroyed, houses collapsed upon their inhabitants, and untold numbers were killed."

The history of Genghis Khan from the beginning of Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that began in Rabi' I 591 [February 1195], until the beginning of Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Jumada II 599 [February 1203], a period of nine years.

In the last year of this period Genghis Khan was forty-nine years old. During this nine-year period he and Ong Khan were friends, and he fought battles with Toqto'a Beki, the ruler of the Märkit; with Buyuruq Khan, the brother of the ruler of the Naiman; with the Tayichi'ut, Qorolas, Ikiräs, Dörbän, and Tatar tribes; and with the Qataqin and Salji'ut clans, all of whom he vanquished. He annihilated the Kerayit ruler Ong Khan and the Naiman ruler Tayang Khan, and the title Genghis Khan was given to him.

The beginning of the friendship between Genghis Khan and Ong Khan.

This came about as follows. Because they were neighbors, there was a long-standing friendship and alliance between Genghis Khan's father, Yesügäi Bahadur, and Ong Khan. During hard times Yesügäi Bahadur helped Ong Khan and rescued him from the brink of disaster. They called each other *anda*. As the proverb says, "Love is inherited," so Genghis Khan continued in the path of affection and called [Ong Khan] "father." Ong Khan was the ruler of the Kerayit and Tonqayit nation and of other tribes who were in the Kerayit [confederation]. They constituted a large people and a numerous army, and their ancient rulers were renowned. They bore a resemblance to the Mongol clans, and their manners and customs, as well as dialect and language, were close to each other's.

Ong Khan was originally called Toghril. In the Turkish and Kerayit language *toghril* is *tongrul*,[1] and it means a bird whose name is well known among the people, although no one has ever seen it, like the phoenix of the west. They report that it is a bird shaped like a hawk, and its beak and claws are as hard as steel. In one attack it can fell and kill two or three hundred birds. **[265]** They say, "We give it credence even though we haven't seen it because hunters and dwellers in the wilderness have often witnessed anywhere from one to three hundred birds of different sorts, their heads severed from their bodies and their wings and legs broken, falling from the sky in one place. Logically the thing that is killing them must be a mighty bird with sharp, powerful talons." They have named it *dongrul*.[2] It is also well known among the Mongols, who have named it ___. This is the meaning of Toghril, which was his original name. Later, as has been explained,[3] the Altan Khan's minister, Chingsang, gave him the title Ong Khan, meaning the ruler of a region.

[Ong Khan's] grandfather's name was Marghuz, and Marghuz had two sons. The elder was called Qu[r]jaquz Buyuruq Khan, and the meaning of *buyuruq* is to command. (The ruler of the Naiman, Tayang Khan, also had a brother called Buyuruq Khan; he will be mentioned later in the history of the Naiman. He has been mentioned here lest the two be confused in the mind.) Marghuz's other son was named Gürkhan. (The ruler of the Qarakhitai in Turkistan and Transoxiana was also called Gür Khan, meaning mighty and magnificent khan.)

Qurjaquz Buyuruq Khan had several sons. One was the Toghril, whose title was Ong Khan; the second was Ärkä Qara; and the third was Jagambu, whose name was

[1]Reading تونكرول *(tongrul)* for the text's فونكبول. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:346f. §1345.

[2]Reading دونكرول *(dongrul)* for the text's دونكردن.

[3]See above, text p. 250.

originally Kira'i. They had several other brothers, but the successor to the father was Toghril. Kira'i had been taken captive as a child by the Tangqut people, and he had remained among them for a time, growing powerful and respected. Since he was intelligent and competent, they named him Jagambu. *Ja* means province, and *gambu* means magnificent commander, [together] meaning mighty commander of provinces. Although he was originally allied with his brother Ong Khan, in the end he deserted him once or twice, as will be mentioned in the proper place.

Ärkä Qara had a yen to lead and rule and vied with Ong Khan. Ong Khan first killed the brothers who were allied with Ärkä Qara and then attacked him, as will be mentioned. When Ong Khan became friendly and allied with Genghis Khan, Jagambu was *anda* to Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan asked for one of Jagambu's daughters, Ibaqa Beki, for himself, but he gave her to Kähätäi Noyan. Another, Begtutmish Füjin, he requested for his eldest son, Jochi, and another, Sorqaghtani Beki, he requested for Tolui Khan. **[266]** [Jagambu] had another daughter who was given to the son of the ruler of the Tangqut. She was extremely beautiful and chaste, and when Genghis Khan took Tangqut and killed the ruler, he looked for her everywhere but could not find her.

Ong Khan had two sons. The elder was Sangun, which means prince in the Cathaian language; and the younger was Abaqu,[1] whose daughter was the Toquz[2] Khatun whom Genghis Khan requested for Tolui Khan. After Tolui Khan['s death] Hülägü Khan took her by inheritance.

The reason Ong Khan and Yesügäi Bahadur were friends and became *anda* to each other is as follows. After the death of his father, Buyuruq Khan, Ong Khan killed several of his own brothers and nephews because of his dispute with Qurjaquz over who was to rule. (Brothers: Tai Temür Taishi;[3] nephews: Buqa Temür.) Because of that, his uncle Gürkhan went to war with him. Ong Khan was defeated and departed, wandering around for a time. Then he took refuge with Yesügäi Bahadur, who helped him, mounting an expedition, attacking Gürkhan, and driving him to Qashin. Taking the kingdom from him, he gave it to Ong Khan. With such a debt of obligation, they became *anda*.

After that, when Ong Khan's younger brother Ärkä Qara saw that Ong Khan had killed his brothers and taken over, he retreated and fled to Naiman territory to Inanch Khan. Inanch Khan was kind to him, and after a while he helped him by sending an army to recapture the Kerayit nation and army from Ong Khan and drive him away. Around that time Yesügäi Bahadur died. Ong Khan passed through three provinces and took refuge with the ruler of Turkistan, the Gür Khan of the Qarakhitai. In that province too, in the cities of the Uyghur and Tangqut there was *bulqaq* [unrest], and he was left wandering and weak. He was finally reduced to a state in which he had only five goats, with whose milk he had to make do, and two or three camels with which he made a meagre living. After spending a time in such a miserable state, he heard of the emergence of the mighty Genghis Khan.

Based on the friendship he had enjoyed with Genghis Khan's father, Yesügäi Bahadur, in Luy Yil, the Year of the Dragon corresponding to 592 [1196], he came to a

[1] See above, text p. 91.

[2] Reading توقوز (Toquz ~ Doquz) for the text's توقون.

[3] Reading تايتيمور for the text's تاتيمور. See above, text p. 90, and *Secret History* §177, where he is called Tai Temür Taisi.

place called Güsägü[r] Na'ur,[1] **[267]** near Genghis Khan's *yurt*, a place he had been with Yesügäi Bahadur. He dispatched two envoys, Taghai and Sü'ägäi, up the Kerulen River to Genghis Khan to inform him of his arrival. Genghis Khan mounted and set out to greet him. When they met, Ong Khan said, "I have become lean and hungry." Genghis Khan pitied him, took a *qubchur*[2] [levy] from the Mongols, and settled him in the midst of his own *gürä'än* and *ordus*. That autumn, when the two of them camped together at the ___ river in the valley called Qara'un Qabchal, which means black forest, because he and Yesügäi Bahadur had been *anda*, he and Genghis Khan became like father and son and banqueted each other. After consultation they became allies and mounted in the spring to attack the rest of the Yürkin clan, which Genghis Khan had raided and plundered before. A few of them were left, and they were camped in a place called Täläd-in Amasar.[3] There they attacked them, hunting down and seizing both Sacha Beki and Taichu.

Genghis Khan launches an attack on Toqto'a, the leader of the Märkit people, and gives all the booty to Ong Khan.

In Moghai Yil, the Year of the Serpent corresponding to 593 [1197], Genghis Khan launched an attack on Toqto'a, the commander of the Märkit nation. Although the Märkit were separate from the Mongols, they were powerful and strong. Battle was fought at Qaras Müräs, on the Kerulen River near the Selenga in a place called Molcha. He struck the Uru'ut, a branch of the Märkit, killing and plundering, and everything he took in that battle he gave to Ong Khan and his liege men.

After that, in Yunt Yil, the Year of the Horse corresponding to 594 [1198], when Ong Khan had regained his strength and army, he mounted another expedition against the Märkit, this time without consulting Genghis Khan. He struck them at Buqur Kähär,[4] killing Toqto'a's son Tögüz Bek[i] and carrying off his two daughters, Qutuqtai and Cha'alun,[5] and rounding up Toqto'a's [sons] Qudu and Chila'un along with their herds and folk.[6] Of all that, he gave nothing to Genghis Khan. **[268]** Toqto'a Beki fled to a place called Barqujin. That place is below the Selenga River, in the east of Mongolia, and the tribe of Mongols who are called the Barqut were so called because they lived in Barqujin—they are known by this name even today.

Genghis Khan and Ong Khan mount together and go to make war on Buyuruq Khan, the brother of Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman.[7]

In Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep corresponding to 595 [1199], Genghis Khan and Ong Khan mounted to attack Buyuruq Khan of the Naiman. Although at that time the ruler of the Naiman was Tayang Khan, who was Buyuruq Khan's elder brother, Buyuruq Khan did not obey him and had a separate army and province. They were on very bad terms with each other.

Most of the Naiman rulers were called either Güshlüg Khan or Buyuruq Khan. *Güshlüg* means powerful, mighty, and

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[1]The Güse'ür Na'ur of the *Secret History* §151.

[2]Reading قوبجور for the text's قويجور. For *qubchur* see the glossary.

[3]The Teletü (or Telegetü) Amasar of the *Secret History* §136.

[4]The Bu'ura Ke'er of the *Secret History* §152.

[5]For the text's توتوقتای وجیلاون, read قوتوقتای وجالون. The Cha'alun of the *Secret History* §157 has been conflated with the following Chila'un.

[6]Reading قودو for the text's تودو. Text has "brothers" here, but in the *Secret History* §157 and according to *JT* above, p. 72, these two are Toghto'a's sons, not his brothers.

[7]This episode corresponds to §158f. of the *Secret History*.

commanding.

The Naiman believe that Güshlüg had such power over demons and fairies that he could milk them and make kumiss out of it, and that he had similar power over other animals and wild beasts. After that, the Naiman commanders said, "This is a sin," and they forbade it; therefore he stopped milking them.

Tayang Khan's name was originally Tai Buqa, but the rulers of Cathay gave him the title [Tai Wang], meaning son of a khan. In their parlance khan is a title of middling rank. Since the Mongols did not understand the language of Cathay and had a different dialect, with usage they said Tayang, and that is how he came to be known. Their father's name was Inanch Bilgä Bügü Khan. *Inanch* means to believe, *bilgä* is a great name, and Bügü Khan was the name of a mighty ruler in whom the Uyghurs put great stock.

Tayang Khan's son who was his successor was Güshlüg Khan, whose story will be given later.

In short, Genghis Khan and Ong Khan set out to make war on Buyuruq Khan. One of his clans was in Qizil Bash near the Altai. They seized and plundered those people. Buyuruq Khan had retreated to the province of Kämkämchi'üt, a tributary of Qirqiz territory. One of his amirs, Yedi Tuqluq,[1] came out to reconnoiter. (In Turkish the name Yedi Tuqluq means someone who commands seven standards.) When Genghis Khan's scouts saw him, they put them to flight, **[269]** and they retreated, headed into the hills. When they reached the slope, Yedi Tuqluq's saddle strap broke, and he and the saddle fell. He was captured and taken before Genghis Khan.

That winter one of Buyuruq Khan's commanders was camped in that area. His name was Kögsä'ü Sabraq. (*Kögsä'ü* means someone whose voice is hoarse from bronchial coughing; Sabraq is a place name, after which he was called.) Genghis Khan and Ong Khan did battle once with that commander in a place in Naiman territory called Bai Baraq Belchir. (It is called Bai Baraq Belchir because in ancient times a request was made on behalf of a Naiman ruler for the Öng'üt ruler's daughter named Bai Baraq. They met at that spot and held the bridal banquet there. *Belchir* means a grassy plain. They put the two together and made the place name. Since the Mongols do not understand the name, they call Bai Baraq "Badbaraq."[2]

Genghis Khan and Ong Khan launch an attack on Kögsä'ü Sabraq, Buyuruq Khan's commander-in-chief; Ong Khan takes flight by night, and Kögsä'ü Sabraq reaches Ong Khan's brothers and plunders all their herds and flocks.

Genghis Khan and Ong Khan had come together in the place mentioned above in order to do battle with Kögsä'ü Sabraq. Since they had already done battle once, the next time both sides arrayed their ranks before clashing. They bivouacked by night, thinking to do battle the next morning, and the soldiers slept in *järgäs* [circles]. Ong Khan had fires lit around his camp, and by night he slipped away to a mountain called Bäkänkögsü [?].[3] When day broke Jamuqa Sächän, a great commander from the Jajirat clan of the Niru'un who had come with Genghis Khan and was always known for his disagreeableness and contentiousness,

[1] Reading توقلوق (Tuqluq for the more proper Tughlugh) for the text's توقلون. He is the Yedi Tublugh of the *Secret History* §158.

[2] Actually, according to the *Secret History* §159, the Mongols called it Bayidaragh Belchir. The text's بادبراق may represent بايدراق (Bayidaraq), which would be in conformity with the *Secret History*.

[3] This should be the Qara Se'ül of the *Secret History* §159.

[270] recognized Ong Khan's standard, galloped to him, and said, "Khan! Khan! You have seen that my *aqa-ini* resemble sparrows headed from summer pasture to winter pasture." By this he meant, "My relative Genghis Khan is decided upon flight, and I have always said, 'I am your sparrow.' " In this manner did he treacherously slander him. When Ubchiritai Gürin Bahadur heard these words, he said, "It is not appropriate to speak so disloyally among friends and *aqa-ini*." (Ubchiritai Gürin Bahadur was a great commander of Ong Khan's. *Ubchiri* is a red fruit that grows in that region; women rub it on their faces instead of rouge. Since Gürin Bahadur's face was red, they called him after the fruit. They say it was Genghis Khan's custom to make an oily wax from that fruit and rub it on his mustache.)

When Ong Khan separated himself with that stratagem and went home, the Märkit ruler Toqto'a's brother Qudu and Toqto'a's son Chila'un (of both of whom it has been previously said that Ong Khan brought them into submission) both rebelled again with Ong Khan's disappearance and rejoined their own army. When Genghis Khan witnessed this low action on the part of Ong Khan, he said, "Ong Khan wanted to cast me into the midst of calamity and fire while he withdrew." For that reason Genghis Khan also pulled back to a place called Sa'ari Kähär.[1] Ong Khan reached a place called Tatal Tuqula.[2] His brothers Nilqa Sangun and Jagambu followed in his wake with their riders and retinues until they came to a place called Edärü Altai, where there is a river and a thick forest. Kögsä'ü Sabraq came in pursuit with his men, ambushing them in that place and pillaging all their possessions, herds, and flocks. From there he went to the borders of Ong Khan's *ulus* and drove back all the folk, horsemen, retinue, and animals he had [assembled] in the vicinity of Dälätü Amasar. Nilqa Sangun and Jagambu, both having managed to escape with their lives, went to Ong Khan, who immediately gave a contingent to his son Sangun and sent them in pursuit of the enemy while dispatching a messenger to Genghis Khan to inform him of the situation and to ask for help. [271]

Ong Khan requests assistance from Genghis Khan to deal with the Naiman troops that had driven his goods and herds off, and Genghis Khan sends his four great commanders to recapture Ong Khan's possessions and return them to him.

When Ong Khan was again in desperate straits, he sent a messenger to Genghis Khan, saying, "The Naiman have plundered my army and people. I ask my son to assist me with the Four Stalwarts[3] (meaning Genghis Khan's four champion warriors). Maybe they can get my army, possessions, and kingdom back."

Genghis Khan dispatched the four, Bo'orchi Noyan, Muqali Guyang, Boroghul Noyan, and Chila'un Bahadur, with troops to help Ong Khan. By the time they arrived, the Naiman army had defeated Sangun, killed two of Ong Khan's great commanders, Tigit Quri and Itürgän Buqu, and wounded Sangun's horse in the thigh so badly that he nearly fell and was taken captive. The four commanders arrived just as they were going down in defeat.

When he set out, Bo'orchi Noyan had said, "I do not have a *jä[bä]lägü* [armored] horse." He requested one of Genghis Khan's renowned horses, one whose name was Chigi and descriptions of which occur in several places. Genghis Khan gave him

[1] Reading ساری (Sa'ari) for the text's سادی.
[2] Tatal (~ Tatan ~ Tataq) Tuqula.
[3] Reading کولك *(külüg,* 'stalwart') for the text's کودك. See note at text p. 224.

the horse, saying, "When you want it to run well, stroke its mane with your whip, but don't whip it."

When Bo'orchi saw that Sangun's horse was wounded and on the verge of being captured, he galloped in to save him and gave his own horse to Sangun. When he mounted Chigi, no matter how hard he whipped it, it wouldn't go. Sangun left him where he was and departed. Suddenly he remembered Genghis Khan's words and stroked the horse's mane with the whip. It shot off like a streak of lightning, enabling him to catch up with Sangun and the army. Together they stationed their liege men back and deployed the army before attacking the enemy and putting them to flight. They took back Ong Khan's soldiers, folk, goods, and animals, gave them back to him, and returned to Genghis Khan, safe and sound and triumphant and victorious.

Ong Khan was very glad and highly grateful for the assistance. "Once last year," he said, "having been defeated by my enemy, I went hungry and naked to my 'son' Genghis Khan. **[272]** He kept me, filled my belly, and clothed my naked men. How can I repay such debts, and how can I express my thanks to you, my good son?"

They say that later Ong Khan summoned Bo'orchi Noyan one day to give him a reward. He was on guard duty, having tied Genghis Khan's sable [insignium] around himself. "Ong Khan has summoned me," he said.

"Go," said [Genghis Khan]. He untied the sable, gave it to someone else, and departed.

Ong Khan gave him a suit of clothing and ten golden *munqurs*. (The word *munqur*, originally one of their technical terms, is what they call a very large goblet, larger than a *che[l]pä*. In these days, however, since we do not understand the term, we use it to designate a small goblet.) Bo'orchi took the goblets, returned to Genghis Khan, knelt, and showed them to him, saying, "I have done wrong."

"How so?" he asked.

"Because," he said, "I left your sable and went to Ong Khan for the sake of these goods. If anything had gone wrong while it was my turn as guard, or if anyone had tried to attack you, I would have been at fault."

Genghis Khan was pleased by these words and rewarded him, saying, "Take the goblets. They are yours."

After that, during the same winter, a report arrived that Toqto'a, the ruler of the Märkit who had fled to Barqujin, had reemerged. Genghis Khan took counsel with Jochi Qasar, realized that there was no truth to the rumor, and paid no attention to the report.

Genghis Khan's great quriltai with Ong Khan at Sa'ari Kähär, and they ride against the Tayichi'ut.

In the spring of Bichin Yil, the Year of the Monkey corresponding to 596 [1199–1200], in the vicinity of the place called Sa'ari Kähär, Genghis Khan and Ong Khan met, formed an assembly, and held a great *quriltai*. After the *quriltai* they mounted to ride together against the Tayichi'ut people. At that time the chiefs and leaders of the Tayichi'ut were Angqu Huquchu, Quril, Qudu'udar,[1] and other commanders who were their brothers and relatives but of lower rank, such as Tarqutai Qiriltuq and the likes of him. (Tarqutai is a name, and *qiriltuq* means envious.) **[273]** Toqto'a Beki was the ruler of the Märkit nation, and he had fled to Barqujin. At that time he sent his brothers Qudu and Orchang to the Tayichi'ut to ask for assistance. The entire host assembled in Onon, which is a plain in Mongolia. Genghis Khan and Ong Khan at-

[1] For the text's قودردار, read قودردار for the Qudu'udar of the *Secret History* §148.

tacked them and did battle. The Tayichi'ut tribes were defeated and fled in rout. Genghis Khan's troops charged off in pursuit of Tarqutai Qiriltuq and Qudu'udar as far as the place called Alangut Tudas. There they killed them both. Angqu Huquchu and Toqto'a Beki's brothers Qudu and Orchang escaped together to Barqujin. Quril went among the Naiman. Angqu Huquchu means "of great wrath." They say he initiated the hostilities between Genghis Khan and the Tayichi'ut.

The Qataqin and Salji'ut clans become allies on oath, do battle with Genghis Khan and Ong Khan, are defeated, and take flight.

The Qataqin and Salji'ut clans had previously initiated hostilities with Genghis Khan, and several years prior to this Genghis Khan and Jamuqa Sächän had jointly sent an emissary to them to make an alliance. It was a Mongol custom in olden days for most messages to be sent in rhetorically ornate rhyming words and cryptic expressions. The envoy's message was styled in that manner, and when he delivered it they did not understand it. The envoy was a clever young man with presence of mind, so, comprehending that they had not understood, he said, "The meaning of the words is simple. Genghis Khan sends a message saying that Mongol peoples who are strangers to us have all become our friends and allies. It is therefore fitting that we too, who are kin, should be friends and allies and have a *jirghamishi* [celebration]." Too envious and mean to accept, and in disregard of the inviolability of the envoy, they took from the kettle sheep tripe (into which they mix blood and cook into something like sausage) and threw it in his face, cursing him and sending him back in disgrace. For that reason hostilities broke out.

Several times before that, **[274]** they had done battle and allied themselves with the Tayichi'ut, especially with the sons of Qada'an Taishi, who were a branch of the Tayichi'ut, Tödä'ä, Quril, and Tarqutai Qiriltuq. They were fanatically devoted to them and fought Genghis Khan with enmity and hatred.

At that time, since most of the Tayichi'ut tribes had gathered, and the Dörbän, Tatar, and Qunqirat tribes had also joined them, they swore an oath together. Among the Mongols there is no greater oath, and it is made as follows. With a sword they strike down together a stallion, a bull, a ram, and a dog and say, "O God! O Heaven! O Earth! Hear that we swear such an oath. Here are the males of these animals. If we do not keep our oath and break our word, let us be as these animals are." In this manner they swore an oath that they would do battle with Genghis Khan and Ong Khan.

As they were setting forth, Däi Sächän of the Qunqirat, the father of Alchu [Elchi Noyan], sent a message secretly to Genghis Khan, saying, "Your enemies have sworn such an oath and are headed out in your direction." When Genghis Khan learned of this, he mounted with Ong Khan at Qutun Na'ur, which is near the Onon, to repel those tribes. They met at the place called Bu'ir Na'ur, stood opposite each other, arrayed their ranks, and fought a fierce battle. In the end Genghis Khan was triumphant, and his enemies were crushed.

Jagambu has a falling-out with his brother Ong Khan, takes counsel with some commanders, and goes to the ruler of the Naiman.

During the winter of that year Ong Khan decamped early from the Kerulen and went in formation to Quba Qaya. Others also decamped and followed him. His brother, Jagambu, spoke with his amirs Altun Ashuq, El Qutur, El Qongqur, and Qulbari, and sent a message, saying, "This elder brother of mine is of a desultory tempera-

ment. He can't stay in one place. Out of meanness he has ruined all his elder and younger brothers and forced them to go into Qarakhitai territory. With such a manner and disposition, **[275]** he cannot let the people rest in peace. What are we to do with him?"

Altun Ashuq kept these words secret and then divulged them to Ong Khan. Ong Khan ordered El Qutur and El Qongqur to be seized and chained. He had them brought in chains into his tent, loosed their bonds, and said to El Qutur, "When we were going to Tangqut territory, what did we say? There you spoke and made a promise that could not be broken. How could I think as you do?" And he spat in his face. The amirs who were present also spat in his face. In that state Altun Ashuq said, "I came into this council, but I cannot allow an attack on my ruler. I do not consider it chivalrous to abandon him."

After that, Ong Khan's four great commanders, El Qutur, El Qongqur, Narin Toghril, and Alin Taishi, switched their allegiance to the Naiman ruler, Ong Khan's enemy, and left. Jagambu sent a messenger to the Naiman ruler, saying, "Altun Ashuq has squealed on me to my brother Ong Khan and made me like a piece of putrid liver or carrion in his eyes. I have therefore detached my heart from him and am coming to you." Then they all went together to Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman.

Left without them, Ong Khan spent the winter in Quba Qaya, and Genghis Khan spent the winter on the borders of Cathaian territory in a place called Chägächär.

Genghis Khan mounts to do battle with the Märkit commander Alaq Udur and some Tayichi'ut and Tatar commanders who were with him, and they are defeated.

After that, Genghis Khan assembled his troops in one place and mounted to do battle with some Märkit, Tayichi'ut, and Tatar commanders named Alaq Udur of the Märkit, Qirqan Taishi of the Tayichi'ut, and Chaqur and Kälbäkär [?] of the Tatar, all of whom were leaders and chiefs of consequence at the time. Alaq Udur was then the chief of his peers and one of those who entertained notions of ruling.

An intelligent and wise old man of the Baya'ut tribe who was around then said, **[276]** "Sacha Beki of the Yürkin Qiyat desires to rule, but he is not up to it. It will likewise not be possible for Jamuqa Sächän, who constantly causes confusion among the people and engages in trickery and disloyalty to further his aims. Jochi Bara (meaning Jochi Qasar, Genghis Khan's brother) also has this desire, and he is renowned for his strength, skill, and archery, but he will not attain rule either. Alaq Udur of the Märkit people, who is also obsessed with ruling and has shown great power and magnificence, will not attain the rule either. This Tämüjin (meaning Genghis Khan) possesses the form, manner, and talent to be leader and monarch. He will attain the rule." He spoke these words in a Mongolian *ayalghu* [song] with rhymes and rhetorical artifice. In the end it turned out exactly as he said: Genghis Khan became monarch and killed all the others, aside from his brother, as will be explained in the proper place for each one. This digression has been introduced here only because Alaq Udur was mentioned. Let us return to the narrative.

When Genghis Khan set out to do battle with this group, they met and fought in a place called Talan Nämürgäs.[1] Genghis Khan defeated and plundered them, but some managed to escape and regroup. At that time Jochi Qasar was separated from Genghis Khan, and Jäbä was with him.The Qunqirat tribe was inclined to join Genghis

[1]Reading نمورکاس (Nämürgäs) for the text's غورکاس for the Dalan Nemürges of the *Secret History* §153.

Khan and submit to him, but Jäbä encouraged Jochi Qasar to drive the Qunqirat away, for which they changed their minds and mistrusted him. For this reason Genghis Khan was angry with Jochi Qasar and took him to task.

The Qunqirat go to Jamuqa Sächän of the Jajirat; together with the Ikiräs, Qataqin, and others, they elect him Gür Khan; he sets out to do battle with Genghis Khan, who is warned of their approach and defeats them.

After that, in Tavuq Yil, the Year of the Rooster that began in Jumada I 597 [February 1201], [277] after the Qunqirat had been attacked and made homeless, they went to Jamuqa Sächän. They held council with the Ikiräs, Qorolas, Dörbän, Tatar, Qataqin, and Salji'ut, assembled at the Käm River,[1] and raised Jamuqa as Gür Khan. (The term *gür khan* means emperor of rulers and kings.)

When he became the Gür Khan, they entertained notions of launching a campaign against Genghis Khan. Their council and decision were overheard by a man named Qoridai. He then went to the tent of one of his brothers-in-law, Märkitäi of the Qorolas clan by name, on some personal business and related the news to him. Märkitäi said to Qoridai, "You must go tell Genghis Khan." He gave him a gray horse of his own, which had a wart on its ear, to mount and go.

"If you're going to send me," Qoridai said, "at least give me a reliable steed." He did not him give one. Qoridai got on the nag and set out. Along the way he came across a *gürä'än* (meaning a troop encamped in a circle), the chief of which was Qo[ri]lan[2] Bahadur of the Hoyin clan (meaning the "forest people") of the Tayichi'ut tribes. It was night when he arrived, and a man named Qara Märkitäi of the Qorolas clan and his liege men were on guard duty in the *gürä'än*. They seized him and recognized him. Since Qara Märkitäi was sympathetic to Genghis Khan, he helped Qoridai, gave him a *qali'un* [brown with black mane and tail] stallion, and set him on his way, saying, "If you want to escape the foe, you can get away on this horse and nobody can catch you. If anybody gets away from you, you can catch up with him. Trust implicitly in this horse, mount, and go!"

Qoridai set out, and along the way he was met by a group that was taking a white tent to Jamuqa. They attacked him, trying to capture him, but he galloped away so fast that he disappeared from view. When he reached Genghis Khan and related the news, Genghis Khan immediately mounted to do battle. He did battle with Jamuqa and defeated him in a place called Yedi Qurqan. The Qunqirat tribe also surrendered there.

After that, in the spring of Noqai Yil, the Year of the Dog beginning in Jumada I 598 [January 1202], Genghis Khan set out from the banks of the river known as Ulqui Silji'üljüt[3] to do battle with the Anchi Tatar and the Chaghan Tatar. He ordered that no one should take booty [278] and that after the battle and foe had been dispensed with, booty could be taken and divided equally. All agreed to this, but Näkün Taishi's son Quchar, Qutula Qa'an's son Altan, and Genghis Khan's uncle Daritai Otchigin broke their word and started taking booty before the battle was over. This displeased Genghis Khan, so he dispatched Qubilai and Jäbä to take the booty from them. This

[1]This "Käm" River is the Kän, or Gän, an affluent of the Argun River in western Manchuria. See Hambis, "Notes sur Käm," p. 285.

[2]On text p. 125 the name occurs as Qorilan.

[3]In the *Secret History* §§153, 173, it is Ulqui Shilügeljid.

angered them, and they lost their affection and began covertly to take Ong Khan's part. In the end they too were instrumental in creating a rift between Genghis Khan and Ong Khan, fought Genghis Khan, and were finally all killed.

An alliance is made among the Naiman ruler's brother Buyuruq Khan, the Märkit ruler Toqto'a Beki, and the Tatar, Qataqin, and other tribes; they launch an attack on Genghis Khan and are destroyed in a snowstorm.

After that, in the autumn of the above-mentioned Year of the Dog, an alliance was made among the brother of the Naiman ruler, Buyuruq Khan, the Märkit ruler Toqto'a Beki, and the Dörbän, Tatar, Qataqin, and Salji'ut tribes under the leadership of Aquchu Bahadur[1] and Qutuqa Beki, the ruler of the Oyirat. These were they who had repeatedly done battle with Genghis Khan and Ong Khan and then fled to take refuge with the above-mentioned Buyuruq Khan. Together they mounted a huge army and headed off to do battle with Genghis Khan and Ong Khan.

Genghis Khan and Ong Khan had stationed their scouts at a place called Chägächär Mountain and Chi'urqai.[2] One of the scouts returned from there, saying that the Naiman army was approaching. Genghis Khan and Ong Khan decamped from Ulqui Silji'üljüt and were headed for the Öngü, which was the *yurt* of Na'achar Aqa in the vicinity of Qara'un Jidun. The Öngü is like Alexander's Wall constructed along the frontier of the realm of Cathay. Ong Khan's son Sangun was in the tip. He came to the hill on the other side of which one reached Öngü. [279] Scarcely had he reached it when Buyuruq Khan said, "They are Mongol people. Let us scatter them all at once." He had sent out as vanguard a group composed of his own soldiers and of the Mongol tribes who were with him [under the command of] Aquchu Bahadur of the Qataqin clan and Toqto'a Beki's brother Qudu of the Märkit. The vanguard met Sangun and began to fight, but before battle was enjoined they pulled back. Sangun also set out and entered Öngü.

They had done *jadalmishi* so that a snowstorm would come. (*Jadalmishi* is as follows: they recite a charm and put different kinds of stones in water, and it creates a great rainfall.) The snowstorm turned back on them, and they wanted to withdraw and get out across the hills. They dismounted in a place called Köyitän.[3] It is well known that at that place Buyuruq Khan of the Naiman and the Mongol tribes that were allied with him lost the use of their hands and legs on account of the extreme cold, and the wind and darkness were so intense that many men and animals fell off the cliffs and mountainsides to their destruction.

Genghis Khan and Ong Khan camped on the edge of an *aral* [island]. At that time Jamuqa and the group that had elevated him to be Gür Khan had joined Buyuruq Khan. Despite this situation he was inclined once more toward Genghis Khan, so he raided the tents of the people that had elected him ruler and went over to Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan and Ong Khan left Öngü and spent the winter at a wintering site known as Abji'a Kötägär.[4] That site was the Qunqirat's winter pasture, and when battle was done between Qubilai Qa'an and Ariq Bökä they fought at that place. The ground there is waterless *chöl*

[1]This is the A'uchu Ba'atur of the *Secret History* §141, also named A'uchu on p. 139 above.

[2]These are the Chegcher and Chiqurqu of the *Secret History* §142, which are mentioned several times together.

[3]Reading كويتان (Köyitän) for the text's كوتيان. The Battle of Köyiten is well known (*Secret History* §143).

[4]Abji'a Ködeger is mentioned twice in the *Secret History* §§187, 191.

[desert], and the inhabitants make do with snow.

That winter Genghis Khan requested Sangun's sister, Cha'ur Beki, for his eldest son, Jochi Khan. Ong Khan requested Genghis Khan's daughter Füjin Beki for Sangun's son Tusbuqa,[1] but [neither match] took place, which occasioned rancor between them. [280]

Jamuqa goes to Ong Khan's son Sangun and causes him to break with Genghis Khan; they and other tribes ally, and Genghis Khan does battle with them in Qalajin Älät.

Since Jamuqa Sächän was basically jealous of and malevolent toward Genghis Khan, as well as being treacherous and evil, he now went to Sangun and said, "My elder brother Genghis Khan is in cahoots with Tayang Khan, who is your enemy. He is constantly sending envoys to him." He insinuated this thought into Sangun's mind, and he was so gullible he thought it was true and made a pact with Jamuqa, saying, "When Genghis Khan mounts, our soldiers will come in from the flanks and attack him.

As has been mentioned, since Genghis Khan's uncle Daritai Otchigin and his cousins Qutula Qa'an's son Altan and Näkün Taishi's son Quchar had been angered by Genghis Khan over the matter of the booty he had taken from them when they broke their word during the battle with the Tatar, they too joined the conspiracy. Taghai Qulatai[2] of the Mangqut and Moqur Qauran, the leader of the Hadargin clan of the Niru'un, also conspired with this group to attack Genghis Khan.

Sangun had then decamped and was headed, separately from his father, to a place called Älät. He sent one of his commanders, Sayiqan Tödä'än by name, as a messenger to his father to make it so that Genghis Khan and his soldiers would mingle with Sangun and his men when they camped, thus giving him a chance to attack. He took counsel with Jamuqa, who called Sangun *anda* and was *anda* to Genghis Khan. Through the above-mentioned messenger he sent a message saying, "This man who claims to be your friend and supporter, the son of Ö'älün Ekä (meaning Genghis Khan), has contemplated such treachery. We are considering making a preemptive strike and attacking him."

Ong Khan, thinking these words extremely unlikely and highly displeasing, said, "Jamuqa is a blatherer, of no consequence, and untrustworthy. His words should not be listened to."

Several days then passed, and Genghis Khan became separated from them and camped farther away until the next spring of the Year of the Pig, corresponding to 599 [1203], when Sangun sent a messenger to his father, [281] saying with all petulance, "Intelligent men who are far-sighted are saying such things. How can you not listen?"

When Ong Khan heard this insistence, he said, "It was through him that we became somebody. He has helped us many times, risking his possessions and his head. How can one think of attacking him? What can I say? The more I tell you no, the more you refuse to listen. In my old age I say let my bones rest in one place. Now that you hear, if you can do this thing, God willing you will prove capable." This he said and became very sad.

After that, they sneaked into the meadow where Genghis Khan was camped and burned it in such a way that he did not know it was they who had done it. Then they plotted, saying, "Once before, he asked for our daughter Cha'ur Beki for his son Jochi, but we did not give her. Now let

[1] In the *Secret History* §165 he is Tusaqa.
[2] On p. 148 above, Taghai Qulqai.

us send word and say, 'We will give our daughter. Come for the banquet.' Let them give a *buljar* [ceremonial engagement meal] for us to eat. When he comes we will seize him." To this end they dispatched Bundai Qijat. (In the Naiman language and that of some other Mongols a *bökä'ül* is called *qisat*, which the Mongols call *qijat*.)

When the message was delivered, Genghis Khan set out with two liege men. Along the way he stopped to sleep at the tent of Münglig Echigä of the Qongqotan, the father of Täb Tängri. The next morning he took counsel with Münglig Echigä, who said, "Our animals are lean. Let's fatten them up. Let's send one person for the banquet but not to partake of the *buljar*."

Genghis Khan sent the messenger back and went home.

After that, Ong Khan and Sangun planned to mount an attack on Genghis Khan while he was off guard. One of Ong Khan's great commanders, Yäkä Chärän by name,[1] went home and said to his wife, Alaq Yidun, "If somebody goes to inform Genghis Khan of what has taken place, he will reward him handsomely."

"I hope nobody hears the nonsense you say or gives it credence," his wife said.

One of Yäkä Chärän's herdsmen, Qishliq by name, had come to bring milk. Standing outside, he heard this exchange and said to his servant Badai, "Did you hear what they are saying?"

Chärän's son Narin Köhän was standing outside, filing arrows. He heard the conversation between his father and mother and said, "May your tongues be cut out! What is this you are saying? What secrets are you divulging?"

Badai comprehended and said to Qishliq, "Now we know what's up." **[282]** Immediately they went to inform Genghis Khan. (The group of *tarkhans* who are now known, Khwarazmi Tarkhan, Noqan Tarkhan, and Sadaq Tarkhan,[2] are all descended from Qishliq and Badai. From that time until now, they and their clans have been *tarkhans* and great amirs for this reason.)

After that, when Genghis Khan understood perfectly what the words meant, he stopped in the place called Aral and ordered his tents to move toward the Silji'üljüt hills. He sent Jälmä as scout to Mau Ündür behind the mountain. Ong Khan was headed for the front side of Mount Mau Ündür, to a place where red willow trees were growing, which the Mongols call Hula'an Buruqat. Two of Alchidai Noyan's liege men, Taichu and Chigitäi Yadir, had taken the horses out in herds. They saw the enemy and immediately galloped to inform Genghis Khan, who was off guard in Qalajin. At once Genghis Khan mounted, and when the sun had risen the length of a lance, the armies of both sides drew up their ranks opposite each other. Since Genghis Khan's forces were few, while Ong Khan's were numerous, he took counsel with his commanders. "What are we to do?" he asked. One of the commanders who was there was Kähätäi Noyan of the Uru'ut, and another was Quyildar Sächän of the Mangqut, who were related to each other. (When the Uru'ut and Mangqut clans had gotten angry and left Genghis Khan to join the Tayichi'ut, these two had not rebelled and continued to perform valiantly in his service.) When Genghis Khan took counsel, Kähätäi Noyan stroked his horse's mane with his whip and sat pensive and hesitant, not giving a ready answer. Quyildar Sächän was Genghis Khan's *anda*, and he said, "Khan *anda* of mine, let me go and plant my standard

[1] Reading يكه‌چاران (Yäkä Chärän, Yeke Cheren in the *Secret History* §169) for the text's يكه‌جاءدان.

[2] Reading ساداق (Sadaq) for the text's ساداث. The name Sadaq Tarkhan also occurs on p. 131 above.

behind the enemy on the hill called Köyitän and thus show my valor. If I die, I have two or three sons. Genghis Khan will take charge of caring for them and bringing them up."

___ of Mangqut lineage also said, "All this is obscuring [our real purpose]. Let us charge them, trusting in God, and see what lot God has in store for us."

In short, Quyildar galloped as he had said, and God helped him and made a way for him to pass through the foe and plant his standard on Köyitän Hill. **[283]** Genghis Khan and the other commanders attacked in concert, throwing into rout the Jirqin clan of the Kerayit, Ong Khan's best troop. After that, they defeated the Tongqayit,[1] also of the Kerayit, and then Qori Sile[m]ün Taishi, one of Ong Khan's great commanders, was about to bring out Ong Khan's sentries and guards when Sangun charged and was struck in the cheek by an arrow. With that, the Kerayit's dominance was diminished and they stopped, for otherwise there would have been fear of total disaster.

This battle is well known and quite famous among the Mongols, and they still tell of it as the Battle of Qalajin Älät. The ground is on the frontier of Cathaian territory, and because of their multitudes [Genghis Khan] was unable to stay there. When he withdrew, most of the army deserted him. He went to Baljiuna,[2] a place where there were a few small springs, insufficient for them and their animals too. Therefore they squeezed water from the mud to drink. After that they emerged from there and went to places that will be mentioned.

The group that was with Genghis Khan at that time in Baljiuna were few, and they are known as the Baljunatu, meaning that they were there with him and did not desert him. Their rights were therefore firm, and they held precedence over the others. When they emerged from there, some of the soldiers and tribes regrouped around him, as will be told.

Genghis Khan sends a message to Tärgä Amäl, the commander of the Qunqirat, and he submits with all his followers.[3]

After that, when Genghis Khan was returning from the Battle of Qalajin Älät, [his men] assembled in a place at a river called the Or Müran in the vicinity of Kältägäi Qada,[4] which is a river and large cliff—it is the place where Taghachar's tribe is. A count of the soldiers was held. They numbered four thousand six hundred. Decamping from there, they went toward the Qal[q]a River in two divisions, two thousand three hundred with Genghis Khan on one side of the river, and two thousand three hundred with the Uru'ut [and] Manqut clans on the other side.

As they were headed downhill they reached the vicinity of the tents of Tärgä Amäl,[5] who was one of the commanders and chiefs of the Qunqirat. **[284]** They sent an envoy to him to say, "Prior to now we were *anda-quda*, and you have maintained a proper avuncular relationship.[6] If you

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[1]Reading تونكقايت (Tongqayit) for the text's قرنكقايت.

[2]Lake Baljiuna, the Baljuna of the *Secret History*, still exists. It is, according to Poppe ("Geographical Names," p. 40), what is now called Озеро Балезино at 51° N, 113° 35′ E in the Chita region of the Russian Federation.

[3]This section corresponds to §176 of the *Secret History*.

[4]This place is described as *Qalqa-yin Or Nu'u-yin Keltegei Qada* ('Keltegei Qada of [Mount] Or Nu'u of the Qalqa [River]') in the *Secret History* §175.

[5]Reading امل (Amäl) for the text's ايل. In the *Secret History* §176, Terge and Amel are two persons, but here they have been conflated into one.

[6]The Persian word used here, *khálúí*, is the relationship of a maternal uncle. It is the exact equivalent of the Mongolian *naqachu* plus the Persian abstraction *-í* on p. 55 above. Since Genghis Khan's mother was from the Olqunu'ut of the Qunqirat,

submit, we too will be peaceable and friendly. If you are hostile, we too will be hostile." When they returned a friendly answer and surrendered, on this march Genghis Khan camped near a lake and stream called Tünggä Na'ur and Quruqa Qoroqan in order to rest and recuperate.

Genghis Khan sends an emissary to Ong Khan, reminding him of the obligations he owed him.

After that, Genghis Khan assigned a man named Arqai Je'ün of the Ildürgin to go to Ong Khan as emissary and deliver a message saying, "At this time I have camped in Tünggä Na'ur and Quruqa Qoroqan. The grass here is fine, and the geldings have grown fat. Now, O khan my father, aforetime your uncle Gürkhan said to you, 'You did not allow me the place of my elder brother, Buyuruq Khan, and you annihilated my two brothers Ta[i] Temür Taishi and Buqa Temür.' Therefore he chased you away, sent you into the narrows called Qara'un Qabchal, and surrounded you there. From there you emerged with several men. Who got you out if not my father who rode on military expeditions with you? A man of the Tayichi'ut named Udur Qunan and another named Buqaji went with you along with a few men, and from there [my father] went, passing through a place and a plain called Qara Buqa and crossing Qulatan Tülängütäi, headed up the *qabchal* [defile]. Gürkhan was at a place called Qurban Täläsüt. He drove [Gürkhan] out of there and put him to rout. It is not known whether he went forth with twenty men or thirty. When he went into Qashin territory he never came out again and was seen no more. My late father took the kingship from Gürkhan and gave it to you, and therefore you became *anda* with my father. I call you 'khan-father' for the same reason. Of all the favors for which you are in my debt, this is the first. **[285]**

"Another time, O khan father of mine, when you had become covered and hidden beneath the clouds, and where the sun sets you were nowhere to be found, in the midst of Cha'uqut territory I called out in a loud voice to Jagambu Anda. I motioned by taking off my hat, and I did *dalaimishi*, i.e. I waved my hands. Thereby I brought Jagambu Anda, and when I brought him he sat in ambush in repayment of my enmity. Another time a troop[1] of the Märkit tribe put Jagambu Anda to flight. In chivalry and manliness I rescued him. Why would someone who brings Jagambu Anda from Cha'uqut territory (meaning the territory of Cathay) and saves him from the hands of the Märkit want to kill him? For your sake I killed my elder brother and destroyed my younger brother. If anyone asks who they are, they are Sacha Beki, who was my elder brother, and Taichu Qori, who was my younger brother. This is another favor you owe me.

"Another time, O khan father of mine, you came to me like the sun emerging from behind a cloud, like a fire slowly coming out. I did not leave you hungry until midday but fed you all. I did not leave you naked for a month but clothed you all. If anyone asks, 'What does he mean?' then say, 'In the place of the hill of Qati'liq,[2] that is the place where there was arrow wood, behind the place called Mürichaq Sä'ü[l],[3] I did battle and raided the Märkit people, seizing all their herds, flocks, tents, camps, and fine clothing and giving them to you.' As I have said, I did not let noon go by before alleviating your hunger, and I did not let a month pass before clothing your

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the Qunqirat are referred to as maternal uncles.

[1] Reading سپه *(sipah)* for the text's شبه.

[2] Reading قاتیلیق (Qatiliq) for the text's تایلیق. It is the Qadighligh of the *Secret History* §177.

[3] The Mürüche Se'ül of the *Secret History* §177.

nakedness—these deeds constitute the third obligation I hold over you.

"Another time, after that, when the Märkit people were in the plain of Buqar Kähär, we sent an emissary to Toqto'a Beki to spy and gather information. When there was an opportunity you did not stop and wait for me. You galloped away before me and took captive Toqto'a Beki's and his brother's wives and Qutuqtai Khatun and [Cha'alun] Khatun.[1] You gave me nothing. After that, when we rode against the Naiman and drew up our battle lines opposite them at Baidaraq Belchir, you captured both Qudu and Chila'un. They surrendered to you and then escaped with their soldiers and folk. Then Kögsä'ü Sabraq made a *taplamishi* [encounter], staged a raid with the Naiman army, **[286]** and plundered your folk. At that time I sent Bo'orchi, Muqali, Boroghul, and Chila'un, all four, and when I had recovered your *ulus* I gave it back to you. This is the fourth favor your owe me.

"Another time, from there we came together at the Qara River, there where Hula'an Bolta'ut is,[2] near the mountain named Jorqal Qun, and there we made a pact that if a snake with fangs and teeth brought its fangs and teeth between us, we would not part from one another until we had spoken with tongues, mouth, and teeth, that is, if anyone were to speak words of selfish interest or otherwise between us, we would not give it credence, get angry, or part ways until we had come together and investigated it.[3] Now we have not come together to investigate and verify the words spoken to create discord between us, yet you have parted believing them and relying on them.

"Another, O khan father of mine. After that, I flew like a falcon[4] to Mount Jurqu. I left Bu'ir Na'ur and caught cranes whose feet are bound and which are gray in color. If you ask which they were, they were the Dörbän and Tatar folk. Another time I became a gray falcon, passed through Kökä[5] Na'ur, caught blue cranes with blue feet for you, and gave them to you. If you ask which they are, they are the Qataqin, Salji'ut, and Qunqirat people, the very ones with whose help you now threaten me. This is another of the favors for which you are indebted to me.

"Another thing, O khan father of mine. What have you done that I should be obliged to you? What profit has accrued to me from you? I hold all these obligations over you, and you have profited greatly from me. O khan father of mine, why do you threaten me? Why do you not rest in ease and comfort? Why do you not let your daughters-in-law and sons sleep in peace? I, your son, have never said that my portion is small and I want more, or that it is bad and I want better. When one of a cart's two wheels breaks it cannot travel. If an ox gets hurt, and the driver is alone and sets out having put his load on the ox, a robber will steal [the cart]. If he doesn't take the ox and leaves it with the cart, it will sicken and die. If one of a cart's two wheels is broken and the ox tries to pull it, it cannot. If it exerts itself to pull it uphill, the ox's neck will be chafed, and it will get restless, jump around, and exhaust itself. **[287]** Like a cart with two wheels, I was one wheel of your cart." This was the message Genghis Khan sent to Ong Khan.

The message Genghis Khan sent sepa-

[1]Text has تغون. The name Cha'alun is taken from the *Secret History* §157. See above, text p. 267.

[2]The Hula'anu'ud Bolda'ud of the *Secret History* §177.

[3]Cf. *Secret History* §177: "If, by a serpent with teeth, / We are provoked [into dissension], / Let us not yield ourselves unto his provocations. / Let us believe [only when] verifying by teeth and by mouth."

[4]Reading سنكقور (*singqor*, falcon) for the text's سنكقون.

[5]Reading كوكه (Kökä) for the text's كوله.

rately to Altan and Qucha[r] was as follows:

"You two thought you would kill me, cast me on the black earth, and leave me or else hide me beneath the ground. Before now, the first time we said even to Bartan[1] Bahadur's sons and to Sacha and Taichu, 'How can our place, the Onon Müran, be without a lord?' I strove much, and I said, 'You become monarch and khan.' You did not accept. I had no choice but to say to you, Quchar, 'You are the son of Näkün Taishi. Among us, you become khan.' You were not willing. To you, Altan, I said, 'You are the son of Qutula Qa'an. He reigned. Now you too be the ruler.' You were not willing either. When you insisted, saying to me, 'You become khan,' I became khan on your advice, and I said, 'I will not allow the dwelling place of our forefathers and ancestors to be effaced, and I will not let their customs be lost or fall into abeyance.' I thought that since I was ruler and leader of the army into many territories, it was necessary to bind to me by promise those attached to me. I took many herds, flocks, and tents and people's wives and children, and I gave them to you. I encircled prey in the plains for you, and I drove prey from the mountains toward you. You two, Altan and Quchar, do not allow anyone to camp at the head of the Three Rivers."[2]

Then Genghis Khan said, "Say to Toghril, 'My little brother Toghril, you are the slave of my forefathers' and ancestors' gate. I call you "little brother" because the *bo'ol* [slave] Nögtä,[3] who was your father's grandfather, was brought in captivity by both Charaqa Lingqum and Tumina Khan. The son of Nögtä Bo'ol was Sü[bä]gäi Bo'ol. [The son of Sübägäi Bo'ol was] Kököchü Qirsa'u, and the son of Kököchü Qirsa'u was Yägä[i] Qongtaqar, and his son is you, Toghril. Whose people do you want to seize? If you seize even my people, Altan and Quchar will not give them to you and will not allow it. If the father the khan does not drink from that blue[4] goblet, you, my little brother Toghril, how much can you drink?[5] Now, Altan and Quchar, you both did liege service in accompanying my good father.[6] You do not let it be said that before now anything that was done was through Ja'ut Quri,[7] **[288]** but make it such that you remember me when something goes wrong. The qa'an my father tires easily and is inconstant. He has grown tired of one like me. He will grow tired of you too. Now that you are in his retinue you must enjoy life this year. You may not be alive by next winter.' "

After that, Genghis Khan said, "O khan father of mine, send messengers, and when you send them, it would be better if you sent both Altan Ashuq and Qulbari. Otherwise, send one of the two. On the day of

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[1]Reading برتان (Bartan) for the text's نويان. Cf. *Secret History* §179: "[ye are] sons of Bartan Ba'atur."

[2]Cf. *Secret History* §179: "Suffer ye not to be pitched by any one at the head of the Three Rivers" (explained in note as "the Kelüren, the Tule, and the Onon which issue from Mount Burqan Qaldun").

[3]Text has نوكته (Nögtä); *Secret History* §180 has Oghda. The discrepency can be explained by assuming a written, Uyghur-script Mongolian source common to both the *Secret History* and the *JT*. The *JT*'s Nögtä would derive from نعدق in Mongolian; the *SH*'s Oghda would derive from عمدق. In the Uyghur script initial *o* and *no* are written the same except for a dot. A confusion between *g* and *gh* was not uncommon in the Uyghur script during the Mongol period.

[4]The text's كيور should be كبود *kabúd* 'blue.' See following note.

[5]Cf. *Secret History* §179: "The one of us which rose up first was wont to drink [from] the blue goblet of the father the Qan. When by me, upon rising up first, it was drunk, thou wast jealous. Now, empty [ye] the blue goblet of the father the Qan. How much more will ye consume?"

[6]Reading نوكچميشى *(nökächämishi* 'liege service') for the text's نوچكميشى.

[7]Genghis Khan's title. See text p. 250 above.

battle Muqali Bahadur's black gelding remained behind with saddle and silver bridle. Send those with them also. If Sangun Anda does not send both Bilgä Beki and Tödö'än,[1] let him send one of them. Let Jamuqa Anda also send two messengers, and let both Chula and Qachi'un also send messengers, and let Achiq and Shirün both send messengers. Otherwise let Buqa and Tayir also send messengers. Let Altan and Quchar both send messengers. When the messengers come, if I take the low road, let them seek me at Bu'ir Na'ur above the river. If I go by the back road, I will go out via Qabqar Qaltuqan and go down.... Let them come and seek me in those places."

When the messengers arrived and repeated these words to Ong Khan, he said, "He is right. He has been dealt with unjustly, but my son Sangun knows how to reply."

Sangun replies to Genghis Khan's messengers, saying, "We will do battle, and whichever of us emerges will be khan."

Sangun said, "When was he wont to call me *anda*? He was wont to call me *tohto'a bö'ä*.[2] When was he wont to say 'khan father'? He was wont to say *kidu'achi äbügän*.[3] When were we wont to send messengers? We shall do battle. If he is victorious, our people will be his. If we are victorious, his people will be ours."

Having said this, he ordered his two great commanders, Bilgä Beki and Tödö'än, saying, "We mount with the army. Raise the standards, sound the drums, bring in the steeds for us to mount, and let us set forth against Genghis Khan!" **[289]**

The chieftain of the Qunqirat who drank the water at Baljiuna surrenders and joins Genghis Khan, and other tribal leaders submit to him.

When Genghis Khan sent an envoy to Ong Khan, he forced into submission all those who were the greatest of the Qunqirat tribe and went to Baljiuna. The Ikiräs clan chased out Butu of the Ikiräs clan, and he was coming from them in defeat. At that time he joined Genghis Khan, and they stayed there together and drank the water of Baljiuna.

At that time Jochi Qasar was separated from Genghis Khan, and his wife and child were raided by Ong Khan's soldiers at Qara'un Jidun, and he took flight and was coming. He was so destitute that he had to boil carrion and boots and drink it. Of edibles he had a ___ ram.[4] He reached Genghis Khan at Baljiuna.

After the previous battle he had fought with Genghis Khan at Qalajin Älät, Ong Khan went to Qit Qulqat Älät.

Genghis Khan's uncle Daritai Otchigin and Altan Je'ün, the son of Genghis Khan's father's uncle Qutula Qa'an, and Quchar Beki the son of Genghis Khan's uncle Näkün Taishi, and Jamuqa of the Jajirat, and the Ba'arin clan, and Sügägäi,[5] and Toghril of the offspring of Nögtä Bo'ol, and Taghai Qulaqai, who was called Taghai Kähärin of the Mangqut tribe, and Qutu Temür the commander of the Tatar nation—all these united and held a council, saying, "Let's launch a surprise attack on Ong Khan and become rulers ourselves. Let us not join either Ong Khan or Genghis Khan, and let us not pay any attention to them." [News of] this council of theirs

[1]Reading تودان (Tödö'än) for the text's قودان.

[2]Reading, for the text's تویتوه بوه, the Mongolian words of the *Secret History* §181, *"tohto'a bo'e"* ('the sorcerer Toghto'a'). Senggüm's words were, "Was he not wont to say, 'The sorcerer Toghto'a walketh, having joined [unto himself] the tail of a Sartaghchin sheep'?"

[3]Reading کیدنشی, for the text's کیدبشنی, the words of the *Secret History* §181, *kidu'aci ebugen* ('old man killer').

[4]Ram is modified by an unknown word, کردتی.

[5]Reading سوککای (Sügägäi) for the text's سولکای.

reached Ong Khan, who mounted to attack and raid them. For that reason Daritai Otchigin and the ___ clan of the Niru'un, the Saqayit clan, [some] of the Kerayit, and the ___[1] clan surrendered, became obedient to Genghis Khan, and joined him. Altan Je'ün, Quchar Beki, and Qutu Temür of the Tatar went to Tayang Khan of the Naiman. [290]

Genghis Khan mounts at the Onon River to do battle with Ong Khan, who is defeated and then killed in Naiman territory by Qori Sübä[chi], one of Tayang Khan's commanders; Sangun is also killed by Qilich Qara, a commander of the Qalach clans; Genghis Khan mounts the throne.

In the summer of the Year of the Pig, corresponding to 599 [1203], Genghis Khan was drinking the water of Baljiuna. In the autumn of that year he left there and assembled his followers at the Onon River. Setting out to fight Ong Khan, he dispatched Qali'udar of the Jä'üriyät and Cha'urqan of the Uriangqat, both of whom were known to be attached as liege men to Jochi Qasar, as emissaries to Ong Khan to speak on Jochi Qasar's behalf. They were coached to say, "We were sent by Jochi Qasar, and he says, 'I have had enough of my elder brother. Who can stand to see his retinue? As much as I have wanted to find a way out, I haven't been able to find one to join him. I have heard that my wife and son are with the khan my father. For a long time my home has been made of twigs and grass, and my pillow has been of mud clods and stone. I sleep alone, without friend or intimate. I place my reliance on the khan my father and am sending these messengers in secret to him to ask for my clan, soldiers, wife, and child. When I reach my family I will surrender and be obedient and enter with correct heart.' "

Since the messengers were known to belong to Jochi Qasar, and Ong Khan knew them of old, he did not suspect either that Genghis Khan had sent them as a trick or that he had coached them. Since Genghis Khan was in dire straits at that time, and Jochi Qasar was wandering around aimlessly, he imagined for certain that the words contained nothing but truth and sincerity. He approved of the contents and treated the messengers with honor before sending them back. He sent one of his liege men, Itürgän by name, along with them. By way of oath, he put a bit of blood in some bark [of the tree from which] they derive glue and sent it with them, for such is the custom of the Mongols [291] to swear oaths to each other on blood.

The three set out together and were traveling along the road, and Genghis Khan was coming from the other direction with his army to attack Ong Khan. Suddenly Qali'udar's eyes fell upon Genghis Khan's standard. He thought, "I hope Itürgän doesn't see it too and run away," for his horse was very fine. Immediately he got off his horse, picked up his horse's leg on the pretext that a stone had gotten caught in its hoof and was making it lame. He had Itürgän dismount and said to him, "Hold my horse so I can clean its hoof out." Itürgän took the horse's leg while Qali'udar was cleaning the horse's hoof with a pick in order to keep Itürgän distracted.

Suddenly Genghis Khan arrived with his soldiers. He spoke to Itürgän and sent him to Jochi Qasar since in that battle too, his belongings having been pillaged, he was still without a mount. Genghis Khan sent the two messengers forward to reconnoiter. That night he did not dismount but kept riding until he caught up with Ong Khan at

[1] In the text, تيتجين; perhaps the same as the unidentified "Taijin" tribe on text p. 244.

a place called Jäje'er Ündür.[1]

There they did battle, and Ong Khan was defeated. [Genghis Khan] seized the entirety of the Kerayit kingdom and army. Ong Khan and his son Sangun, in rout, got away with a few men, and Ong Khan was saying along the way, "I have been separated from one from whom it was fitting that I be separated; I have been parted from the person who was deserving of separation. I suffer all this distance, calamity, sorrow, torment, homelessness, and helplessness from a person with a swollen face"—by this he meant his son Sangun, whose face and cheeks were of that description. He was so angry that he spoke of him in this manner without mentioning his name.

Driven out in flight, Ong Khan went to Naiman territory. Two of the Naiman ruler Tayang Khan's commanders, one named Qori Sübächü and the other named Titig Sa'al,[2] who were scouts in that area, caught him there, killed him, and took his head to their ruler, Tayang Khan.

Tayang Khan was displeased by that action and said, "Why did you kill such a great and elderly ruler? He should have been brought in alive." He ordered Ong Khan's head plated in silver, and for a long time he kept it over his throne as a mark of respect (as has been mentioned in the sections on the Kerayit and the Naiman[3]).

Ong Khan's son Sangun took flight when his father was captured and killed, **[292]** and he escaped to a village called Isiq Malghasun, on the edge of the *chöl* [desert], on the frontier of Mongolia. Passing through there, he entered the territory of Buritabet,[4] i.e. the province of Tibet. After pillaging parts of that area and living there for a while engaging in destruction, the tribes and people of Tibet got together and surrounded him in a place to take him captive. He escaped and fled from them pell-mell. On the frontier of the province of Khotan and Kashgar he came to a place called Kujatu Sarkashma. A commander of the Qalach tribe there named Qilich Qara, who was the commander and governor of that place, seized him and killed him. They say that later the commander sent Sangun's wife and child he had captured to Genghis Khan and submitted to him. This was the end of the rulers of the Kerayit nation and the extinction of their state. God knows best.

Genghis Khan mounts the throne of the khanate after vanquishing Ong Khan, who was a redoubtable monarch.

When Genghis Khan attacked Ong Khan's troops and defeated him and his son, and [Ong Khan] left in rout, the Kerayit tribes became subject to [Genghis Khan], and he brought the realm and people under his control.

During the winter of that year, Tonquz Yil, corresponding to 599 [1203], he hunted in a place called Tämä'än Kä'är. Coming triumphant and victorious from battle, he returned happy and cheerful to his tents and camp. When he achieved such a great victory, and when he had been selected as ruler, tribes came from all directions to submit. He made a huge assembly at which he announced good and harsh ordinances in thanks for that great blessing and mounted the throne of the khanate under good auspices.

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[1]Reading ججير (Jäje'er, *Secret History* §185 Jeje'er) for the text's ججيم.

[2]See note to text p. 92 above.

[3]See above, text pp. 92 and 96.

[4]This name for Tibet is attested by Carpini: *Cùm autê exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cuius habitatores pagani sunt, & hos Tartari bello vicerunt* (p. 84, lines 15–17) "And in traueiling homewardes, the sayd armie of the Mongals came vnto the lande of Burithabeth (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell" (p. 118).

Now that a detailed history of Genghis Khan has been written from the beginning of Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that began in Rabi' I 591 [February 1195], until the end of Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Jumada II 599 [February 1203], a period of nine years, let us write a summary history of the khans, caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs who were Genghis Khan's contemporaries during this period. [293] Thereafter we will pick up Genghis Khan's history at that point.

A brief history of the khaqans of Cathay, Machin, Jurcha, the Qarakhitai, Turkistan, and Transoxiana, and the caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Anatolia, &c. who were contemporary with Genghis Khan during the seven-year period from the beginning of Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that began in Rabi' I 591 [February 1195], until the end of Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Jumada II 599 [February 1203], a period of nine years, and unusual events that took place during this period.

Dates of the rulers of Cathay during this period.

Shizun [Shih Tsung] [ruled a total of] twenty-nine years, [of which] twenty-three were before, and six were during, this period.[1]

Hinzun [ruled] a total of one year [during the period].[2]

Janzun [Chang Tsung] [ruled a total of] nineteen years, [of which] two [were during the period].[3]

Dates of the rulers of Machin during this period.

Guang Zun [Kuang Tsung] [reigned a total of] four years, three years before and one year [during the period].[4]

Ning Zun [Ning Tsung] [reigned a total of] thirty-two years, eight years [of which were during the period].[5]

History of the caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran, Syria, Egypt, and Anatolia during the period.

History of the caliphs in Baghdad.

The caliph of the House of Abbas during this period was al-Nasir-li-dini'llah,[6] who sent his vizier Mu'ayyiduddin Ibn al-Qassab after the conquest of Khuzistan to take Persia. When he arrived in Hulwan,[7] Jahan Pahlavan's son Qutlugh Inanch came to him, and he was shown respect by the vizier. [294] Together they headed for Hamadan, where the Khwarazmshah's army was under the leadership of Mayanchuq. When the vizier arrived with the army, they pulled out, and Hamadan was turned over to the vizier, who then set out with Qutlugh Inanch after the Khwarazmians. They fled in rout as far as Gurgan, and the caliph's army turned around at Damghan and Bistam and took Ray. Therefore the

[1]This is Shih Tsung (世宗) of the Chin, r. 1161–90 (1171–1200 by Rashiduddin's calculation). Reading شیزون with the appendix (Blair, *Compendium*, fol. 257b) for the text's شیزوز.

[2]Reading هینزون with the appendix for the text's هینزقه.

[3]Chang Tsung (章宗), r. 1190–1209. Reading جنزون for the text's چنزقه. Appendix has خیزون.

[4]Reading زون for the text's زوز. This is Kuang Tsung (光宗) of the Southern Sung, r. 1190–95.

[5]Ning Tsung (寧宗) of the Southern Sung, r. 1195–1225.

[6]The Caliph al-Nasir ruled 1180–1225.

[7]Hulwan no longer exists as such, but the ruins are near the Iranian town of Sar-e Pol-e Zohab, just east of Qasr-e-Shirin on the Iraqi border. See Mehmed Hurşîd Paşa, *Seyâhatnâma-i hudûd*, 90, 105. Hulwan was the major stopping place between Baghdad and Persia before entering the Zagros Mountains en route to Kirmanshah and Hamadan.

area was cleared of Khwarazmian soldiers. Qutlugh Inanch and the amirs of Persia, in disagreement with the vizier, entered Ray and began a rebellion. The vizier besieged Ray. Qutlugh Inanch attacked Aba.[1] The *shahna* did not allow the vizier in, so he led the army from there to Karaj.[2] The vizier followed him and did battle. Qutlugh Inanch was defeated and took flight. The vizier went to Hamadan, and he died on the first of Shawwal in the year ___. Then came the Khwarazmshah, who disinterred him and burned his body, sending his head to Khwarazm and claiming to have killed him in battle.[3]

History of the sultans.

In Khwarazm and some of Persia and Khurasan, Sultan Täkish Khwarazmshah was ruling.[4] At the beginning of this period

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[1]The text's آبا "Aba" is the town normally spelled آوَه Ava, the modern Avej, northeast of Hamadan. See Ibn al-Athir's account in note below.

[2]This Karaj cannot be the Karaj northwest of Tehran. Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:194) notes without reference that it was south of Hamadan, between Hamadan and Nihavand.

[3]This account is too brief to make much sense. Ibn al-Athir's account for the year 591 (1195), from which it was doubtlessly taken, is somewhat fuller (*Kamil* 12:111–12): "We have mentioned that Mu'ayyiduddin Ibn al-Qassab took over the land of Khuzistan. When he took it over, he left it for Maysan, a dependency of Khuzistan. Then Qutlugh Inanch, son of Pahlavan, the ruler of the country (the Khwarazmshah's takeover of which has been previously mentioned), came to him accompanied by a group of amirs, and the caliph's vizier received him warmly. The reason he had come was that battles had been fought between him and the Khwarazmshah's army under the command of Mayachuq in Zanjan, and Qutlugh Inanch and his army had been defeated. He then headed for the caliph's army to take refuge with the vizier Mu'ayyiduddin, who gave him horses, tents, and other things he needed and awarded him and the amirs with him with robes of honor, and then decamped to Kirmanshah. From there he went to Hamadan, where the Khwarazmshah's son and Mayachuq were with their army. As the caliph's army approached, the Khwarazmians vacated the town and headed for Ray. The vizier took possession of Hamadan in Shawwal of this year [A.H. 591, i.e. September 1195]. Then he and Qutlugh Inanch went out after the Khwarazmians, taking over every town through which they passed, like Kharraqan, Mazdaghan, Sava, and Ava, and they proceeded to Ray. The Khwarazmians left the city for Khwar-i-Ray, and the vizier sent soldiers out in pursuit of them. The Khwarazmians abandoned Ray for Damghan, Bistam, and Jurjan, and the caliph's army returned to Ray, where they camped. Qutlugh Inanch and the officers who were with him agreed to rebel against the vizier and the caliph's army because they saw that there were none of the Khwarazmshah's soldiers in the area and they had designs on it. They entered Ray, and the caliph's vizier laid siege. Qutlugh Inanch departed, and the vizier took over the city, which the soldiers pillaged until the vizier had it heralded that plunder was to cease. Qutlugh Inanch and those with him went to Ava, where the vizier had a *shahna* who forbade them to enter. They thus departed. The vizier went in pursuit of them toward Hamadan. While on the road news reached him that an army had assembled around Qutlugh Inanch and that he was headed toward the city of Karaj and was camped in a pass near there. The vizier went out after them, and when they were near each other a fierce battle broke out. Qutlugh Inanch was defeated but managed to escape with his life. The vizier left the battlefield for Hamadan, outside of which he camped. He remained there for around three months. Then the Khwarazmshah Täkish's messenger came to him to forbid him to take the territory from his army, to summon him back, and to offer terms of truce. The vizier did not respond, so the Khwarazmshah proceeded in all seriousness to Hamadan. The vizier Mu'ayyiduddin Ibn al-Qassab had died in the beginning of Sha'ban [June 1196], and a battle was fought between [the Khwarazmshah] and the caliph's army on the 15th of Sha'ban 592 [July 14, 1196], and many soldiers were killed. The caliph's army was defeated, and the Khwarazmians took much booty from them. The Khwarazmshah took over Hamadan, disinterred the vizier, cut off his head, and sent it to Khwarazm to make it appear that he had killed him in the battle. Then news came to the Khwarazmshah from Khurasan that necessitated his return, so he pulled out and returned to Khurasan."

[4]Ala'uddin Täkish, r. 1172–1200.

he launched a campaign against Ghayir Bügü Khan the Uyghur. When battle was done, Sultan Täkish was defeated and returned to Khwarazm. In Rabi' II 593 [February 1197] his son and heir apparent Malik Shah died.[1] After much grief, Täkish summoned [Malik Shah's] elder son, Hindu Khan, to Khwarazm and made Qutbuddin Muhammad the designated heir in his stead. There was such intense enmity between the two that when Qutbuddin became sultan Hindu Khan fled and took refuge with enemies.[2]

In short, Qutbuddin ruled Khurasan competently. In 594 [1197–98], Täkish sent him to wage war against Ghayir Bügü Khan. When battle broke out, Bügü Khan fled, and Qutbuddin Muhammad took him and his commanders captive and brought them to his father. The Khwarazmshah spared his life and appointed him to the rank of amir.

In Rabi' I of the same year[3] he heard that Mayachuq,[4] who was in Persia on his behalf, was contemplating a rebellion because of the vast distance between them. He set out for Ray to attack him. When Mayachuq heard of this, he took flight, with the sultan's army in pursuit, to Mazanderan,[5] where he took refuge in a fortress. **[295]** They laid siege, and in the end they captured him and took him to the Khwarazmshah. Through the intercession of a group of nobles the sultan spared his life and ordered that in expiation for his rebellion he should spend the rest of his life in one of the frontier areas.

The sultan took Isfahan and gave it to his son Tajuddin Alishah. From there he went to besiege the fortress of Alamut. Sadruddin Muhammad Wazzan, the head of the Shafiites of Ray, was killed in that fortress, and the vizier Nizamuddin Mas'ud b. Ali was stabbed.

In Jumada II 596 [March 1200], Täkish ordered Qutbuddin Muhammad to attack Quhistan. He went and besieged the fortress of Turshiz for four months. The sultan went from Khwarazm against the heretics. When he reached the station of Chah-i-Arab near Shahristana, he died of diphtheria on the 19th of Ramadan 596 [July 3, 1200]. Heralds were immediately dispatched to take the tidings to his son Qutbuddin Muhammad, who hastened as fast as he could to Shahristana. After the rites of mourning he was elevated to the rule and given the title Ala'uddin and the name Sanjar.[6] His three-year history will be included in the next section on the sultans of Ghor.

In parts of Khurasan and Hindustan, Sultan Ghiyasuddin and Sultan Shihabuddin were on the throne. When Sultan Ghiyasuddin heard that the Khwarazmshah had died, he ordered three days during which the *nawbat* was not sounded and mourning was observed. Hindu Khan b. Malik Shah b. Khwarazmshah, afraid of his uncle Sultan Ala'uddin Muhammad, resorted to Sultan Ghiyasuddin and asked him for assistance. Ghiyasuddin promised to help him.

Sultan Ala'uddin had sent Chaghir the Turk to be the amir of Merv. Sultan Ghiyasuddin sent Muhammad b. Chärig, the governor of Taligan, to Chaghir with a message containing promises and threats saying, "You must have the *khutba* and coinage in my name."

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[1]This "Malik Shah" is known elsewhere as Malik Khan. See Minhaj Siraj, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 304.

[2]Agrees with Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:130f.

[3]According to Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:152, this took place in the year 595—that would be January 1199.

[4]The name occurs indiscriminately as Mayachuq and Mayanchuq.

[5]Correcting the text's Mardin to Mazanderan in accordance with Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:152). Mardin would have been a long way to flee from Ray.

[6]Ala'uddin Muhammad ruled 1200–1220.

In reply he said, "Get me amnesty from Ghiyasuddin so that I may enter fealty to him." Because Ghiyasuddin knew that the Khwarazmshah had no power or strength left, he coveted the realm of Khurasan. He summoned Shihabuddin from India so that together they might take Khurasan. By the time he arrived Ghiyasuddin had already entered Panj Deh and Marv Rud, and in Jumada I 597 [February 1201] the two brothers set out with the army to take Khurasan. Chaghir kept his promise and turned over the city of Merv to them. They gave it to Malik Shah's son Hindu Khan **[296]** and proceeded from there to Sarakhs, which they took peacefully and turned over to Amir Zangi, their cousin. They also gave him Nasa and Bavard as fiefs. They took Tus and sent a message to Alishah b. Khwarazmshah in Nishapur, saying, "Leave the province." Alishah and the Khwarazm army there agreed to put up a defense, fortified the walls, and got ready for battle. Sultan Ghiyasuddin pointed to the wall, and several towers and the walls collapsed. The Ghorids attributed this to a miracle and shouted *Allahu akbar*. The Khwarazmians grew fearful and took refuge in the congregational mosque. The Nishapuris drove them out of the city, and the Ghorids looted it and took Alishah captive and brought him to Ghiyasuddin. His maternal aunt was there, and she said to Ghiyasuddin, "Do they act thus with princes?" Ghiyasuddin said, "No, but they do act like this," as he took Alishah by the hand and seated him next to himself on the throne. He turned over Nishapur to his cousin and son-in-law Ziya'uddin Muhammad b. Ali, and he turned over Alishah to his brother Shihabuddin. He himself then went to Herat. Shihabuddin attacked Quhistan, where he massacred and pillaged. The governor of Quhistan sent a message to Ghiyasuddin saying, "Since there is a binding pact and covenant between us, why is your brother committing such atrocities in our area?" Sultan Ghiyasuddin sent a message to his brother saying, "Why are you harassing the realm of my friends? Get out of there." Shihabuddin refused.

"Shall I carry out Ghiyasuddin's order?" asked the envoy.

"Let it be done," replied Shihabuddin. The envoy drew his sword and cut the tent rope. With that, he decamped unwillingly, and, too angry to stop in Ghazna, he proceeded toward India.

In 598 [1201–2] Sultan Ala'uddin Muhammad Khwarazmshah came and retook the areas of Khurasan that the Ghor sultans had taken from his men. This came about because after Sultan Shihabuddin went to India, Sultan Ala'uddin sent Sultan Ghiyasuddin an ultimatum saying, "It was my hope that you would succeed my father and help me to get the Qarakhitai out of my province and to take it back from them. Since you didn't do it, I expect that at least you will not harass my province and that you will leave. Otherwise, name where and when we will do battle."

The upshot of all this was that after much running around, the Khwarazmshah retook part of Khurasan **[297]** and laid siege to Herat. When Sultan Shihabuddin heard of the siege, he went to Khurasan to attack Khwarazm, and Sultan Muhammad went to Khwarazm before him and flooded the roads. After eliminating the waters, Shihabuddin went to Khwarazm, and they fought a fierce battle. In the end Shihabuddin was victorious and defeated the Khwarazmians.

At the same time, in Jumada I 599 [January 1203],[1] Sultan Ghiyasuddin Abu'l-Fath Muhammad b. Sam Ghori died leaving a son named Mahmud. The news reached his brother Shihabuddin in Tus, and he went to Herat and held mourning. Sultan

[1]Date confirmed by Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:180.

Khwarazmshah took refuge with and sought assistance from the Qarakhitai, who were dominant in Transoxiana, and many soldiers led by Tayangu of Taraz came from them to attack the Ghorids. Sultan Usman of the seed of Afrasiab, the ruler of Samarkand, was also with them. When Sultan Shihabuddin realized that there was nothing to be gained from war, he lit fires by night and withdrew. Sultan Muhammad went out in pursuit, and when he reached the border of Hazarasp, the Ghorids turned around and gave battle, although they were defeated in the end. Shihabuddin and a few men leapt forth, and he killed four elephants with his own hands, and the Ghorids took [two elephants] from him.[1] When the Ghorids reached Andkhud, the Qarakhitai army caught up with them, and they did battle. Many were killed on both sides. The sultan holed up with a few men in the Andkhud citadel. The Qarakhitai army breached the wall, and finally a truce was made on terms that they be given another elephant, and they left. Shihabuddin escaped the brink of destruction and got to Taligan with nine men. The governor there, Husayn Kharmil, sent tents and supplies, and he set out for Ghazna, taking Husayn Kharmil along.

When the news of the Ghorid defeat was broadcast, Tajuddin [Y]ulduz, Shihabuddin's old slave, intended to take the fortress of Ghazna, but the castellan would not allow him in, and on account of the blatherings of the Qalach tribes and other troublemakers, they did much mischief. When Sultan Shihabuddin reached Ghazna, he ordered Yulduz killed. The amirs interceded for his life to be spared.

Aybak went to Multan and killed the sultan's representative and took over the area, saying that the sultan had been killed. At this point Sultan Shihabuddin went to India and seized him along with all his liege men and put them to death before returning to his seat. **[298]**

In Anatolia was Sultan Sulayman b. Qilich Arslan.[2] In Ramadan 597 [June 1201], he took the city of Malatya from his brother Mu'izzuddin Qaysarshah after a few days of siege. After that he went to Erzurum, and the son of Muhammad b. Saltuq, one of the old kings, came out to greet him and make peace. The sultan had him seized and imprisoned. He took Erzurum by dint of the sword, and the dynasty there came to an end.[3]

History of the maliks and atabegs in Mazanderan and Persia.

At the beginning of this period, Jahan-Pahlavan's son Qutlugh Inanch was a malik and commander-in-chief of the army. When he died, Jahan-Pahlavan's amirs and slaves gathered and made Gökchä their leader. They took Ray and environs and headed for Isfahan. When they received news that the caliph's army was approaching, they sent a messenger to Sayfuddin Toghril, the commander, to acknowledge their loyalty to the caliph. When Toghril reached Hamadan, Gökchä went out to greet him and accompany him to Isfahan, which he put under his control and sent a messenger to Baghdad requesting the governorship of Ray, Isfahan, Qum, Kashan,

[1] The difficulty in the text here is solved by the equivalent passage in Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:187), which reads: "Shihabuddin remained with only a few men. He killed four elephants with his own hands because they had become fatigued (*a'yat*), and the infidels [the Qarakhitai] took two elephants from him. Shihabuddin entered Andkhuy [Andkhud] along with those who were with him; the infidels surrounded him, but then they sued for a truce on condition that he would give them another elephant. He did so and was saved."

[2] Ruknuddin Sulayman II, ruled 1196–1204.

[3] Agrees with Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:169.

Ava, and Sava up to Mazdaqan on condition that those territories actually belong to the caliphal administration, but he would govern and keep order. His request was granted, and an investiture was forwarded. Within a short time he had become powerful and his army numerous.

In Azerbaijan and Diyarbekir was Malik Adil, the brother of Salahuddin Yusuf. He came from Karak to Damascus to his nephew Malik Afdal and was assigned to protect Diyarbekir. The remainder of his history and that of the other rulers of Diyarbekir will come immediately below under the rubric of the history of Syria and Egypt because they are so intertwined that if they were treated separately not only would there be much repetition but it would also be hard to understand.

In Syria and Egypt, as was reported previously, a truce had been established among Salahuddin Yusuf's sons, by the terms of which Jerusalem and the Syrian dependencies of Palestine, along with Egypt, would be Malik Aziz Usman's; Damascus, Tiberias, and the dependencies of the Jordan Valley and Gaza would be Malik Afdal's; Jabla, Latakiya, and the shore would be Malik Zahir's.[1] The Egyptian fiefs of Malik Adil, their uncle, would remain as they were. **[299]**

After a while Malik Aziz broke the pact by leading his army from Egypt to Syria in order to take Damascus from his brother and to leave Egypt to Afdal [Adil?]. On this basis they went to Egypt with an army of Kurds. In secret Adil sent a message to Aziz, telling him to gather his army and remain firm. He advised Afdal that it was unwise to be hasty in taking Egypt since "the foe," i.e. the Franks, were on his heels. Thus he put his plan into abeyance, and peace was made between them on terms that Jerusalem and all of Palestine, Tiberias, and the Jordan would be annexed to what Afdal already possessed, and Adil would reside in Egypt with Aziz, his fiefs intact. Afdal went to Damascus, and Adil accompanied Aziz to Egypt.

In Rajab 593 [May 1197], Malik Adil and Malik Aziz, along with their army, went from Egypt to Syria and laid siege to Damascus. Afdal's amirs misled him, and the kingdom slipped from his hands. They sent him to the fortress of Sarkhad, and Egypt became Aziz's and Damascus Adil's. Afdal sent an Ethiopian named Ali to the Caliph Nasir in Baghdad, with the following two lines of poetry to request assistance:

My lord, if Abubakr and his friend Uthman usurped Ali's right by means of the sword, / Then look at the writing of this name, how history repeated itself.

Aziz Usman, the king of Egypt, died on the 20th of Muharram 595 [November 22, 1198]. The amirs gathered and summoned Afdal. On the 5th of Rabi' I [January 5, 1199] he reached Egypt. His brothers, the amirs, and the grandees of Egypt went out to greet him. Both his brother Malik al-Mu'ayyad Mas'ud and Fakhruddin Charkas[2] had arranged banquets, but he chose to go to his brother's quarters. Fakhruddin Charkas was a great amir, but he grew suspicious and fled to Jerusalem, which he seized. There were servants of [the caliph] Nasir with Afdal who gathered around him, such as Qaracha Zardkash, Sara-Sonqur, and Maymun Qaysari, the lord of Bilbays. They found themselves in total agreement with one another and send a message to Malik Adil saying, "Come. We will help

[1] Correcting the text's Afzal to Zahir. See above, text p. 263.

[2] *Jami'u't-tawarikh* and Ibn al-Athir call this person Charkas (the Circassian), but Maqrizi calls him Jiharkas, probably just a variant. See Maqrizi/ Broadhurst, 122.

you take Egypt." He was occupied with the siege of Mardin, hopeful of taking it and not letting Egypt get away. Afdal entered the city of Cairo on the 7th of Rabi' I [January 7, 1199] and heard that the Charkas had fled. **[300]** A group of Nasir's amirs were in league with him. He seized some of the Nasirites who were in Egypt, like Shuqayr, Aybak Aftas, and Elbegi, all of whom were brave and courageous, and imprisoned them. Afdal was ensconced in Egypt. The minister was Sayfuddin Barkaj. The rulers of Syria sent a message to Afdal inviting him to take Damascus. Afdal despised this and refused to cooperate. The news reached Adil, who stationed his son Kamil in Mardin and went in haste to Damascus, summoning the Nasirites from Jerusalem. They set out, and his son Malik Kamil also arrived, thus furnishing Adil massive support. When Afdal saw that things were not going to be easy, he went to Egypt, while his brother Zahir went to Aleppo and Sherkoh, also one of his followers, went to Homs.

In 596 [1199–1200] Malik Adil amassed his troops to attack Egypt, and Afdal came out with a small force. Battle was fought, and Afdal went in defeat to the fortress at Sarkhad, taking control of Mayyafariqin, Hani,[1] and Jabal Jur.[2] Malik Adil then became ensconced in Egypt with the *khutba* and coinage in both Malik Mansur's name and his own.

Afdal came back to take Damascus with the help of his brother Malik Zahir, the lord of Aleppo, but he could not do it. Once again the two brothers made a truce with Malik Adil on terms that Manbij, Afamiya, Kafr Tab, and a couple of areas around Ma'arra would be annexed to Aleppo and belong to Zahir, while Sumaysat, Saruj, Ra's Ayn, and Hamlin would be Afdal's.[3]

During these years Arslanshah, the lord of Mosul, amassed his troops and went out to take Harran and Ruha [Edessa], which belonged to Adil. Qutbuddin Muhammad, the lord of Sinjar and Nasibin,[4] and the lord of Mardin were with him. When he reached Harran it was hot and many of his soldiers were lost to illness. Malik Adil's son Fa'iz[5] was in Harran. He sent a messenger to sue for a truce. When Nuruddin Arslanshah heard that a truce had been made among Malik Adil, Malik Zahir, and Afdal, he withdrew under a truce, and everyone went home.

In Muharram 599 [September–October 1202], Malik Adil dispatched his son Malik Ashraf Musa to lay siege to Mardin. After he got nowhere, Malik Zahir the lord of Aleppo sent a message to his uncle to intervene for a truce. Malik Adil responded favorably on terms that the lord of Mardin send 150,000 dinars and put the *khutba* and coinage in his name.[6] **[301]**

Also in that year Malik Zahir took the Najm fortress from his brother Afdal, and Malik Adil took back the territory of Saruj, Hamlin, and Ra's al-Ayn from him, leaving him with only Sumaysat.[7]

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[1]Hani, in Diyarbekir. See Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 274.

[2]The name of this place is given as جيكجور in JT_K; Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:156) gives the name as جبلجور (Jabal Júr), but it has not been identified.

[3]Agrees with Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:163. Sumaysat was known to the West as Samosata, and it was on the Euphrates not far from Saruj (Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 267; note that there were two Samosatas, one known as Sumaysát in Arabic and the other as Shimshát); Saruj is the modern Sürüç, southwest of Urfa; Ra's Ayn is the modern Ra's al 'Ayn on the Syrian-Turkish border; the name of "Hamlin" (حملين according to Ibn al-Athir) varies in the texts (جملين ~ خملين)—whatever it was originally, it must represent the Harran region, between Sürüç and Ra's al 'Ayn.

[4]Nasibin is the modern Nusaybin on the Turkish border directly opposite al-Qamishli in Syria.

[5]Reading فائز (Fá'iz) for the text's فاتر.

[6]Agrees with Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:179.

[7]Agrees with Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:182.

In the Maghreb, Ya'qub b. Yusuf b. Abdul-Mu'min was king. Many fierce battles were fought between him and the Franks. He died in the city of Salé on the 18th of Rabi' II 595 [February 17, 1199], and his son Mahmud succeeded. The people of Mahdiyya, who had revolted against his father, submitted to him, and he consolidated his kingdom.[1]

In Kirman was Malik Dinar, one of the Oghuz amirs. He died of delirium in Dhu'l-Qa'da 591 [October 1195], the first year of this period, and his son Ala'uddin Farrukhshah, who had previously been the governor of Bam, succeeded him. The chief of those Oghuz, Sayfuddin Alp Arslan, left his service. Farrukhshah died in Rajab 592 [June 1196], and the Oghuz wrought much havoc. After that, the *shahna* of Tabas, Elit, came with his retinue and put the *khutba* in Kirman in the name of the Khwarazmshah. After that, Atabeg Nusrat of Zozan became malik and sent his deputy, Khwaja Raziuddin, to the court. After that, Husamuddin Umar Khwarazmi came to be governor. When the Khwarazmshah died, the Oghuz came back to the city gates, and Husamuddin died and his son succeeded. They saw no good in him, and they ejected him from the city. Mubariz of Ik[2] and his brother came to repel the Oghuz, and Alp Arslan, their commander, went off in rout to Fars. When the maliks of Ik returned to their own territory because of the enmity of Fars, Alp Arslan came back. Once again Nizamuddin came from Ik and became governor. After that, Ajamshah, Malik Dinar's son who had gone to Khurasan, came back and joined the Oghuz. The citizens turned over Nizamuddin of Ik, whom they had captured. Ajamshah became malik of Fars, and an army came from Fars and asked for Nizamuddin, whom they turned over to them. **[302]**

Now that the history has been written of the khaqans, caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of the orient and occident who were Genghis Khan's contemporaries during the nine-year period from the beginning of Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that began in Rabi' I 591 [February 1195], until the beginning of Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Jumada II 599 [February 1203], during which year Genghis Khan was forty-nine years old, we will return to Genghis Khan's history. ~

[1] Agrees with Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:146f.

[2] Ik, a fortress in Shabankara.

The History of Genghis Khan from the beginning of Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that began in Jumada II 600 [February 1204], through Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Sha'ban 606 [January 1210], a period of seven years; during the last year Genghis Khan was fifty-six years old

During this period he did battle with Tayang Khan and killed him. He set up a nine-footed standard and was given the title Genghis Khan. Several times he went to battle in Tangqut and also fought Toqto'a, the ruler of the Märkit, and Tayang Khan's son Güshlüg. He also called upon the ruler of the Uyghur to submit.

The ruler of the Öng'üt informs Genghis Khan of Tayang Khan's intention.

In the spring of Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that began in Jumada II 600 of the Hegira [February 1204], Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman, sent an emissary, Joqanan by name,[1] to the ruler of the Öng'üt people, **[303]** Ala Qush Tegin Quri,[2] saying, "They say that in this area there has recently appeared a monarch (by which he meant Genghis Khan). I know for certain that in the sky the sun and the moon are two, but on the earth how can there be two monarchs in one kingdom? You be my right hand and support me with troops so that we can take his sable" (by which he meant his insignium).

Ala Qush sent one of his elite men, Torbi Dash[i] by name, to Genghis Khan and informed him of this, and by that, the best of all possible ways, he submitted to him. This story will come in the proper place, God willing.

Tayang Khan launches an attack on Genghis Khan but he is defeated.

Although Genghis Khan already knew of Tayang Khan's hostility, when he was made aware of the situation by Torbi Dashi's words, he held a *quriltai* in the spring of the Year of the Rat in Tämä['än] Kähär-in Tülkül Chä'üt.[3] The amirs said of one accord, "Our horses are lean. Let us fatten them up, and we will ride with you."

"Liege men," said Otchigin Noyan, Genghis Khan's uncle, "why make our horses' leanness an excuse? Now that we have heard such words, let us ride on campaign. What is fitting? Either let Tayang Khan take us, or let us take him, and then let them say, 'They took Tayang in this place.' ... God knows whether we will take him or he will take us. In any case let us mount."

After that, Genghis Khan's brother Belgütäi said, "O Genghis Khan, if the Naiman people take your sable, let our bones not stick together in one place. They have dominance because they are a large nation and have many herds and flocks. What can he do with a large nation and many herds and flocks if we make a preemptive strike? How difficult can it be to take his sable?"

Genghis Khan was pleased by their words, and on the fifteenth of the month[4] he set out to do battle with Tayang Khan at Kältägäi Qada at the Qal[q]a River. After they had been on that campaign for a long time and battle had not taken place, in that same Year of the Rat, in autumn, all were assembled once again, and Qubilai and Jäbä were sent forward to strike. Tayang Khan was at the Altai River in the vicinity **[304]**

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[1]Reading جوقاتان (Joqanan, from the Syriac ܝܘܚܢܢ, for John) for the text's جوقاتان. He is Yoqunan in the *Secret History* §190.

[2]See note to text p. 100 above.

[3]Teme'en Ke'er and Tülkin Che'üd in the *Secret History* §190. Text has تولكولجوت تمكه يدون.

[4]The *Secret History* §193 has: "the sixteenth day of the first moon of summer."

of Qangqai.[1] The forward detachment returned, and Toqto'a, the ruler of the Märkit, and Alin Taishi of the Kerayit amirs, who had taken flight, had gone there. The Oyirat, whose leader was Qutuqa Beki, and Jamuqa of the Jajirat, and the Dörbän, Tatar, Qataqin, and Salji'ut clans all assembled with Tayang Khan. It so happened that a horse with a saddle strapped to its belly belonging to Genghis Khan's army ran away and went among the Naiman soldiers. When they saw how skinny the horse was, Tayang Khan took counsel with his commanders, saying, "The Mongols' horses are lean. We will do dogfights and slowly fall back until they come after us. Their horses will become even weaker and ours will become *baraq* [shaggy]. Then we will stand and fight."

Qori Sübächü, one of Tayang Khan's great commanders, said in reply, "Your father Inanch Qa'an never showed his back or his horse's rump to anyone. You have taken fright in an hour. Since it is so, Gürbäsü Khatun should be brought." (By Gürbäsü he meant the lady Tayang Khan loved.) The commander spoke these words and left in wrath and anger. Tayang Khan then had no choice but to stand and fight.

Genghis Khan said to Jochi Qasar, "You command the *qol*," meaning the center of the army, and Genghis Khan assigned each one. When Jamuqa Sächän saw Genghis Khan's deployment from afar, he turned to his liege men and said, "The method and deployment of the *anda* (meaning Genghis Khan) are different. The Naiman will not leave the skin of a calf or goat for anyone." Turning around, he departed and left the battlefield. On that day they fought a pitched battle. Near sundown Tayang Khan's army, broken and routed, turned their faces from the battle. Tayang Khan suffered so many serious wounds that his body was deeply cut in several places. He took refuge on a steep cliff. Qori Sübächü and several other commanders were with him, but no matter how hard they tried to make him get up and stand again to battle, he was too badly wounded to move. After that, Qori Sübächü and other commanders and liege men said, "You all be patient until I say words I know will rouse his zeal and make him get up." **[305]**

"Tayang Khan," he said, "have we become mountain goats to scale cliffs? Get up and let's fight!"

Hearing these words, he was not provoked into getting up.

"Tayang Khan," he said again, "your wives, especially your beloved Gürbäsü, have all adorned themselves and made the camps ready in expectation of you. Get up, and let's go!"

He heard these words too, but he still couldn't make a move.

"If he had the slightest ability," Qori Sübächü said to the other commanders, "he would have moved or given a reply. Now, before we see his death, let's go and fight opposite him so that he can see our deaths." Coming down from the cliff, they fought hard until they were killed.

Although Genghis Khan wanted to take them alive, they absolutely would not allow it and preferred to be killed. Genghis Khan marveled at this and approved of such great fidelity and devotion. "How can anyone who has such men have anything to worry about?" he said.

When it was night Tayang Khan's army was defeated. Genghis Khan's army went out in pursuit of them, and the defeated men were so afraid and terrified that they stumbled into harsh mountain terrain. By night many of the Naiman soldiers slipped and tumbled to their deaths down the steep mountain cliffs called Naqu Qun. This story is very well known among the Mon-

[1] Reading تانگقای for the text's تانگتای, the Qanghai of the *Secret History* §194.

gols. In that battle the Dörbän, Tatar, Qataqin, and Salji'ut tribes all surrendered and went before Genghis Khan. The Märkit did not submit and ran away instead. Tayang Khan's son Güshlüg escaped to his father's brother Buyuruq Khan.

Genghis Khan rides to do battle with the Märkit nation, who are defeated.

After that, in the winter of the same Year of the Rat corresponding to 600 of the Hegira [1203–4], Genghis Khan launched a campaign against Toqto'a Beki, the ruler of the Märkit, and the many tribes that had been allied with Tayang Khan but took flight after his defeat.

Along the way, they first encountered the Märkit clan called the Uhaz. Their chief and elder, Dayir Usun, **[306]** had camped at the head of a river called Ta'ur Müräп. "We have no wish for battle," they said. Dayir Usun picked up his daughter Qulan Khatun and took her as a gift to Genghis Khan.

"They have no horse or quadruped to ride in Genghis Khan's retinue," they reported. Genghis Khan then ordered them dispersed among the companies of a hundred, set a *shahna* over them, and stationed them in the *aghruq*s. The group that was in the *aghruq* assembled and fought, but everything they had pillaged was taken away from them. That group ran away. Genghis Khan surrounded the Uru'ut Märkit clan in a fortress called Daiqal Qorghan.[1] After seizing the clan called the Mudan, another clan called the Todaqlin, and another clan called the Je'ün, he withdrew. Toqto'a and his sons fled to Buyuruq Khan, Tayang Khan's brother who controlled a separate kingdom and army. The Uhaz Märkit, whose leader was Dayir Usun, became rebellious again and took up a position in the vicinity of the Selenga River in the Quru Qabchal fortress.

Genghis Khan put Boroghul Noyan and Chimbai, Chila'uqan Bahadur's brother, in charge of the army of the right wing and sent them to deal [with the rebels]. They went there and captured the entire clan that had taken refuge in the fortress.

Genghis Khan rides against the territory of Qashin, which is called Tangqut, and subdues their fortresses and towns.

When Hükär Yil, the Year of the Buffalo that began in Jumada II 601 [January 1205], commenced auspiciously, Genghis Khan arrayed his army and set out on a campaign against Qashin, the territory that is also called Tangqut. When they went there they came first to a fortress called Ligi,[2] an extremely impregnable place. **[307]** They laid siege to it, and in a short while they took it and destroyed all its ramparts and foundations. From there they went to a city called [Lo-szu],[3] a really magnificent city. That too they took and plundered. They took and raided some other parts of Tangqut and drove away all the animals they found there. They returned to Genghis Khan with much booty and many camels and animals.

Genghis Khan's great quriltai at which he set up a nine-footed white standard and was given the epithet Genghis Khan; he sets out to do battle with Buyuruq Khan, the ruler of half the Naiman people, and

[1]Daiqal is the *taiqal* of the *Secret History*, which is glossed in Chinese as 'mountain-top' but rendered as a proper name in the continuous Chinese translation. See *Secret History*, p. 132, note 1. *Qorghan* is the Turkish for 'fortress.'

[2]Reading ليكي (Ligi) for the text's ليبكي. This is Li-chi-li (力吉里) in Hsi-Hsia (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 27).

[3]On text p. 103 above, this place is spelled كينكلوس; here it is كلنكلوشي; on p. 425 it is ليكلوش. These variants point to a putative original of كينكلوسي, for K'eng Lo-szu, a simple reversal of the name as it appears in the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 65, note 257), 落思城 Lo-szu ch'eng ('Lo-szu walled city').

he captures him.

When Bars Yil, the Year of Tiger that began in Rajab 602 [February 1206], commenced auspiciously, at the beginning of spring Genghis Khan ordered a nine-footed white standard set up,[1] and he held a great *quriltai* with a magnificent assemblage. At that *quriltai* the title of "Genghis Khan" *(Chingiz Khan)* was given him, and he mounted the khan's throne under good auspices. The giver of the title was Münglig Echigä's son Kököchü of the Qongqotan clan, who was called Täb Tängri. The meaning of *ching* is "strong" and "hard," and *chingiz* is the plural—like *gür khan*, which is the great title of the Qarakhitai rulers meaning "strong and mighty monarch."

When the assembly of the *quriltai* was over, they set out to attack Buyuruq Khan, who was hunting with falcons in the area of Ulugh Taq at a place called Suja'u. Genghis Khan and the army fell upon him like fate and destroyed him, taking his land, home, wives and children, and herds and flocks. When his nephew Güshlüg Khan's father Tayang Khan had been killed, Güshlüg Khan had escaped and gone to his uncle Buyuruq Khan. Toqto'a Beki, the ruler of the Märkit, was also with him, as has been said previously. These two took refuge in a place called Ärdish [Irtysh] along the Naiman frontier. Their end will be spoken of presently, [308] God willing.

The conquest of the province of Tangqut, which the Mongols used to call Qashin.

In the autumn of the Year of the Rabbit corresponding to Rajab 603 [February 1207], since the province of Tangqut had rebelled and refused to pay tribute or heed orders, Genghis Khan rode out once again to do battle. That time he conquered the entire province, returning victorious and triumphant.

The commanders of the Qirqiz submit.

Also in the Year of the Rabbit, Genghis Khan sent two emissaries, one named Altan and the other Bu'ura, to the commanders and rulers of the Qirqiz. First they reached an area called ___, the commander of which was ___. After that, they arrived in another area called Yeti Afzun, the commander of which was called Orus Inal. These two commanders showed respect for the two emissaries and sent back with them two of their own envoys, one named Elig Temür and the other Atqiraq, along with a white falcon, and thus they submitted to Genghis Khan.

Toqto'a Beki, the ruler of the Märkit who had repeatedly fought battles and stirred up strife, is seized and killed.

In the Year of the Dragon beginning in Rajab 604 [January 1208], when Genghis Khan returned from conquering the Tangqut towns and the Qirqiz, and after the commanders of those areas had surrendered, he dismounted at his own tents and spent the entire summer there. That winter he mounted under good auspices to deal with Toqto'a Beki and Güshlüg, both of whom had fled from the battle with Buyuruq and gone into the territory of Ärdish. [309] Along the way the scouts and advance men unexpectedly encountered a clan of the Oyirat whose leader was Qutuqa Beki. Since this clan was not capable of offering resistance they surrendered and joined. They guided Genghis Khan's army. They made a surprise attack on Toqto'a Beki and Tayang Khan's son Güshlüg Khan. Both were brought down, and their possessions and herds and flocks were all taken in plunder. Toqto'a was killed in battle, but Güshlüg got out with a few men, taking refuge in the Gür Khan Qarakhitai's

[1]The "nine-footed" white standard is explained in the *Secret History* §202 (p. 141, note 54) as meaning a standard with nine tails.

territory, where he remained for a time. The Gür Khan won him over and called him "son." After a time he gave him his daughter. His end will be given later in the proper place, God willing.

The Uyghur people submit, and Genghis Khan rewards the Idiqut, their ruler.

In the spring of Moghai Yil, the Year of Snake beginning in Sha'ban 605 [February 1209], when the Idiqut, the ruler of the Uyghur, heard of Genghis Khan's might, majesty, and generosity—at that time the Uyghur paid tribute to the Gür Khan, one of whose great commanders, Shaugäm by name, sat over them as a commandant—the Idiqut favored Genghis Khan. He killed Shaugäm the commandant and decided to send envoys to Genghis Khan. Rumors of this had reached Genghis Khan, and he had sent two envoys to the Idiqut. One was named Alp Ülüg,[1] and the other was Darbai.[2] When they arrived, the Idiqut rejoiced greatly over their arrival and honored them. In their company he sent two of his own ambassadors, Alghish[3] ___[4] Ish-Ayghuchi and Temür Tutuq, to Genghis Khan to say on his behalf, "From all comers and goers I have heard reports of the might and majesty of the world-conquering monarch. I have rebelled against the Gür Khan of the Qarakhitai. I wanted to send emissaries and report on the Gür Khan's situation and everything else I know in general and in detail, and I wanted to do valiant service willingly. I was in the midst of such thoughts **[310]** when Genghis Khan's envoys arrived. It was, it seemed to me, as though the sky had been cleared of clouds and the bright sun had come out from behind them and broken up the ice that had frozen on the rivers, and pure, clear water could be seen.[5] I rejoiced greatly in my heart. Henceforth I offer all the territory of the Uyghur and am Genghis Khan's slave." In such words was the message couched.

Prior to this, when Toqto'a Beki was felled during battle by an arrow wound and killed, his brother Qudu and all four of his sons, Chila'un, Maqar, and Qul[t]uqan Märgän (*märgän* means a good archer, and since he was he was so called), got out of the battle alive. They wanted to take Toqto'a's body away, but there was no opportunity, so they picked up his head in haste and fled from Ärdish to Uyghur territory, where they sent a messenger named Äbügän to the Idiqut. The Idiqut killed their messenger, and therefore they did battle at the river called Jäm Müran, where they were defeated. The four, along with Güshlüg, departed from there and went to other regions, as will be mentioned.

Since the Idiqut realized that they were Genghis Khan's enemies, not only did he not allow them to stay but he also gave battle and drove them away. When the situation was made known, he sent four of his liege men, Arslan Ögä, Chaduq Ögä, Bolad Tegin, and Inal[6] Qaya Süngächi, to Genghis Khan, who was pleased by this action.

Based on the foregoing, when the two envoys mentioned above arrived with Genghis Khan's envoys and gave their report, Genghis Khan showed them favor and made a decree saying, "If the Idiqut truly has it in his heart to perform deeds of

[1]Reading اولوك (Ülüg) for the text's اونوك.

[2]In the *Secret History* §238, the Idiqut's ambassadors are Adkiragh (the Atqiraq named above as an envoy of the Qirqiz) and Darbai. Genghis Khan's ambassadors are not mentioned.

[3]Reading الغيش for the text's الغين. Alghish is an attested name.

[4]*BWKRS*; vocalization unknown.

[5]Cf. *Secret History* §238: "Even as having seen Mother Sun, / When the clouds become clear; / Even as having found the water of the river, / When the ice becometh clear."

[6]Reading اينال (Inal) for the text's ايناك. In the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, 3388, his name is given as 亦難 海牙 I-nan Hai-ya (Inal Qaya).

valor, let him pick up what he has in his treasury and bring it here." On this mission he dispatched Alp Ülüg and Darbai once more. When they arrived there, the Idiqut opened the door of his treasury, picked up what coins and goods were suitable and appropriate, and headed out to Genghis Khan's presence.

When Genghis Khan was sending the envoys to the Idiqut the second time, in the summer of Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse corresponding to 606 [1210]—and that summer he stayed in his *ordu* **[311]**—the Idiqut was preparing his arms and had not yet arrived. When autumn came and Genghis Khan had mounted to do battle with the Tangqut, which they used to call Qashin, he came to a city called Erighaya. He put the realm of Tangqut under marshall rule, the ruler of the Tangqut gave him his daughter, and he returned victorious and triumphant. When he came back under good auspices, the Idiqut had arrived, and the ruler of the Qarluq, Arslan Khan, also submitted.

That was in the spring of Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep corresponding to 607 [1211]. The whole story of the Idiqut, including that of Arslan Khan, will come later, God willing.

Now that a detailed history of Genghis Khan has been written from the beginning of Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that began in Jumada II 600 [February 1204], until the end of Morin Yil, the year of the horse that began in Sha'ban 606 [January 1210], a period of seven years, during the last year of which Genghis Khan was fifty-six years old, we can begin a brief history of the khaqans, caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs who were contemporary with Genghis Khan during this seven-year period in various realms east and west. After that we will return to the history of Genghis Khan after this period. ~

A brief history of the khaqans of Cathay, Machin, Jurcha, the Qarakhitai, Turkistan, and Transoxiana, the caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Anatolia, &c. who were contemporary with Genghis Khan during the seven-year period from the beginning of Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that began in Jumada II 600 [February 1204], until the end of Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Sha'ban 606 [January 1210], and unusual events that took place during this period. [312]

Dates of the rulers of Cathay during this period.

Janzun [Chang Tsung] [ruled a total of] nineteen years, of which two were before, and ten were after, the seven years.[1]

Dates of the rulers of Machin during this period.

Ning Zun [Ning Tsung] [ruled a total of] thirty-two years, of which eight were before, and seventeen were after, the seven years.[2]

Dates of the rulers of Turkistan and Transoxiana during this period.

The Gür Khan who has been mentioned.

History of the caliphs and sultans during this period.

[1]Reading جنزون (Janzun) for the text's چيزوم. This is Chang Tsung (章宗) of the Chin, ruled 1190–1209. Rashiduddin's calculation of his reign is approximately ten years off.

[2]Ning Tsung (寧宗) of the Southern Sung, ruled 1195–1225.

In Baghdad was the caliph of the Abbasid Dynasty al-Nasir-li-dini'llah.[1]

In Khwarazm and parts of Khurasan and Persia was Sultan Ala'uddin Muhammad b. Khwarazmshah. Because of the death of his father and the opposition of his nephew Hindu Khan, the sultans of Ghor, as was said in the previous section, attacked him and took back most of the towns of Khurasan from his son and representatives. Battles raged between them, and he was somewhat weakened. During these years, as the fortune of the sultans of Ghor was waning, and Sultan Shihabuddin died, as will be mentioned, Sultan Muhammad's fortune waxed. He became strong and set out to take Khurasan. Izzuddin Husayn Kharmil, the governor of Herat, offered his allegiance before any of the other amirs and sent a message telling him to come to Herat first. Fearful least the Qarakhitai make a preemptive strike and get hold of Balkh and that area, the sultan set out for that area. When he reached Herat, **[313]** Izzuddin Husayn Kharmil went out to greet him and turn over the city. The amirs of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, Ghiyasuddin Ghor's son, were opposed, but the sultan's soldiers drove them away and scattered them.

When the sultan reached Balkh, the governors of the fortifications surrendered the keys of the fortresses and supply stores to him, and once again Khurasan was in his hands. During this period he conquered Mazanderan and Kirman. Returning victorious from Persia in 606 [1209–10], all of Transoxiana was his. He gave his daughter to Sultan Usman of Samarkand.

In Anatolia was Sultan Ruknuddin Sulayman [son of] Qilich Arslan.[2] His nephew, the governor of Ankara, holed up in a fortress for a time, and no matter how long Sultan Ruknuddin laid siege to him, he was not successful. Finally he arranged that he would give his nephew another fortress, which he named, in exchange. The fortress was surrendered, and the nephew set out for the other place. Ruknuddin sent a posse in pursuit, and they killed him and all his brothers and sons. In retribution for this shameful act of treachery and breach of promise, Ruknuddin was stricken five days later with colic and died on the seventh day.[3] His son Qilich Arslan was installed in his place.

In Rajab 602 [February–March 1206] Qilich Arslan's son Ghiyasuddin Kaykhusraw seized the rule from his nephew Qilich son of Sulayman. This came about as follows. Before that, Konya was held by Ghiyasuddin, and Ruknuddin took it from him by force, forcing Ghiyasuddin to flee to Syria and take refuge with Malik Zahir. Having no success there, he went to Constantinople, where he was received honorably by the king and given estates where he took up residence and married the daughter of a patriarch. When the Franks took Constantinople,[4] Ghiyasuddin fled to a fortress that belonged to the patriarch. After his brother Ruknuddin died and the amirs pledged loyalty to his son, one of the amirs of ___[5] rebelled and sent a message to Ghiyasuddin, saying, "If you come, I will obtain the governorship for you." Ghiyasuddin went and attacked Konya with a large force. Ruknuddin's son was there. He came out and fought a battle in which he was defeated and put to rout. At that time the people of Aqsaray ejected their gover-

[1]The Caliph al-Nasir ruled from 1180 to 1225.

[2]Ruknuddin Sulayman II of the Seljuqs of Rum, ruled 1196–1204.

[3]He died, according to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12: 195), on 6 Dhu'l-Qa'da 600 (July 6, 1204).

[4]The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

[5]In the text, ارج; according to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:200) they were الاتراك الاوج, (Uj Turks), which may mean "frontier Turks," i.e. the Turks who manned the borderlands with the Byzantines.

nor and set [Ghiyasuddin] up as ruler. He then seized his nephew and his liege men **[314]** and imprisoned them. Ghiyasuddin's brother Qaysarshah was the governor of Malatya,[1] and Ruknuddin took it from him by force. He was living in Syria and became the son-in-law of Malik Adil and went to live in Ruha.[2] When he heard of his brother, he went to him but was not accepted. He returned to Ruha. Malik Afdal was in Samosata, and the lord of Khartbirt [Harput] put the *khutba* in his name.

In Ghor, Ghazna, and part of Hindustan was Sultan Shihabuddin. In Muharram 602 [August–September 1205] he did battle with the Kokar clansmen. This came about as follows. When Shihabuddin Majdud of Khwarazm was defeated by the army of the Qarakhitai, which had come to reinforce Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah, a rumor was spread abroad that he had died. The son of Rai Bal, the lord of Mount Judi, which is near Sarandip, had become Muslim, but he returned to being an infidel. The Kokar clansmen, who had been obedient and tribute-paying, rebelled for the same ridiculous reasons and began to engage in highway robbery. When Shihabuddin finished seizing and killing his slave Aybak Shal,[3] who had been holding Multan, he sent Muhammad b Abi-Ali as his deputy to Lahore and Multan to collect two years' worth of taxes to enable him to mount a campaign against Cathay. He send word back saying, "Kokar's sons are on the road and committing brigandage. Because of them, it is absolutely impossible to send money from Lahore and Multan." Shihabuddin sent his slave Qutbuddin Aybak, the leader of the army of Hindustan, to them with promises and threats. They gave no reply. Complaints of them were coming in from all over Sind and India. The sultan put off his Cathay campaign, and mounted against them on the 5th of Rabi' I 602 [October 20, 1205]. Hearing that they were between Jhelum and ___[4] with a large force, he drove forward with all speed and arrived there on the 5th of Rabi' II [November 19]. A pitched battle was fought, lasting from dawn to noon. Without warning, Qutbuddin Aybak arrived with his army, attacked them, and put them into a serious rout during which many were killed. The Indians went near a large mountain and lit many fires. When the Muslims drew near them, they threw themselves into the fires and were all burned. **The loss both of this world, and of the life to come: this is manifest perdition.**[5] The army of Islam took so much booty that five Indian slaves were sold for one dinar.

Kokar's son fled when his brothers and family immolated themselves. **[315]** Rai Bal's son the lord of Judi took refuge with Qutbuddin and begged and pleaded. Qutbuddin responded positively and asked the sultan to spare his life. The sultan was in Lahore until the 15th of Rajab [February 25, 1206]. Thereafter he went to Ghazna and dispatched Baha'uddin Sam, the lord of the Bamian,[6] to outfit the army for a campaign against Samarkand. On the first of Sha'ban [March 13], he crossed at the Jhelum crossing,[7] and on the banks of the

[1] Correcting JT_K's text from ملیطه to ملطیه (Malatya).

[2] Reading رها (Ruha, Edessa, the modern Urfa in Turkey; the Syriac name for the city was ܐܘܪܗܝ Urhay) for the text's زها.

[3] Reading شل (*shal*) for the text's نل. According to Minhaj Siraj (*Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, p. 416), he was called *shal* (one who cannot hold anything in his hand) because he had a broken thumb.

[4] The two names in JT_K are ماجیلم and هوددہ. The two names in Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:210) are جیلم (Jaylam, for Jhelum, the modern Jhelum on the Jhelum River north of Lahore) and سودرة (Súdara).

[5] Kor. 22:11.

[6] Bamian is misprinted in the text as نایمان; correct to بامیان.

[7] Reading جیلم (J[h]elum) for the text's جیلی.

Indus at a place called Damyak[1] he set up a court tent in such a fashion that half the tent was over the water. Since he had overthrown the Kokarites and killed and imprisoned many of them, two or three Hindus came to assassinate him. One day without warning they emerged from the water at the time of afternoon nap. He was in the tent. They stabbed him nearly twenty times. After a while when his men went in, they found him lying dead, prostrate on his prayer mat.[2] Realizing that Indian assassins had done it, the amirs and ministers assembled around the vizier Mu'ayyidulmulk and took an oath to maintain the treasury and kingdom until a successor could be found. They stitched up his wounds and took him and two thousand loads from the treasury to Ghazna in a litter, claiming that he was ill. When his death was made public, disagreement broke out among the amirs. Some expressed their preference for Shihabuddin Sam Malik, while others were for Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, Sultan Ghiyasuddin's son.

A group of corrupt clerics from Ghazna said to the slaves, "Mawlana Fakhruddin Razi hatched a plot with the Khwarazmshah. On his advice the sultan sent somebody to kill Shihabuddin." They attacked Mawlana Fakhruddin, who took refuge with the vizier Mu'ayyidulmulk, who managed to save him from them and send him to a distant place where he would be safe from them.

Baha'uddin Sam was the governor of Bamian. His father was Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Mas'ud, a cousin of Sultan Shihabuddin and Ghiyasuddin. They gave him their sister in marriage and Bamian as a fief, and his fortunes rose thanks to them. He had a son by that wife he named Sam. When he died his eldest son, Abbas by name and the son of a Turkish woman, was put in his place. He was not pleasing to the sultans, who dismissed him. They gave their sister's son Sam the title of Baha'uddin, and they also gave him Bamian as an appanage. He grew strong and collected great riches.

At the time that Shihabuddin arrived, **[316]** he began to suffer from violent headaches, and he realized that he was going to die of this affliction. He summoned his sons Ala'uddin and Jalaluddin and said, "Go to Ghazna. Let Ala'uddin be the heir presumptive, and let him make peace with Ghiyasuddin Mahmud on terms that Ghor and Khurasan be his and Ghazna and India be Ala'uddin's.

When Shihabuddin died in India, Shihabuddin's amirs assembled. He had an intelligent slave who was Aybak's successor. They put him on the throne, and he became known throughout the world as Sultan Shamsuddin of Hindustan. Qabacha took over Sind, Lahore, and Multan, while Zabulistan and Ghazna were seized by Tajuddin Yulduz after much strife and unrest.

In Herat and Firozkoh, Sultan Ghiyasuddin's son Amir Mahmud took over. Izzuddin Husayn Kharmil, the governor of Herat, was inclined to follow Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah, as has been said before. These differences occasioned the downfall and extinction of the sultans of Ghor and the rise of the Khwarazmshah sultan.[3]

History of the maliks and atabegs in Mazanderan and Persia.

Ray and Hamadan were dominated by

[1]Reading دمیاك (Damyak, the reading of which is assured by a line of poetry quoted in Minhaj Siraj, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 404) for the text's دمیل.

[2]His death date is given as 3 Sha'ban 603 (March 15, 1206) in the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 404.

[3]The history of the Ghorids summarized here agrees with Ibn al-Athir's account (*Kamil* 12:208–15).

Gökchä. Jahan-Pahlavan had another slave named Aytoghmish. He assembled soldiers and did battle with Gökchä. Gökchä was killed, and Aytoghmish seized the province. He gave the title of malik to one of Jahan-Pahlavan's grandsons named Özbeg while he managed affairs of state.[1]

In Azerbaijan and Diyarbekir was Nuruddin Arslan, the ruler of Mosul.[2] His nephew Qutbuddin Muhammad was the lord of Sinjar. Muzaffaruddin Kök-Böri b. Zaynuddin Ali was the lord of Arbela.[3] A dispute broke out between Nuruddin and Qutbuddin, and Malik Adil, the ruler of Egypt, sent a messenger to win Qutbuddin over. He pledged his loyalty to Adil and had the *khutba* recited in his name. When Nuruddin heard about this, he went to Nisibin, took the city, and laid siege to the fortress. News arrived that Muzaffaruddin, the lord of Arbela, had attacked the outskirts of Mosul and plundered the city of Nineveh. Therefore [Nuruddin] withdrew and headed for Arbela. When he reached the city **[317]** called Old Mosul, he realized that what had been said about Muzaffaruddin was more than that, and he attacked Tall A'far.[4] News arrived that Malik Ashraf Musa, Adil's son, had come from Harran to Ras al-'Ayn to assist Qutbuddin. The lord of Sinjar and Nisibin, Muzaffaruddin of Arbela, the lord of Hisn Keyfa and Amid, the lord of Jazira, and the lord of Dara met together in Nisibin and set out for a fortress on the outskirts of Mosul. Nuruddin went from Tall A'far to Kafr Zimar, wanting to extend his territory. They did battle with the group mentioned above, and Nuruddin's soldiers fled. He and four men reached Mosul with the army in pursuit. Ashraf and his group went to Kafr Zimar and plundered it. After that they made a truce under the terms of which Nuruddin would turn over Tall A'far and be as before.

In Syria and Egypt, Malik Adil was in authority. His brother, son, and sons-in-law were each lord of a realm within his territory, as was mentioned in the previous section. New items in their history during this period have already been mentioned in the history of the rulers of Diyarbekir.

The king of North Africa was Mahmud b. Ya'qub b. Yusuf b. Abdul-Mu'min, and he continued as before.

In Constantinople, which is in Rûm, the Franks took over during this period. They seized one of the kings of Rûm of the lineage of the ancient caesars, and the old ones were reduced to desperation. This came about as follows. The Byzantine emperor had married the sister of King Augustus, one of the mighty kings of the Franks.[5] By her he had a son. After a time, the Byzantine emperor's brother, who was the child's uncle, seized his brother the emperor, had him blinded, and imprisoned him.[6] The

[1]Agrees almost word for word with Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:195).

[2]The Zangid Nuruddin Arslan Shah I, ruled 1193–1211.

[3]The name of this town is normally vocalized as Irbil in Arabic (see Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 412); modern atlases give both Arbil and the Kurdish name, Hawler. To avoid having to choose among these, we will use the old Latinized form, Arbela.

[4]Tall A'far was a fortress about halfway between Sinjar and Mosul. See Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 284. It still exists as a modern town.

[5]Read اقوستس (Aqustus, for Augustus) for the text's افرسيس. The Byzantine emperor here is Alexius II Comnenus (1180–83), who was married to Agnes, the daughter of Louis VII of France and sister of Philip Augustus.

[6]From the sentence "By her he had a son," the text jumps forward in time and is concerned with the emperor Isaac II (1185–95 and 1203–4) and his son Alexius IV (1203–4). Isaac II was blinded during a campaign against the Vlachs in 1195 and was deposed by his brother, Alexius III (ruled 1195–1203).

child escaped and went to his maternal uncle.

At that time most of the Frankish soldiers had assembled to conquer Jerusalem and Syria. When they heard what had happened, they set out for Constantinople to help the father and son.[1] When they arrived, the child's uncle came out with his army and did battle. Defeat befell the Greeks, and they were scattered. The king took refuge in the city, and the Franks laid siege. A group of the child's supporters inside the city lit fires to distract the people. **[318]** They opened one of the gates, and the Franks entered the city. The Byzantine king fled, and the Franks enthroned the child and rescued the father.[2] The child had no power save the name. The Franks imposed such a heavy tribute on the people of the city that they were unable to pay. Finally, even after they had gathered and given all the pearls that were in the churchs, on the large crosses of the Messiah, and on books of the Gospel, they were still unable to meet the amount demanded. This was too much for the Greeks to bear. They killed the child,[3] drove the Franks out of the city, closed the city gates, and got ready for war.[4]

The Franks besieged the city, and many fierce battles were fought. The Greeks got a message out to Sultan [Ruknuddin Sulayman, son of] Qilich Arslan, the lord of Anatolia, requesting assistance. He could not send any. The Greeks grew weak. Since Constantinople is a very large city, there were nearly thirty thousand Franks residing there. They plotted with the Franks outside and set fire to the city, a quarter of which was burned. Then they opened the gates, and the army of the Franks entered, massacring and pillaging for three days. The group of Greeks went into the great church. The Franks attacked. The bishops, priests, and monks tried to intercede with gospels and crosses, but they paid no attention and killed them all at once and plundered the churches.

There were three Frankish kings. One was the Dux, the lord of Venice,[5] and the navy was under his command. He was old and blind, and when he rode, others had to lead his horse by the reins. The attack on Constantinople was made in his vessels. The second was the Marquis,[6] King Augustus' general. The third was called the Comte de Flandres.[7] His army was the largest of all. When Constantinople was taken, lots were cast to see which of the three would govern the city. Three times the lot fell to the Comte de Flandres, so he was made king of the city and its dependencies; the Dux was

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Some of the confusion results from the fact that both Alexius II and Isaac II were married to European princesses: Alexius to Agnes of France, and Isaac to Margaret, the daughter of Bela III of Hungary, although she was not the mother of his son, Alexius IV.

[1]This is a reference to the role of protector adopted by the German emperor Henry VI, whose brother, Philip of Swabia, had married Irene, daughter of the Byzantine Isaac II.

[2]A reference to the restoration of Isaac II jointly with his son Alexius IV (1203–4).

[3]This seems to be a reference to the usurpation of the Byzantine throne by Alexius V Mourtzouphlos (ruled 1204), nephew of Isaac II. "And the Emperor Mourzuphles caused the son, whom he had in prison, to be poisoned two or three times; but it did not please God that he should thus die. Afterwards the emperor went and strangled him" (Villehardouin, p. 56).

[4]This occurred, according to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:191), in Jumada I 600 (January 1204).

[5]For the text's ذرقس, read دوقس (Duqs, for Dux, i.e. the Doge of Venice, Henry Dandolo). For Venice, the text has لاذقيه, which would be Latakiya in Syria; read instead, with Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:191), دوقس البنادقة (Dúqs al-Banádiqa, the Doge of the Venetians).

[6]For the text's مركيش, read, with Ibn al-Athir, مركيس (*markís*, for Marquis, i.e. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat).

[7]Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault, the text's كندافلند (*kondáfland*, Comte de Flandres).

given the islands in the sea;[1] and Augustus' Marquis was given the lands to the east of the gulf like Laodicea and Nicaea.[2] Constantinople remained the Comte de Flandres's, but the others could not govern their territories because foreigners took them back from them.[3]

In Fars was Atabeg Sa'd b. Zangi.[4] He sent his nephew Muhammad b. Dandan **[319]** with an army to Kirman, and he conquered that region and its fortresses in Shawwal 602 [May 1206].

In Nimroz___.

Unusual events that took place during the period.

In the year 600 [1203–4] there was such a great earthquake in Syria, Egypt, Anatolia, Sicily, and Cyprus that it reached Mosul and Persia. Much damage was done in Syria.

Also during these years the Georgians went to Azerbaijan, killing and looting. From there they went to Akhlat and reached Malazgird. Not a single creature stood in their way as they pillaged, murdered, and took captives. In the end the lord of Akhlat assembled an army and went to Qilich Arslan's son the lord of Erzurum. He sent his army together with the lord of Akhlat's, and when they reached the Georgians a pitched battle took place. The Georgian commander and many of his soldiers were killed during the battle, and those who remained alive fled in rout. The Muslims returned home victorious and triumphant, bearing much booty and many captives.[5]

Now that a summary history of the khaqans, caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of the various regions from east to west who were contemporary with Genghis Khan during this period has been written, let us turn once more to the history of Genghis Khan and record in detail what transpired after this seven-year period, God willing. ~

[1]Ibn al-Athir adds: "like Crete and Rhodes."

[2]This summary is in the main correct. Baldwin was elected emperor, not by lots but by a committee of six Franks and six Venetians, and crowned on May 16, 1204 (Villehardouin, p. 68). Boniface was awarded Anatolia, but he took Thessalonica and Macedonia instead. Baldwin also sold Crete to the Venetians, the "islands in the sea" given to the Dux. See Godfrey, *Unholy Crusade*, 136. The "gulf" is the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles.

[3]The entire summary agrees almost word for word with Ibn al-Athir's account (*Kamil* 12:190–92). The last sentence is confused in the text. Ibn al-Athir has: "Not one of them obtained anything at all except for the one who took Constantinople. As for the rest, the Greeks who were there were not safe. The lands that belonged to the king of Constantinople east of the gulf and neighbored the lands of Ruknuddin Sulayman son of Qilich Arslan—among which were Nicaea and Laodicea—were taken over by a great patriarch named Lashkari, and they are now in his hands."

[4]The Salghurid Izzuddin Sa'd ibn Zangi, ruled 1203–1231.

[5]Agrees with Ibn al-Athir's account for 602 (1205–6) (*Kamil* 12:240f.).

The History of Genghis Khan from the beginning of Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that began in Sha'ban 607 [January 1211], the year in which he launched a campaign against Cathay and did battle with Altan Khan, the ruler of Cathay, through Bars Yil, the Year of the Tiger that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da 614 [January 1218], a period of eight years

In the last year of this period Genghis Khan was sixty-four years old, and during this period **[320]** he first took care of Cathay and then returned to deal with Güshlüg and the Märkit ruler Qudu. Those who rebelled after submitting, like the Qirqiz, Tumat, etc., were all seized and killed.

The ruler of the Qarluq and the Idiqut submit.

In the spring of the Year of the Sheep corresponding to 607 [1211], Arslan Khan, the khan of the Qarluq, came to Genghis Khan and surrendered. He presented gifts at the Kerulen, and in that same place, after him, the Idiqut, the ruler of the Uyghurs, arrived and presented gifts, saying, "If Genghis Khan is so kind and ennobles his slave, let me receive a red cloak[1] and a golden belt ring for having heard from afar and having drawn nigh. Let me be a fifth to Genghis Khan's four sons, and let me perform more valiant service." Genghis Khan realized that he was asking for one of his daughters, so he said, "Let me give him a daughter, and let him be a fifth son."[2]

The beginning of Genghis Khan's expedition to Cathay, Qarakhitai, and Jurcha, and the subjugation of most of the areas of the kingdom the Mongols call Cha'uqut.

In the spring of the Year of the Sheep that began in Sha'ban 607 [January 1211], when Genghis Khan set out for the towns of Cathay, he first dispatched Toquchar of the Qunqirat—who was also called Dalan Turqaqtu Toquchar[3]—with two thousand men to guard the lowlands so that when he went to Cathay, his rear and the *ordu* also would be safe from the Mongols, Kerayit, and Naiman tribes, most of whom he had brought into submission, lest some scattered tribes reunite and rebel. After this precaution had been taken and the army had been arranged, in autumn of that year he mounted on campaign under good auspices and set out to conquer the territories of Cathay, Qarakhitai, and Jurcha, which the Mongols call Cha'uqut. **[321]**

In the idiom of the people of Cathay, Cathay is called Khan-zi.[4] That territory's border with Machin [stretches] along the Qara Müren [Yellow River] to the sea.[5] Machin is called Manzi by the Cathaians.[6] Another border is with Jurcha, which is a Mongolian term: in the Cathaian language it is called Nuji [Nü-chih].[7] Another fron-

[1]Reference to the "red garment" *(hula'an degelen)* occurs in the *Secret History* §251. According to Cleaves, it designates a category of soldiery (p. 187, note 23).

[2]"Im 6. Jahre chin-wei (d.i. 1211), im Frühjahr, hielt sich der „Kaiser" auf am Flusse Ch'ieh-lü-lien [Kerulen]. Aus Hsi-yü kam das Oberhaupt des Stammes Ha-la-lu [Qarluq], Names A-hsi-lan-Han [Arslan Khan], zur Unterwerfung. Der Herrscher des Reiches Wei-wu-er [Uyghur], I-tu-hu [Idiqut], kam (dem Cingis) einen Besuch zu machen" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 30).

[3]For the "Dalan Turqaqtu" appellation, see note to text p. 123 above.

[4]Rashiduddin's *Khan-zi* for Cathay is from 漢子 *han-tzu*, the Chinese designation for Chinese.

[5]The Mongolian Qara Müren ("Black River") is the Chinese Yellow River. Marco Polo also called it "Caramoran" (see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:790).

[6]*Manzi* is from the Chinese 蠻子 *man-tzu* 'southern barbarian people.'

[7]In the text نوجي, for 女直 *nü-chih*, the Chinese designation of the Jurchids (see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:368), which was later changed to 女真 *nü-chen*.

tier is with the territory and plain of the <Qara>khitai. Those tribes are all nomads. They are adjacent to the Mongol nomads, and their language, physiognomy, and customs are quite similar. In the Cathaian language the people of Cathay are called Chidan Yar.[1] Another frontier is with the territory that submitted repeatedly to Genghis Khan, and each one has a specific name and ruler. Their forms and customs are like those of Cathay and India, and they have various religions. It is the custom of one tribe to fashion a sheath of gold for their teeth.[2] When they eat they take the sheath off, but when they are finished eating they cover their teeth again. At the present time the son of their ruler is in service as a *ba'urchi* to Genghis Khan.[3]

The territory mentioned above is adjacent partially to Tibet and partially to Qarajang. The Cathaians call Qarajang "Dai Liu," meaning "big province."[4] That realm is quite extensive, and at this time it is also in submission to the qa'an. Some of them are light-skinned like Cathaians, and others are dark-colored, also like them. In the language of India and Kashmir that province is called Kandar, the province of Cathay is Chin, and the province of Machin is Mahachin, meaning "big Chin." Since our realm is near India and there is much commercial traffic, in these realms those areas are also called Chin and Machin in the idiom of the people of India, but the origin of the word is Mahachin.

The rulers of the Qarakhitai, Jurcha, Cathay, and Machin in every era will all be given in detail in a separate appendix to this blessed history along with the histories of Cathay, Chin, and Machin. Here only this summary account has been given in order to introduce the territory and its names. Let us now turn to Genghis Khan's expedition to Cathay.[5]

When Genghis Khan set out for that area he reached the Tal River[6] and took the cities of Tai S[h]u [Ta-shui] and ___.[7] From there they proceeded and took the cities of Nusha Fu [Wu-sha pao],[8] Changjiu

[1]The "Chídan" part is right: it is the Chinese 契丹 *ch'i-tan*, for the Khitan. The *yár* part has not been explained.

[2]The Zardandán ("gold-teeth") people, whom Marco Polo also mentions as the Çardandan. They are known in Chinese as the 金齒 Chin-ch'ih ("Gold Teeth"). See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:603–5.

[3]Text has clearly Genghis Khan; it must be a slip for "the offspring of Genghis Khan" if "at the present time" is correct.

[4]See text p. 616 below.

[5]From here to text p. 331, covering Genghis's campaigns in China, the text of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* conforms fairly closely to the Chinese sources, the *Yüan shih* (parallel passages from which wll be quoted in the notes from F. E. A. Krause's *Cingis Han: Die Geschichte seines Lebens nach den chinesischen Reichsannalen)* and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* (henceforth *Ch'in-cheng lu)*, and most of the places and people named can be identified with those in the Chinese sources, even though the names have sometimes been garbled almost beyond recognition by being miscopied (usually misdotted) in Persian. The chronology and sequence of events are as confused in Rashiduddin's version as they are in the Chinese sources; for a masterly unraveling of the confusion and for military and geographical aspects of Genghis Khan's campaigns in China, see H. Desmond Martin, *The Rise of Chingis Khan and His Conquest of North China*, chapters 5–10.

[6]رودخانه تل: JT_{SL} 1/2:165, note 1 identifies this as the Tal-nor, the Dalai Nur north of Dolonnur. Unfortunately there is no parallel in the *Ch'in-cheng lu.*

[7]The parallel passage in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3389 names 大水濼 Ta-shui-luo. The text's "Tai S[h]u" (تی سو) is clearly Ta-shui (also mentioned in the *Yüan shih*; see next note below). Next, JT_K has پاوینی, which may well be a garbled version of Pai-teng for Pai-teng ch'eng, which fell to Chaghan in seven days (Martin, *Chingis Khan*, 143). Martin ("First Invasion") locates Ta-shui-luo (Ta-shui-luan) just north of Tu-shih k'ou (Dushikou, some 100 miles north-northwest of Beijing).

[8]"Im 2. Monat drang der „Kaiser" selbst nach Süden vor. Er griff an und besiegte den General von Chin Ting-hsieh beim Gebirge Yeh-hu. Er eroberte Ta-shui, Lo, Fêng-li und andre Bezirke. Chin erbaute

[Ch'ang-chou],[1] Quwan Jiu [Huan-chou],[2] and Fujiu [Fu-chou].[3] [322]

All three of Genghis Khan's sons, Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi, took the cities of Un Ui [Yün-nei],[4] Tung Cheng [Tung-sheng],[5] Fujiu [Wu-chou],[6] Suqjiu [Shuo-chou],[7] and Nungjiu [Ning-chou].[8] They also took a very large city called Sigin [Hsi-ching],[9] where there are many fine buildings and which belongs to the Jurchid people, along with its province, which is said to be a seventy-*tümän* province. They left it without even riding around the perimeter.[10]

Also during that autumn Jäbä was sent to the city of Tungging [Tung-ching],[11] a very large Jurchid city. When he arrived there he

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wieder die Befestigung von Wu-sha" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 30). Wu-sha is 烏沙堡 Wu-sha pao, a town west of the Tsui-ping k'ou pass.

[1]Text has چنك جيو, which would seem to be 昌州 Ch'ang-chou, north of Fu-chou. It was one of the string of towns along the southern edge of the prairies that fell to Genghis Khan. See Martin, *Chingis Khan*, 127, 137.

[2]Reading قون جيو (Quwan Jiu) for the text's تون جيو. It should be the 桓 Huan of the next note. Huan "entspricht heute dem Orte Kurtu Balgasun" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 73, note 330), north of Xuanhua outside the outer Great Wall.

[3]"Der „Kaiser" zerstörte die Distrikte Ch'ang, Huan, Fu u.a." (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31). Reading فوجيو (Fujiu) for the text's فرجيو; it is the Chinese city 撫州 Fu-chou and is called Wujiu in the *Secret History* §247. Krause (*Cingis Han*, p. 73, note 331) identifies the Fu of the *Yüan shih* as Hsiang-huang (Xianghuang), but that is too far north. According to Martin's map ("First Invasion"), Fu-chou was just north of Huan-erh-tsui, the northern mouth of the pass known as Tsui-ping k'ou. The Ch'ang-chou mentioned above was directly north of Fu-chou. All three, Ch'ang, Huan, and Fu, were outside the outer Great Wall, north of modern Xuanhua (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 73, notes 329–31). Note throughout this section and all sections dealing with China that the Chinese 州 *chou* is consistently filtered through the Mongolian rendering, *jiu*, into Persian as جيو *jiu* or جو *ju*. The text of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3389, is almost verbatim like the Persian:

南征克大水濼又拔烏沙堡及昌桓撫等州

("proceeding south, he subdued Ta-shui luo and then laid waste Wu-sha pao as far as Ch'ang, Huan, Fu, and other towns").

[4]Yün-nei (雲內) "entspricht dem heutigen Yu-yü-hsien nördlich Shuo-p'ing-fu im nördlichen Shan-hsi, nördlich der außeren Großen Mauer" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 72, note 319).

[5]Reading تونك جينك (for 東勝 Tung-sheng) for the text's ترنك جينك. Tung-sheng was located southwest of Yün-nei (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 72, note 320).

[6]The 武 Wu of the *Yüan shih* represents the present-day Shanqihxian, northwest of Ningwu in northern Shanxi, south of the inner Great Wall (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 72, note 321).

[7]The 朔 Shuo of the *Yüan shih* is the present-day Shuozhou, south of Shuoping in northern Shanxi, north of the inner Great Wall (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 72, note 322).

[8]This sentence is comparable to the *Yüan shih*'s "Die Söhne des „Kaisers" Chu-ch'ih [Jochi], Ch'a-ho-t'ai [Chaghatai], Wo-k'uo-t'ai [Ögödäi] zogen getrennt in verschiedenen Richtungen nach Yün-nei, Tung-shêng, Wu, Shuo und andren Districkten und unterwarfen sie" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 30). For the "Yung Jiu" (يونك جيو) of the text, emend to نونك جيو (Nung Jiu) for 寧州 Ning-chou (as in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3389; see also JT_{SL} 1/2:165, note 8). The *Ch'in-cheng-lu*, 3389, lists Yün-nei (雲內), Tung-sheng (東勝), Wu (武), Hsüan (宣), and Ning (寧) and then adds Fêng (豐), Ching (靖), "and other towns" (等州).

[9]"Sigin" is doubtlessly the 西京 Hsi-ching of the *Yüan shih:* "Im Herbst belagerte (der „Kaiser") Hsi-ching" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31). Hsi-ching was the western capital of the Chin empire, Ta-t'ung fu, the modern Datong in northern Shanxi (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 73, note 334).

[10]"Der „Kaiser" sandte Truppen, um ihn abzulocken nach Mi-ku-k'ou, griff (ihn) dann plötzlich an und vernichtete ihn völlig. Dann griff er wieder Hsi-ching an. Der „Kaiser" wurde von einem verirrten Pfeile getroffen. Daraufhin gab er die Belagerung auf" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31).

[11]In the *Secret History* §247 it is called Dungchang and identified as Tung-ch'ang. In the *Yüan shih* it is identified as Tung-ching (東京), and the tactics are easily recognizable: "griff Chê-pieh [Jäbä] Tung-ching an, konnte es aber nicht einnehmen. Er zog sich zurück und marschierte ab. In der Nacht aber kehrte er plötzlich um, überfiel und überwältigte den Ort" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31). Tung-ching was the eastern capital of the Chin empire, Liao-yang fu, the modern Liaoyang in southern Manchuria (Krause, *Cingis Han*, p. 74, note 340).

turned back without laying siege and slowly withdrew. News spread from station to station that the army had withdrawn. After he had pulled back fifty leagues and the people of the city felt secure that the army had departed, he stationed his *aghruq*s, selected his best geldings and *baraq* [shaggy] horses, and drove forward day and night unencumbered. Thereby he reached the city without advance warning and took it.

Genghis Khan had stopped in the city called [Fu-chou[1]] and was busy laying siege. The commanders of the Jurchid army, Giugin Jiautai [Chiu-chin Chao-t'ao] and Wan-nu Gamgun [Wan-nu Chien-chün],[2] both of whom were *tümän* commanders and had large armies under their command, arrayed their troops at the head of Hünägän Daba'an,[3] which is near Qara'un Jidun—at present the qa'an's army summers there—and stopped. The chief of the army of Cathay, Qusha Samjin [Hu-sha Ts'an-cheng],[4] held council with the chief of the Jurchid army, Giugin, and said, "Genghis Khan's army has raided the city of Fujiu [Fu-chou], and they are busy distributing booty and grazing their horses. They are sitting off guard and unaware. If we strike without warning we can beat them."

"The battlefield is a difficult place," Giugin replied. "Let us go together with much assistance from infantry and cavalry." In accordance with the decision of this council they mounted.

The news came to Genghis Khan just as the soldiers had cooked their food and were busy eating. They poured out the contents of their pots, immediately got to horse, and stood in two divisions in a place called Quan Jiüyin [Huan-erh-tsui],[5] waiting for the enemy to arrive. At that time the ruler of Cathay, <Qara>khitai, and Jurcha was from among the Jurchid tribes. The rulers of Cathay of Jurchid, <Qara>khitai, and Cathaian tribes who were before this will be mentioned in the history of Cathay, to which one may refer.[6] **[323]** The ruler who fought Genghis Khan and his army was of the tribe and territory of Jurcha, of the sons of Dai Gim Wan [Ta Chin Wang] Aquda.[7] Aquda was his name; the rest are

[1]For JT_K's فاوجيونى, delete the نى and read فوجير for Fu-chou. According to the flow of the narrative in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, there is little doubt that Fu-chou is meant here (see JT_{SL} 1/2:166, note 1); however, there is yet an outside chance that the name in the text, فاوجيونى, is somehow a corruption of Lung-hu t'ai, where Jäbä rejoined Genghis Khan after his success at Tung-ching (Martin, *Chingis Khan*, 146).

[2]The names as they appear in the text are almost indecipherable. They are: كيوكين تاردووجيوتانى اونه ووانو تاردووكمكون. From this can be salvaged the names and titles of two commanders mentioned in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3389, كيوكين جيوتانى "Giugin Jiautai" for the *Ch'in-cheng lu*'s Chao-t'ao Chiu-chin (招討九斤) and وانو كمكون "Wannu Gamgun" for the *Ch'in-cheng lu*'s Chien-chün Wan-nu (監軍萬奴).

[3]The Hünägän Daba'an ("Fox Pass") is identified with—and means the same as—the Chinese 野狐嶺 Yeh-hu ling ("Wild Fox Pass," *Secret History*, 183, note 2), also mentioned in the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 30), where Genghis Khan engaged General Ting-hsieh, and in note to text p. 321 above.

[4]"Qusha" correctly renders the name of the eunuch 忽沙虎 Hu-sha-hu; following the name is the title Samjin, for the Chinese 參政 *ts'an-cheng*, an official grade (see Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:342 §215), as his name is given in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3389.

[5]"Der General der Chin, Namens Ho-shih-lieh Chiu-chin und andre kamen an der Spitze eines Heeres von 300 000 (sic!) Mann, um (dieser Gegend) Beistand zu leisten. Der „Kaiser" kämpfte mit ihm bei Huan-erh-tsui and brachte ihm eine große Niederlage bei" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31). Also mentioned in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3390, Huan-erh-tsui (獾兒觜) is the northern entrance of the Ts'ui-p'ing k'ou defile; it is "almost certainly to be identified with the Te-sheng K'ou of modern times, which is approximately seventeen miles northwest of present Kalgan" (Martin, *Chingis Khan*, 134, note 51).

[6]A reference to the appendices to the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, in which the histories of various nations are recorded. For the history of China, see Karl Jahn, trans., *Die Chinageschichte des Rasid ad-Din* (Vienna: Bohlau, 1971).

[7]The Jurchid Wan-yen A-ku-ta (1113–23). Reading داى (Dai) for the text's راى. The title, Dai Gim

titles. The Mongols call Aquda "Haqutai." Those of his offspring who were rulers were all called Altan Khan by the Mongols.[1] The name of the last Altan Khan, the one who fought against Genghis Khan and Ögödäi Qa'an, was Sä'üsä in the Cathaian language.[2] The story of his end will be given in detail. Here he has just been mentioned as an introduction before we return to the narrative.

When Genghis Khan outfitted the army he held it arrayed for battle in expectation of the arrival of the foe. Altan Khan's army was quite magnificent and led by the Giugin mentioned above. Having summoned another commander named Ming-an,[3] he said to him, "You have been among the Mongols before, and you know Genghis Khan. Go and say to him, 'What have we done to you to provoke you to come mounted for a campaign?' If he replies harshly, curse him." Ming-an went to Genghis Khan as Giugin had told him to do and delivered the message. Genghis Khan ordered him seized and held until after the battle, when he could question him.

Then the armies stood opposite each other, and battle broke out. The Mongol army, despite their few numbers, quickly defeated the army of Cathay, <Qara>khitai, and Jurcha, and so many of them were killed that the entire plain stank of putrification.[4] They went in pursuit of those who had fled until, in a place called Qabu Qa Pau [Hui-ho pao],[5] they came across a contingent that was their rear guard, led by Qusha [Hu-sha]. They crushed them too and put them to flight. The battle was of such a large scale and so renowned that the battle Genghis Khan did at Hünägän Daba'an is [still] very well known among the Mongols. Renowned warriors of Cathay and Jurcha were annihilated in that battle, and Genghis Khan returned from there triumphant and victorious.

Then he inquired into the message of the commander Ming-an, who had been seized and held. "What did I do to you," he asked, "that you spoke ill of me in front of everyone?"

"I had thought before of coming to you and surrendering," replied Ming-an. "I feared they would be suspicious and not let me. When Giugin wanted to send someone to deliver the message to you, I volunteered and used it as an excuse to come to you. **[324]** Otherwise how could I have come?" Genghis Khan was pleased by his words and set him free.

After that, they took the city of Sön-tijiu [Hsüan-te fu],[6] which was one of the great cities, and destroyed it. From there they went to the city of Tashifu [Te-hsing fu],[7] also a great city. In that realm are many gardens and orchards, and there is abundant wine there. When they arrived, there was a

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Wan, for 大金王 *Ta(i) Chin wang* 'great Chin king,' is substantially correct.

[1] *Altan*, 'gold' in Mongolian, translates the Chinese 金 *chin* 'gold.'

[2] See note on Ai Tsung, text p. 388 below.

[3] The general 明安 Ming-an is mentioned in the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 34) and the *Ch'ing-cheng lu*, 3393.

[4] *Bigandíd*. A similar expression occurs several times in the *Secret History*, notably at this point, §251, "they stood as rotten trees." The Mongolian *hunji'u* is glossed in Chinese at §247 as "rotten trees."

[5] As mentioned in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3390, 會合堡 Hui-ho pao, which was located northwest of Hsüan-te fu.

[6] Text has سون تيجيو. It is the Söndiiwu of the *Secret History* §247, 宣德府 Hsüan-te fu (modern Xuan-hua), also mentioned in the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31).

[7] JT_K has تانيفو; JT_{SL} gives variants تاينقو and تانيقو. Read تاشينفو (Tashinfu) for 德興府 Te-hsing fu. In the *Yüan shih*, Te-hsing fu is mentioned directly after Hsüan-te fu: "Im Herbst im 7. Monat überwältigte (der „Kaiser") Hsüan-tê-fu. Dann griff er Tê-hsing-fu an" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31). Te-hsing fu is the modern Baoanzhou south of Xuanhua in Hebei (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 71, note 312).

numerous and splendid army. Unable to approach, they withdrew, and they dispatched both Tolui Khan and Elchi Noyan's son Chigü Gürägän of the Qunqirat, with the army. They did battle and defeated them.[1] They went onto the city walls and took the citadel, which was called Ju.[2] [When] they withdrew they rebelled again.

That autumn Genghis Khan himself mounted, took the city, and destroyed it. Then he went to one of Altan Khan's large cities called Khuai-lai [Huai-lai].[3] One of Altan Khan's generals named Gau Ki Juwangshai [Kao Ch'i Yüan-shuai][4] was there with a numerous army. (Gau Ki is a name, and *juwangshai* means a commander of ten thousand.) He did battle with him, defeated him, and drove him to the [Pei[5]] Pass, which is called Chamchal.[6] (*Chamchal* means a pass. It is a place cut through the mountains.) He killed many of them. Altan Khan's army had built a fortification and made reinforcements in every place where there was a pass, and they held them with soldiers. Genghis Khan sent two amirs, Qatai and Bocha,[7] both of the Qunqirat tribe, with soldiers to hold the head of the valley while he himself went down through the pass to the next pass, which was called Suging Kyu [Tzu-ching k'ou].[8] When Altan Khan heard this, he dispatched a commander named Qudun [Ao-tun[9]] with a large contingent in all haste to keep Genghis Khan from getting through and reaching the plain. By the time the commander arrived, Genghis Khan had emerged from the *qabchiqa*,[10] i.e. the pass, and sent Jäbä with soldiers to hold the last strait of Chamchal. Without warning he caught the foe off guard. Qatai Noyan and Bocha, who had been assigned to guard the head of the pass, also joined him.

After that, Genghis Khan sent Qatai Noyan with five thousand cavalrymen to hold the road to the city called Jung Dai.[11]

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[1]"Des „Kaisers" Sohn T'o-lui [Tolui] und sein Schwiegersohn Ch'ih-chü [Chigü] erstiegen zuerst (die Mauer) und eroberten die Stadt" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31).

[2]Reading جو (Ju) for the text's جر.

[3]"Der „Kaiser" rückte weiter vor und erreichte Huai-lai" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31). The modern name is also Huailai (懷來), southeast of Xuanhua.

[4]The Field-marshall 高琪 Kao Ch'i ("Kai Chi" in Krause, 31); spelled کیرکی in the text, it may be "Gyao Ki" or possibly should be emended to کرکی for "Gau Ki" to represent correctly Kao Ch'i. For his title, both here and below, JT_K has جرنکشی, for which read جونگشی (*juwangshai* for the Chinese 元帥 *yüan-shuai* 'generalissimus').

[5]In the text, ری; emend to بی (Bäi) to correspond to the 北口 Pei-k'ou of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3390 and the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31). This Pei-k'ou is Ku-pei-k'ou, "der Paß in der Großen Mauer, durch den die Straße von Pe-king nach Ch'êng-tê-fu führt, nordöstlich von Mi-yün-hsien" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 75, note 353).

[6]Chamchal is called Chabchiyal in the *Secret History* §247. It is the Chinese 居庸關 Chü-yung kuan (see *Secret History*, p. 183, note 4), "ein Paß der inneren Großen Mauer, durch den heute die Straße von Kalgan nach Peking führt, nordwestlich von Nan-k'ou bei Ch'ang-p'ing-chou" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 71, note 313).

[7]Qatai and Bocha have been conflated into one name in Krause's reading of the *Yüan shih*, K'o-t'ê-po-ch'a: "Der „Kaiser" befahl dem K'o-t'ê-po-ch'a, (diesen Platz) zu bewachen, und eilte darauf nach Cho-lu" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31). In the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3391, they are called Ha-t'ai (哈台) and Po-ch'a (簿察) respectively.

[8]The text's سیکینك کیو can be emended to سکینك کیو (Suging Kyu); it is almost certainly the 紫荊口 Tzu-ching k'ou of the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 31 and 35). It is a "Paß in der inneren Großen Mauer, westlich von I-chou, durch den die Straße von Peking nach T'ai-yüan-fu führt" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 75, note 357).

[9]Ao-tun's name is variously written in the Chinese sources: 奧敦 in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3391 and 奧屯裘 Ao-tun Hsiang in the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 74, note 336).

[10]*Qabchiqa* ~ *qabchighai*, Mongolian for a mountain pass. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:386 §265.

[11]Written as جونك طای, this is probably a mistake for—or possibly a variant of—Jung-du (中都 Chung-

[325] He himself mounted and stopped at the gate of the city called Joju [Cho-chou].[1] (Chochouid ___ takes its attribution from there.[2]) He besieged it for twenty days and then took it.

After that, he sent Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögötäi with the right wing to the vicinity of the mountains in order to conquer the territories along that corridor. From the city of Bao-jiu [Pao-chou][3] to the city of Khuai Meng Ju,[4] they took all the cities and fortresses. They took two large cities, one of which the Mongols call Balghasun, although in the language of Cathay it is called Jeng Dinfu[5] [Chen-ting fu]—and it is extremely grand—and the other of which, the smaller, they call Ojiu.[6] Passing on from there, they went to the Qara Mürän [Yellow River], which is a really enormous river that rises in Tibet and flows through Cathay into the sea without a ford anywhere. From there they turned around, and along the way they raided the city of Tung Man Fu [Tung-p'ing fu] and the city of Fu [Wu].[7]

To conquer to the left, i.e. along the sea, Genghis Khan dispatched the four, Jochi Qasar, Elchi Noyan of the Qunqirat, his own youngest son Jürchetäi, and Bocha of the Qunqirat. They went, took and destroyed the cities of [Gi] Jiu [Chi-chou] and Yi Jiu [I-chou], and seized every fortress on the way before turning back.[8]

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tu), i.e. Peking, as is confirmed by the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3391: 哈台二將固守中都.

[1]涿州 Cho-chou is Marco Polo's "Ciogiu" (see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:736) and the modern Zhuo Xian in Hebei.

[2]JT_K has the most unlikely جوجونی ولاد. Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2: 169) translates as джоджиуская шелковая материя, 'Cho-chou silken material,' but she must have had an variant in the text since there is no word known with this configuration that means silk. A slight graphic alteration could change ولاد to پولاد 'steel.'

[3]This should be the 保 Pao of the *Yüan shih* and the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3391. Pao-chou is the present-day Qingyuanxian, Baoding in Zhili (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 76, note 365).

[4]Two names have been collapsed into the text's "Khuai Meng Ju": 壞 Huai—today Heneixian, Huaiqingfu in Henan (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 76, note 373)—and 孟 Meng—the present-day Mengxian south of Huaiqingfu in Henan (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 76, note 374).

[5]For the text's چینك زیتفو, read جینك دینفو (Jeng Dinfu for Chen-ting fu (真定府), the modern Zhengding in Hebei). In Mongolian the city was actually known as Chaghan Balghasun (see text p. 330 below), which is equivalent to the Turkish Aqbaligh ('White City'), by which name the city was also known. There were two Aqbalighs, Aqbaligh of Cathay, Marco Polo's "Achbaluch," which was Chen-ting fu, and Aqbaligh of Manzi, Marco Polo's "Acbalec Mangi," which was Han-chung (漢中), the modern Hanzhong in Shaanxi; see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:7f.

[6]This "Ojiu" may be Wo, or Chao-chou, the modern Zhaoxian in Hebei, directly south of Chen-ting fu. On the other hand, in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3391, Wei-chou (威州), which this "Ojiu" may also represent, comes directly after Chen-ting, and it is south-southeast of Wo.

[7]"Die söhne des „Kaisers" Chu-ch'i [Jochi], Ch'a-ho-t'ai [Chaghatai], Wo-k'uo-t'ai [Ögödäi], bildeten die rechte Armee. Sie zogen um das Gebirge T'ai-hang nach Süden. Sie eroberten die Distrikte von Pao, Sui, An-su, An-ting, Hsing, Ming, Tz'u, fügten hinzu die Distrikte von Wei-hui, Huai, Mêng; sie nahmen ferner in Besitz Tsê, Lu, Liao, Ch'in, P'ing-yang, T'ai-yüan, Chi, Hsi, eroberten Fên, Shih, Lan, Hsin, Tai, Wu und andre Distrikte und kehrten dann zurück" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 32). The text's "Tung Man Fu" (تونك من فو) must be the *Ch'in-cheng lu*'s 東平府 Tung-p'ing fu, the modern Dongping in Shandong. The last named "Fu" probably reflects 武 Wu, the modern Shanqihxian in Shanxi (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 72, note 321).

[8]"Des „Kaisers" jüngerer Bruder Ha-sa-er [Qasar] mit Wo-ch'ên-na-yen [Elchi Noyan] und Cho-ch'ih-tai-po-ch'a [Jürchetäi and Bocha] bildeten die linke Armee. Sie folgten der Meeresküste und zogen nach Osten. Sie eroberten die Gebiete von Chi-chou, P'ing, Luan, sowie Liao-hsi und kehrten dann zurück" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 32). For JT_K's جیو (Jiu) read "Gi Jiu" for Chi-chou (鮭州), the present-day Ji Xian east of Peking; for the text's لی جیو, read ای جیو or یی جیو for I-chou (易州), the region northeast of the modern Jinzhou in southern Manchuria in which the *Yüan shih*'s Liao-hsi was located (Krause, *Cingis*

Genghis Khan himself, along with Tolui Khan, who was called Yäkä Noyan, took the middle way with the center. He harassed the two great cities of Pung Yang Fu [P'ing-yang fu] and Tai Yang Fu [T'ai-yüan fu] without stopping.[1] He took and destroyed every village, city, and town he came to, and then he turned back.[2]

Earlier he had had Muqali Guyang turn back and sent him to the great city called Miju [Mi-chou].[3] He took that city and then waited for the arrival of Genghis Khan's imperial retinue in the vicinity of the city of Jungdu, which the Mongols used to call Khanbaligh.[4] (At present the qa'an has caused that city to flourish and named it Daidu.[5]) One of the Altan Khan's thrones was there, and it was extremely magnificent and the army numerous and strong. When Genghis Khan arrived there under good auspices, Muqali Guyang joined him. **[326]**

From the initial movement of Genghis Khan's troops into Cathay until that time, two whole years had passed, the Year of the Sheep corresponding to 607 [1211] and the Year of the Monkey corresponding to 608 [1212]. During that period all the cities, territories, and fortresses that have been mentioned were taken and conquered.

Genghis Khan camps in the vicinity of Jungdu, and the Altan Khan sends his daughter to surrender; the Altan Khan withdraws and goes to the city of Namging; Genghis Khan's army besieges and conquers Jungdu.

After that, in Tavuq Yil, the Year of the Rooster that began in Ramadan 609 [1213],[6] Genghis Khan camped in the vicinity of the city of Jungdu during the last month of spring. The Altan Khan was in the city, and in the presence of the other commanders he took counsel with the commander and leader of his army, Giu King [Chiu-chin], whose title was Yuwangshai [Yüan-shuai], meaning commander-in-chief of the army. He was the commander who had done battle once before with Genghis Khan, as has been mentioned.[7] "The Mongol army has been angered once," he said. "If now we do battle with them, what will they be like?"

Another commander who held the post of minister and who was called Yungun Chingsang,[8] said, "It is not in our interests because the army that is gathered ahead of us have their wives and children all over the plain for them to worry about. If we are defeated, all will disperse. If we defeat the Mongols, our troops will all go to their wives and children. How can we bring shame upon our fathers and forefathers and

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Han, 78, note 395).

[1]For the تنك پنك فو of the text, read, at Pelliot's suggestion, پنك ينك فو (Pung Yang Fu) for 平陽府 P'ing-yang-fu, Marco Polo's "Pianfu" and the modern Linfen in Shanxi (see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:802; see also *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3391). For the *Ch'in-cheng lu*'s 太原府 T'ai-yüan fu, the text has تای مينك فو, which should be emended to something like تای ينك فو "Tai Yang Fu"; it was Marco Polo's "Taianfu" and the modern Taiyuan in Shanxi (see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:842).

[2]"Der „Kaiser" mit seinem Sohne T'o-lui [Tolui] bildete die mittlere Armee. Er eroberte die Gebiete von Hsiung, Pa, Mo, An, Ho-chien, Ts'ang, Ching, Hsien, Shen, Ch'i, Li, Chi, Ên, P'u, K'ai, Hua, Po, Chi, T'ai-an, Chi-nan, Pin, Li, I-tu, Tz'u, Wei, Têng, Lai, J und andre Distrikte" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 32).

[3]"Ferner befahl er dem Mu-hua-li [Muqali], Mi-chou anzugreifen" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 32). Mi-chou (密州) is the modern Zhucheng in Shandong.

[4]Jungdu is Chung-tu (中都), i.e. Peking, also called Khanbaligh, 'Khan City.'

[5]For "Daidu," i.e. Ta(i) Tu (大都), the great capital built by Qubilai Qa'an next to the site of old Peking, see text p. 639 below.

[6]The Year of the Rooster was 1213, and Ramadan 609 began in January 1213. According to the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, the events took place in 1214.

[7]See above, text p. 322.

[8]Spelled يونكون جينكسانك (Yungun Chingsang) in the text; if emended to تونكون جينكسانك (Tungun Chingsang), this name would reflect the 甸金丞相 Tien-chin Ch'eng-hsiang of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3391.

the great emperorship on a suspicion? It is necessary to do things based on knowledge. Now the best thing to do would be for us to send an emissary to say that we surrender. They will of course pull out of the territory. Then we can hold another council."

The Altan Khan approved of this suggestion, dispatched an envoy to Genghis Khan, and sent his own daughter, Gun[g]ju Khatun,[1] for Genghis Khan. To escort her he also sent the great commander who held the post of minister, Fuking Chingsang [Fu-hsing Ch'eng-hsiang].[2] **[327]** When they arrived, delivered the message, and presented the girl, Genghis Khan accepted their surrender and pulled back. The commander escorted Genghis Khan through Chamchal as far as the place called Machi [Yeh-ma-ch'ih],[3] and there he turned back.

Also during that year, four months later,[4] the Altan Khan went to the city of Namging to take up residence.[5] That city is on the banks of the Qara Müran [Yellow River], and it is reported that it is so large that the perimeter is forty leagues. In ancient times it was a capital of the monarchs of Cathay. It has three very strong rampart walls, a river, and innumerable gardens and orchards. [The Altan Khan] left his son to guard the city of Jungdu and stationed the two great commanders Fuking and Mojung Chingsang with him as advisors.[6]

When the Altan Khan reached the city of Joju [Cho-chou], the army of the <Qara>khitai that was following him joined him in a place called Liangsun [Liang-hsiang].[7] He ordered the weapons he had distributed among them taken back. Saying, "For what reason?" they refused to give them up obediently. Therefore he had the leader of the army, Sankuna [Hsiang-k'un] by name,[8] executed. For this they rebelled, made three men their leaders, Jenda [Che-ta], Bizar [Pi-she-erh], and Bilar by name, and withdrew.[9] The news reached

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[1]Her name was 岐國 Ch'i-kuo, the daughter of 衛紹王 Wei-shao-wang; "Gungju" (the Chinese 公主 *kung-chu* 'princess') was her title. See above text p. 226 and *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33).

[2]For the text's بوكينك جينك ياتك, read فوكينك جينك ساتك Fuking (i.e. 幅興 or 福興 Fu-hsing) Ching-sang (i.e. 丞相 ch'eng-hsiang). "Der Herrscher von Chin schickte darauf ainen Gesandten, bat um Frieden und bot die Tochter des Wei-shao-wang, die Prinzessin Ch'i-kuo, an, ferner Gold und Brokat, 500 Knaben und Mädchen als Sklaven und 3000 Pferde zum Geschenk. Außerdem schickte er seinen Minister Wan-yen Fu-hsing, um den „Kaiser" zu begleiten bei seinem Abzuge durch (den Paß von) Chü-yung" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33).

[3]The 野麻池 Yeh-ma-ch'ih of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392 appears to be another name for the Huan-erh-tsui mentioned earlier (Martin, *Chingis Khan*, 139).

[4]In the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, "in the fourth month."

[5]"Namging" is 南京 Nan-ching ('southern capital,' i.e. the southern capital of the Chin), the city 汴京 Pien-ching, also called Pien-liang (the modern Kai-feng in Henan). Marco Polo also called it "Namghin" (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:789); both the Persian transcription and Marco Polo's transcription reflect the older pronunciation of 南 as *nam* and 京 as *king* ("*ging*").

[6]"Dem Wan-yen Fu-hsing und dessen Gehilfen Mo-nien Chin-chung übertrug er die Sorge für seinen Kronprinzen Shou-chung and ließ sie zurück zum Schutze von Chung-tu" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33). Fuking is misspelled in the text as بوكينك instead of فوكينك. The second name, موجونك جينك ساتك in the text, is taken to be "Mo-chung" for the 抹撚盡忠 Mo-nien Chin-chung of the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33) or the 丘相秦忠 Mou-hsiang Ch'in-chung of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392. On p. 328 below the name appears as سين جونك (probably to be read as S[h]in-jung), and on p. 329 it is سونك جونك (perhaps something like S[h]ung-jung). All these are taken to be renditions of Chin-chung.

[7]JT_K has ليتك ليتك كيلسون; read لينكسون (Liangsun) for 良鄉 Liang-hsiang, as in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392. It is the modern Liangxiang in Beijing Shi.

[8]He is mentioned in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392 as 襄昆 Hsiang-k'un.

[9]The 斫答 Che-ta of the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33) and the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392 corresponds to the text's چيندا Jenda. The *Ch'in-cheng lu*'s 比涉兒 Pi-she-erh corresponds nicely to the text's بيزار Bizar. The *Ch'in-cheng lu*'s 札剌兒 Cha-la-erh corresponds somewhat to the text's بيلار Bilar. 札剌兒 Cha-la-erh is how the *Ch'in-cheng lu* normally transcribes Jalayir,

Fuking Chingsang, who was bringing up the rear of the Altan Khan's army. Immediately he sent a troop to the bridge at the crossing with orders not to let the <Qara>khitais cross the bridge. The <Qara>khitai soldiers caught up with the Tatar tribes that were in that area and were obedient to the Altan Khan. They made them one with themselves and sent a thousand men across the water to ambush the rear of the army that was guarding the bridge. They sent them packing, killing some and seizing the horses, weapons, and families of the others and giving them to the soldiers. Crossing the bridge, they drove away all the herds and flocks belonging to the Altan Khan's son and his commanders that were grazing in the vicinity of Jungdu, and then they fattened up their own stock.

Around the same time, when a <Qara>-khitai named Liuga[1] [Yeh-lü Liu-ko] saw that the territory of Cathay was *bulghaq* [in insurrection], he seized the province and large cities of Jurcha, which are adjacent to the *yurts* of the <Qara>khitai tribes—that territory is called Tung Ging [Tung-ching] and Qamping [Hsien-p'ing][2]—and called himself Li[ao] Wang,[3] meaning the ruler of a realm. The commanders of the Khitai, Jenda and Bizar, sent envoys to Genghis Khan to surrender. [328] However, since the Altan Khan's son and generals were in Jungdu, they could not get past them to reach Genghis Khan, and they were stuck on the other side of Jungdu. The person who called himself Li[ao] Wang sent an envoy to surrender to Genghis Khan, and he came himself on his heels to present gifts. Genghis Khan rewarded him and entitled him Yuwang Shai, meaning "commander of ten thousand" in the Cathaian language.[4] He gave him two cities and the important region called Giu Wang Ching Fu [Kuang-ning fu] and sent him there to guard the area.[5]

When the Altan Khan took advantage of the city of Namging, he gave the post of commander-in-chief and deputyship of the kingdom of Cathay to a grand commander named Nujiu Taishi, but later, on account of slanderous accusations, he was dismissed. He too was inclined to Genghis Khan and went to him. Before he arrived he sent his son, Ti[eh]-ga [T'ieh-ko] to enter the guard. He rebelled again and entitled himself Tung Ging Wang [Tung-ching wang],[6] meaning "ruler of a realm" in the Cathaian language.[7]

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which would be totally out of place here. Later in the text of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395, a 北剌兒 Pei-la-erh is mentioned, and his name would correspond exactly to the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*'s بيلار Bilar.

[1]For the text's ليوكه read ليوكه (Liuga) for Yeh-lü Liu-ko (留哥). "Im 8. Jahre kuei-yu (d.i. 1213), im Frühjahr, machte Yeh-lü Liu-ko sich selbst zum König von Liao and änderte den Jahresnamen in Yüan-t'ung" (Krause, p. 31).

[2]For Tung-ching, see note to text p. 322 above. The Persian قمپينك (Qamping) represents the Hsien-p'ing 咸平 of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392.

[3]As in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392, 遼王 Liao Wang, 'king of Liao.' Liao (遼) is actually the name of a river in Manchuria, but Rashiduddin consistently takes it to mean 'realm' (see note on "Dai Liu," text p. 616 below).

[4]The two Chinese titles 元帥 *yüan-shuai* 'generalissimus' and 萬帥 *wan-shuai* 'commander of ten thousand' seem to have been hopelessly confused in Persian. The conflated title appears variously as *wan(g) shai*, *yuwang shai* and *juwang shai*.

[5]The 廣寧府 Kuang-ning fu of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392 and the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 34) is the modern Guangning north of Jinzhou in Liaoning.

[6]The text's تونك كينك ونك *(tung ging wang)* correctly transcribes 東京王 *tung-ching wang* 'ruler of the eastern capital.' The title actually recorded in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392 and the *Yüan shih* is 東夏王 *tung-hsia wang*, as in the next note.

[7]That the text's "Nujiu Taishi" (نوجيوتاييشى) is 蒲鮮萬奴 P'u-hsien Wan-nu there is little doubt. The *Yüan shih* says for the year 1215, "im Winter im 10. Monat, besetzte der Gouverneur in Chin, Names P'u-hsien Wan-nu, Liao-tung. Er maßte sich (dafür) den Namen T'ien-wang und die Reichsbezeichnung

All this took place because Genghis Khan had conquered most of the territory of Cathay and Jurcha and withdrawn, and the Altan Khan remained as he was while the commanders and people hesitated, sometimes inclined in one direction and sometimes in the other. Since most of the regions and provinces were devoid [of central authority], as in the time of petty kings, every general made himself a governor and ruler of every realm.

After five months,[1] during which the Altan Khan had left his son with the commanders Fuking and [Chin-chung] to guard the city of Jungdu,[2] the son gave the city to the commanders and went to his father in Namging. Genghis Khan sent Samuqa Bahadur of the Salji'ut and Ming-[an] of the Jurcha, who had submitted and acquired importance, with an army of Mongols to pass through the region of Jungdu and force the army of Cathay, which had fled from the Altan Khan and sent an envoy from Jungdu, as well as the army that was inside, to leave Jungdu. They departed, taking the army, and together they laid siege to Jungdu. Since the Altan Khan had heard previously that there were neither fodder nor provisions left for the army in Jungdu, he sent a commander of ten thousand named Yuwangshai **[329]** with three other commanders, Kung Shu [Ch'ing-shou], ___,[3] and Li Fing [Li Ying], to take fodder and food to Jungdu and to give the order that every man, even the *tümän* commander Yuwangshai, should take [provisions in the amount of] three *qafiz*—which is called *s[h]im* in the language of Cathay.[4] When they set out with the provisions, Yuwangshai went to the city and fortress of Sun Ju Ju[an]ye[ng]sai [Cho-chou Hsüan-feng-sai] while the other amirs went by another route.[5] In a place called Sing ___,[6] Genghis Khan's army stood opposite them and took from them everything the two divisions were carrying. When the provisions and fodder did not arrive at Jungdu, the people of the city were dying so from hunger they began eating human flesh.[7] Fuking Ching-sang, whom the Altan Khan had stationed in the city of Jungdu with his son, took poison in his grief and died.[8] The other com-

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Ta-chên an und veränderte den Jahresnamen in T'ien-t'ai" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 34). In the next year, 1216, "unterwarf sich P'u-hsien Wan-nu und ließ seinen Sohn T'ieh-ko in den Hofdienst treten. Gleich darauf aber rebellierte er von neuem und maßte sich (für Liao-tung) den Namen Tung-Hsia an" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 35). T'ieh-ko is variously written in the Chinese sources: 帖哥 in the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 86, note 524) and 鐵哥 in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3392.

[1]According to the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, "in the fifth month."

[2]"Dem Wan-yen Fu-hsing und dessen Gehilfen Mo-nien Chin-chung übertrug er die Sorge für seinen Kronprinzen Shou-chung" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33).

[3]In the text, ردیم کام ساى. Since the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393 speaks of only two commanders at this point, 元帥李英 Yüan-shuai Li Ying and 點撿慶壽 Tien-chien Ch'ing-shou, the Russian translators (*JT*$_{SL}$ 1/2:173, note 6) speculate that کام ساى is a corruption of *yüan-shuai*. ردیم could then be read as ردیم *va duyum* 'and secondly.' The text's "three other commanders" could be explained as a miscomprehension of the title as a name by the compilers or scribes of the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*.

[4]سم in the text, apparently representing the Chinese 升 *sheng*, a small measure (see *JT*$_{SL}$ 1/2:173, note 7). It should be the Chinese 斗 *tou* (as in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393, where each man is ordered to take three *tous* of provisions: 糧三斗). The *qafiz*, like the *tou*, is a grain measure.

[5]According to the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393, Ch'ing-shou went to Cho-chou Hsüan-feng sai and Li Ying went to Pa-chou, Ch'ing-ko: 慶壽至涿州旋風塞 李英至霸州青戈.

[6]The text has a garbled name here, which may represent the 青戈 Ch'ing-ko just named in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393.

[7]*Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393: 中都人自相食.

[8]"Im 5. Monat...brachte sich der Befehlshaber von Chin in Chung-tu Wan-yen Fu-hsing selbst durch Gift zum Tode" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 34). *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393: 福興自毒死.

mander, [Ch'in-chung] by name,[1] obeyed his order and fled to the Altan Khan in the province of Namging. Ming-an, whom Genghis Khan had sent with Samuqa Bahadur, entered the city of Jungdu and sent an envoy to Genghis Khan, saying, "By Genghis Khan's great fortune we have taken the city of Jungdu." Genghis Khan, then in Quanjiu [Huan-chou],[2] dispatched the three—Qutuqu Noyan of the Tatar (whose nickname was Shigi, and whom Genghis Khan had picked up off the road as a child and given to his wife to raise), Önggür Ba'urchi, and Harqai Qasar[3]—to bring the Altan Khan's treasury and possessions that were in Jungdu.

When the Altan Khan was leaving the city, he stationed two commanders, Qailiq and Qadai,[4] as guardians of the treasury—this post is called *liushu* in the Cathaian language.[5] These two, along with other amirs, offered gifts of gold-spun clothing and tribute to the above-mentioned amirs. Önggür Ba'urchi and Harqai Qasar accepted, but Qutuqu Noyan rejected them. After that, the amirs loaded up all the treasures and took them, along with one of the Altan Khan's treasurers, to display before Genghis Khan. When he asked Qutuqu Noyan if Qadai had given him anything, he said, "He offered, but I did not take anything."

"Why?" he asked.

"I thought to myself," he replied, "that if we hadn't taken the city, everything, from a piece of rope to a turban, would have been the Altan Khan's. Now that the city has been taken, it all belongs to Genghis Khan. **[330]** How can they give behind his back or steal what belongs to him? Therefore I didn't take anything."

Saying, "Qutuqu has recognized a great custom," Genghis Khan rewarded him many times over and took Önggür and Harqai Qasar to task for their crime.

The Cathaian treasurer gave his grandson, Chungshan [Ch'ung-shan[6]] by name, to Genghis Khan as a gift, departed, and went to the city of Tung Jiu [T'ung-chou], [which was commanded by] Siging Sai [Ch'i-chin Yüan-shuai].[7] Some of the Altan Khan's commanders, Jang Fu [Chang Fu], Jang Kuging [Chang-huan Ping], Junggo [Chung-ko], [and] Ashuling [Yeh-ssu],[8] were in a large city in the midst of the plains called Si[n] An [Hsin-an].[9] They fortified it, and [the Altan Khan] also went there, refusing to surrender.

Genghis Khan sends Samuqa Bahadur with the army to attack Cathay, and then he sends Tolun Chärbi.

[1] *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393: 秦忠 Ch'in-chung.

[2] The text's تونجيو reflects the 桓州 Huan-chou of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393 and the *Yüan shih* (Krause, p. 34): "befand sich (der „Kaiser") zum Sommeraufenthalt zu Liang-ching in Huan-chou."

[3] As named in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393: 忽都忽那顏 Hu-tu-hu Na-yen (Qutuqu Noyan), 雍古兒寶兒赤 Yung-ku-erh Pa-erh-ch'ih (Önggür Ba'urchi), and 阿兒海哈撒兒 A-erh-hai Ha-sa-erh (Harqai Qasar).

[4] Reading قداى (Qadai, for the Qada of the *Secret History* §252) for the text's قراى. He is called 哈荅 Hata in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393.

[5] From the Chinese 留守 *liu-shou* "he who stays behind to guard" (*Secret History*, p. 187, note 29).

[6] He is mentioned by name in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393 as 崇山 Ch'ung-shan.

[7] In the Persian text "Siging Sai" occurs directly after Tung Jiu as though it is all one name. It is clear from the text of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393 that the "Siging Sai" part is the name of the commander of 通州 T'ung-chou, 元帥七斤 Yüan-shuai Ch'i-chin.

[8] Reading جانك فو (Jang Fu for 張復 Chang Fu, as in *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3393f.) for JT_K's جانك كر and the Russian edition's MS B's جانك قو. The others are so named in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394: 張鎤柄 Chang-huan Ping, 冢哥 Chung-ko, and 也思 Yeh-ssu. The first part of the last name, "*Ashu*," corresponds to Yeh-ssu; the second part, "*ling*," is superfluous and inexplicable.

[9] As mentioned in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394, 信安 Hsin-an. It is the modern Xin'an in Hebei.

After that, in the Year of the Dog corresponding to 610 [1214], Genghis Khan was in a place called Qu Ar Ol.[1] He had Samuqa Bahadur mount with one division of the Mongol army and sent him to the Altan Khan's territory. He went out through Tangqut and reached the city of Ling Jiu [Ling-chou],[2] a very large city and royal capital. The weather there is extremely warm. In the vicinity is a pass like the Iron Gates, and it is called Tung Qam [T'ung-kuan].[3] He took and destroyed all the cities and fortresses of the region of Shujiu [Ju-chou].[4] Then, in the province of Namging where the Altan Khan was, he came to a place called Quaying [Hsing-hua ying].[5] He plundered the city of Quitu[6] [Ho-nan] and turned back to Sam Jiu.[7] Crossing the Yellow River, he reached a large city called Bie[n]gin [Pien-ching].[8] In that city were two of the Altan Khan's commanders, Indur [Yeh-ta-hu[9]] and ___ Sali [Hsieh-lieh[10]]. They both came out and surrendered. When Samuqa had done all these things, he went to Genghis Khan.[11]

After that, Genghis Khan gave Münglig Echigä's son Tolun Chärbi a Mongol division and the soldiers of Cathay and sent him in the direction of Cathay. First they plundered Chaghan Balghasun, which is called Jeng Dinfu[12] [Chen-ting fu] in the

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[1]The spelling in the text (قواواول, for which read قواراول) could—and probably does—represent the *Yüan shih*'s and *Ch'in-cheng lu*'s 魚兒濼 Yü-erh-lo in Dolonnur (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33 and note 463; *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394). Yü-erh-lo, "located in the southern part of the Khongirad country, was often called Ta-li-po and is to be identified with the present Dalai Nor in Chahar" (Martin, *Chingis Khan*, 149, note 90).

[2]Reading لينك جيو (Ling Jiu) for the text's ليتك جايتو, for 靈州 Ling-chou, the Tangqut city also called Dörmägäi (see text p. 384 below). Ling-chou is the modern Lingwu in Ningxia.

[3]潼關 T'ung-kuan, spelled يونك قام for تونك قام (Tung Qam), is "der bestehtigte Platz am Huang-ho-kuin, der seit Alters von strategischer Wichtigkeit war" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 86, note 520). It is the modern Dongguan in Shaanxi.

[4]This 汝州 Ju-chou is "das heutige Fu-chou südlich Ho-nan-fu in Honan" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 86, note 523).

[5]Reading قوينك (Quaying) for JT_K's فيوييك, for the 杏花營 Hsing-hua-ying of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394.

[6]JT_K has قويتو (Quitu?); other MSS have قوبتبر; based on the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394, it should be 河南 Ho-nan (for which the first element in the Persian text, *qui*, a normal rendering of the Chinese 河 *ho* 'river' into Mongolian, is correct).

[7]In the narrative of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394, after Ho-nan, is mentioned a Hsia-chou (峽州), which the text's "Sam Jiu" should represent. This Hsia-chou may be the modern Xiazhou northwest of Yichang in Hubei.

[8]Reading بيكين (Biegin, or Bie[n]gin, for the 汴京 Pien-ching of the *Yüan shih*) for the text's تيكين. It is the modern Kaifeng in Henan. According to the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33) the emperor had transferred his residence to Pien-ching: "Im Sommer im 5. Monat, verlegte der Herrscher von Chin (seine Residenz) nach Pien."

[9]There is little doubt that the text's "Indur," variously spelled ايندر and اپندر in the MSS, represents the 耶荅忽 Yeh-ta-hu of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394; the Persian may originally have been something like ييدهو. The name also seems to have been confused or conflated with the 寅答虎 Yin-ta-hu of the *Yüan shih* (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 33), whom the *Yüan shih* pits against Muqali in Pei-ching, the northern capital of the Chin, Ta-ting fu, east of the present-day Chengde. The presence of Pei-ching in the narrative here may also account for a confusion with the Pien-ching of the previous note.

[10]"Sali" represents the 斜烈 Hsieh-lieh of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394. The variants of his title (فينشر in JT_K) are too massive to resolve. In the *Ch'in-cheng lu* his title is 監軍 *chien-chün*.

[11]Most of this paragraph is summarized in the *Yüan shih* for the year 1216 as follows: "Im Herbst eilten Sa-li-chih Wu-tai [Salji'utai] und San-mo-ho Pa-tu-lu [Samuqa Bahadur] an der Spitze eines Heeres vom Lande Hsi-Hsia nach Kuan-chung. Sie zogen vorüber an T'ung-kuan und nahmen den Befehlshaber des Heeres von Chin in Hsi-an, Names Ni-lung-ku-p'u-lu-hu, gefangen. Dann eroberten sie Ju-chou und andre Distrikte, gelangten bis Pien-ching und kehrten weider um" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 35).

[12]For the text's جينك زنيقو, read جينك دينفو (Jeng Din-

Cathaian language, and forced the people to surrender. They wanted to take the large city of Tung[p]in [Tung-p'ing fu]. **[331]** They stopped the water of the river from above, but the city did not surrender; however, they took the whole surrounding area and then turned back. After that, the Altan Khan's army retook the region.

The Jurchid commander Jang Ju, who had surrendered, rebels again, and Genghis Khan sends Muqali Guyang to reconquer him.

After that, in Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat corresponding to 611 [1216], the news reached Genghis Khan that Jang Ju [Chang Chih], a Jurchid commander from the city of Gim Jiu [Chin-chou] who had formerly been in submission and to whom Genghis Khan had given the cities of Gim Jiu[1] [Chin-chou], Fanshi [?], and Gung Ing [Kuang-ning fu], all in the Jurchid realm, had rebelled again. Calling himself Liao Shi-wang [Liao-hsi Wang] with the title Taiqan [Ta Han],[2] a Cathaian term meaning sultan, he had vastly overstepped his boundaries.[3] Genghis Khan assigned Muqali Guyang to take the left wing. He seized the commander and reconquered the area.[4]

Genghis Khan pulls back from Cathay and camps in the vicinity of his ordus.

After conquering and subduing the provinces, towns, and fortresses of the Cathaian realm over the period of three or four years mentioned above, as has been described, he turned back from there triumphant and victorious. In the same Quluqana Yil he dismounted in all success at his own *ordus*.

Genghis Khan dispatches Sübädäi Bahadur with the army to make war on the Märkit nation, and that nation's fortune comes to an end.

When Genghis Khan was finished with the Cathay campaign and returned home, he received news of the Märkit tribes, with which, as has been mentioned, he had repeatedly done battle, **[332]** whose ruler, Toqto'a Beki, and some of his sons and brothers he had killed, and most of whose soldiers he had scattered. Once again Toqto'a Beki's brother, Qudu, and three sons, Chila'un, Majad, and Qultuqan Märgän, had fled to Naiman territory. They had gone to a place surrounded by forbidding mountains and difficult roads, and there they had regrouped and were about to meddle.

Contemplating dealing with them, Genghis Khan sent Sübädäi Bahadur with an army to fight Qudu and his nephews in the Year of the Buffalo corresponding to 612 [1216]. He ordered many carts to be made for the army and reinforced with iron spikes so that they would not break down on the rocks. He also ordered Toquchar Bahadur of the Qunqirat to join Sübädäi Bahadur. He had stationed Toquchar Bahadur at his rear with two thousand scouts to protect the *aghruq*s and *ordu*s when he was undertaking the Cathay campaign, and he had sat for a time without riding with the army. When all was ready they left together and did battle with Qudu at the Jäm

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for Chen-ting fu. See p. 325 above.

[1]Reading جیو (Jiu) for the text's meaningless بیی. 錦州 Chin-chou is the modern Jinzhou in Liaoning.

[2]The title 遼西王 Liao-hsi Wang is given in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394. The text has, for 大漢 Ta(i) Han, the correct transcription طایقان (Taiqan); see *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3394. It is followed by an apparently meaningless نیك, which does not correspond to anything in the Chinese sources.

[3]"(Chang) Ching [張鯨] aber plante eine Rebellion und erlitt dafür die Todesstrafe. Sein jüngerer Bruder (Chang) Chih [張致] besetzte darauf Chin-chou. Er maßte sich selbst den Titel eines Kaiser von Han-hsing an und veränderte den Jahresnamen in Hsing-lung" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 34).

[4]"Chang Chih drang ein in Hsing-chung-fu, und Mu-hua-li [Muqali] bestrafte und unterwarf ihn" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 35).

Mürän, which is in Mongolia. They defeated the Märkits and killed them all so thoroughly that no one remained except for one of the younger sons named Qultuqan Märkän. He was a really expert archer. They picked him up and took him to Jochi Khan. On account of his expertise at archery, Jochi Khan sent a messenger to Genghis Khan asking that his life be spared. Because he had suffered so much from the Märkits, Genghis Khan thought he should not be allowed to initiate sedition again and sent a reply to Jochi Khan saying, "I have stored up so many realms for you. What good will he do you?" Therefore he too was killed, and of that clan no trace remained.

Genghis Khan sends Boroghul Noyan to fight the Tumat tribe, whose leader was Taitu'ul Soqar; the Tumat are defeated, but Boroghul is killed in the battle.

During the same Year of the Buffalo, Genghis Khan learned that Taitu'ul Soqar,[1] the chief of the Tumat who had previously submitted, had rebelled again during his absence in Cathay. That tribe constituted a separate army, and they were a warlike and seditious people. **[333]** He assigned Nayaqa Noyan of the Ba'arin and Dörbän Noyan to mount a campaign against him. Nayaqa Noyan pleaded illness, and when he was apprised of this, Genghis Khan thought for a while and then assigned Boroghul Noyan in their place.

When Boroghul Noyan heard this, he asked the amirs, "Did you mention me to the emperor, or did he think of it himself?"

"He said it himself," they replied.

"I will go under Genghis Khan's good fortune," he said, "but I am going instead of another's blood." Entrusting his wife and children to the emperor, he went on campaign and conquered the Tumat, reducing them to naught. However, he was killed in battle. When Genghis Khan heard what Boroghul Noyan had said, he remembered how indebted he was to him and was very saddened by his death. Showing compassion to his sons, he said, "I am like the liver and innards to those he left behind. They must not grieve, for I will keep them well." After that, he maintained Boroghul Noyan's sons in respect and honor and rewarded them variously.

Genghis Khan awards Muqali the title Guyang and sends him with the army to conquer the land of Cathay.

In Bars Yil, the Year of the Tiger beginning in Dhu'l-Qa'da 614 [January 1218], Genghis Khan gave Muqali the title Guyang.[2] Previously he had sent him to the territory of the Jurchids, and the Jurchid tribes called him Guyang, meaning ruler of a region. When he was sending him back to that area, he said, "This title is a good omen." He therefore caused him to be known by that title and gave him a division of ten thousand Öng'üt soldiers, a thousand *qoshiquls*, four thousand of the Uru'ut tribe,[3] two thousand of the Ikiräs led by Butu Gürägän,[4]

[1] He is the Daiduqul Soqor of the *Secret History* §240 and Tai-tu-la So-ho-erh (帶都剌莎合兒) of the Tumat (吐痲 T'u-ma) in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395.

[2] "Im Herbst im 8. Monat [of the year 1217], wurde Mu-hua-li [Muqali] ernannt zum Oberfeldherren und ihm der Titel Kuo-wang [國王] verliehen. Als Anführer aller mongolischer, tatarischer, chinesischer Korps, unternahm er einen Feldzug nach Süden" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 35). See also note to text p. 48.

[3] Similarly in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395, Muqali Guyang (木華黎國王 Mu-hua-li Kuo-wang) is given a division of 10,000 Öng'üt (王孤 Wang-ku) horsemen (部萬騎); 1,000 *qoshiqul* (火朱勒 *huo-chu-lo*; for the *qoshiqul* ~ *qosha'un*, see text p. 155 above and p. 407 below); and 4,000 Uru'ut (兀魯 Wu-lu) horsemen.

[4] Reading بتر (Butu) for the text's بتر. In the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395 he is 孛徒駙馬 Po-t'u (for Butu) Fu-ma ('imperial son-in-law' = Gürägän), and he leads two thousand Ikiräs (亦乞剌 I-ch'i-la) horsemen.

one thousand Mangqut under the leadership of Quyildar's son Möngkä Qalja,[1] three thousand Qunqirat led by Elchi Noyan,[2] and two thousand Jalayir under Muqali Guyang's brother [Taisun].[3] Aside from the Mongols, there were Jurchid and <Qara>khitai divisions led by Uya[r] Wangshai [Wu-yeh-erh Yüan-shuai] and Tughan Wangshai [T'u-hua Yüan-shuai].[4] Those who had been gathered were entrusted to these two **[334]** because they had fought valiantly and both had been made *tümän* amirs. (*Wangshai* means commander of a *tümän*, ten thousand.[5]) [Genghis Khan] turned over the entirety of these troops to Muqali Guyang, entrusted to him all the territory of Cathay and Jurcha that had been conquered, and ordered him to guard them and, insofar as possible, to conquer what had not surrendered.

The Altan Khan was in the city of Namging and was still holding some of the kingdom of Cathay. He also had a large army around him. The story of his end will come in the section on Ögödäi, for it was during his reign that the entirety of the kingdom of Cathay was subjugated.

When Genghis Khan turned over that area to Muqali Guyang, since he intended himself to lead the entire armies of the right and left to Turkistan and Iran, he considered it prudent to deal first with Güshlüg the Naiman and the other tribes that were rebellious in every corner and then undertake the campaign.

Güshlüg takes refuge with the Gür Khan of the Qarakhitai; Güshlüg proves treacherous to the Gür Khan; Güshlüg is killed, and the fortune of the Naiman rulers is ended by the Mongols.

Also during the year mentioned above, Genghis Khan's soldiers led by Jäbä Noyan seized and killed Güshlüg Khan in Sarigh Qol in the vicinity of the mountains of Badakhshan. When his father Tayang Khan was killed, he fled and went to his uncle Buyuruq Khan. When Buyuruq Khan was killed, he fled together with the ruler of the Märkit, Toqto'a. When Genghis Khan himself attacked them a second time and Toqto'a was killed, Güshlüg took flight again and went via Beshbaliq to the frontier of Kucha. **[335]** All this has been mentioned previously. After that, in the Year of the Dragon beginning in Rajab 604 [January 1208], he went from there to the Gür Khan, the ruler of the Qarakhitai. From the Year of the Dragon until he was killed in Badakhshan it was eleven years. From the Year of the Rat corresponding to 600 [1204], when Genghis Khan did battle with and killed Güshlüg Khan's father Tayang Khan and Güshlüg fled, until he entered Kucha was four years,[6] making a total of fifteen years.

In short, Güshlüg took refuge with the Gür Khan, who was a great monarch and ruler over all the towns of the region of Turkistan and Transoxiana, supported by a large army and a numerous cavalry and retinue. Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah's forefathers had accepted to pay an imposed annual tribute in the amount of thirty thousand dinars in gold and advised their

[1] In the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395, one thousand Mangqut (忙兀 Mang-wu) horsemen are led by Möngkä Qalja (木哥漢札 Mu-ko Han-cha).

[2] In the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395, three thousand Qunqirat (弘吉剌 Hung-chi-la) horsemen are led by Elchi Noyan (安赤那顏 An-ch'ih Na-yen).

[3] In the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395, two thousand Jalayir (札剌兒 Cha-la-erh) horsemen are led by Taisun (帶孫 Tai-sun). JT_K's طوبلسون should be read as طايسون (Taisun) as on text p. 53 above.

[4] JT_K has اوياوانكشاى; read اويار وانكشاى (Uyar Wangshai) for the *Ch'in-cheng lu*'s 烏葉兒元帥 Wu-yeh-erh Yüan-shuai. JT_K's Tughan Wangshai is 禿花元帥 T'u-hua Yüan-shuai in the *Ch'in-cheng lu*, 3395.

[5] For the Chinese *wan-shuai* and *yüan-shuai*, see note to text p. 328 above.

[6] Correcting the text's "fourteen" to "four."

sons to continue to keep the pact and never to quarrel with the Gür Khan, for he was, they said, a "mighty dam behind which looms powerful opponents"—i.e. the Mongols, Naimans, and other Turks who merited concern.

The Gür Khan welcomed [Güshlüg] warmly and honorably, and after a while he gave him his daughter and made him a member of his retinue. After a time, when Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah's affairs were on the rise after he had taken Ghor, Ghazna, Khurasan, and Persia—as well as some of Turkistan—and acquired great might and magnificence, he began to chafe under the burden of paying tribute to infidels and the amount imposed by the Gür Khan. He assembled soldiers from all directions and led his troops to Bukhara to take the towns of Transoxiana. He also sent friendly messages to the rulers of surrounding territories and gained their support through promises of good things, particularly Sultan Usman, the ruler of Samarkand and a descendant of Afrasiab. Since that group had grown weary of the Gür Khan over such a long period of time, they accepted Sultan Muhammad's invitation and joined him. In secret he also sent a message to Güshlüg and lured him over.

Inasmuch as Güshlüg could see the shakiness of the Gür Khan's situation and realized that the Gür Khan's great officers in the east were rebellious and using stories of the world-conquering Genghis Khan as pretexts, since many of the Gür Khan's officers agreed with him, and since he had also heard that his father Tayang Khan's amirs and their old servants were still around in various spots, a half-baked notion kept nagging at him and he thought **[336]** that if he assembled his father's remaining soldiers he would be able to wield authority as before. With the help of that army and the Gür Khan's soldiers who were in league with him, he would seize the Gür Khan's kingdom, grow powerful, and perform outstanding feats. Yielding to the temptation of this wicked thought, he turned against the poor Gür Khan and said to him, "I have been away from my people and tribe for a long time, and Genghis Khan is busy waging war on Cathay and that area. I have heard that many of my tribesmen and clansmen are wandering around aimlessly in the vicinity of the Imil,[1] Qayaliq,[2] and Beshbaliq, and when they hear my cry, they are harassed by enemies no matter where they assemble. If I might obtain leave from the Gür Khan, I will go, gather them together, and render support to the Gür Khan in case of untoward events. As long as I am alive I will be your sincere servant and obey any order you give."

The Gür Khan was such a simpleton that he believed these words and gave him leave to depart. Güshlüg left and followed his whims. When news of his appearance was broadcast in Turkistan, those remaining of his father's clansmen and soldiers, who had fled from the onslaught of the swords of Genghis Khan's army, assembled around him. He then raided in every direction and garnered booty until his band had become large and he was well supplied with men and material. Then he set out in the Gür Khan's direction, striking and taking the towns and regions of his kingdom.

The Gür Khan had grown too old and weak to deal with him. Learning of Sultan Muhammad's advance upon the Gür Khan, Güshlüg Khan grew even dizzier as envoys arrived from both directions. It was decided that the sultan would head toward the Gür Khan from the west while Güshlüg came from the east, and together they would catch the Gür Khan in the middle

[1]Reading ايمل (the Imil River) for the text's ايمد. Cf. Juvaini/Boyle, 63.

[2]Qayaligh, on the lower Ili River, southeast of Lake Balkhash near the modern Kapal.

and eliminate him. If the sultan got there first, the Gür Khan's realm as far as Almalyk, Khotan, and Kashgar would be his. If Güshlüg got there first, the kingdom would be his up to the [Jaxartes] River at Fanakat.[1] These stakes having been set, Güshlüg arrived first, and the Gür Khan's soldiers were away. He drove forward in haste, and at Balasaqun he attacked the Gür Khan, who did battle with as many soldiers as were nearby. Güshlüg suffered defeat and withdrew in rout to regroup. Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah, together with Sultan Usman of Samarkand, also advanced on the Gür Khan. **[337]** When he reached the province of Taraz, Tayangu,[2] the Gür Khan's commander-in-chief, was there with an army. The two sides did battle, and Tayangu was felled by Sultan Muhammad, and his troops were routed. When Güshlüg learned of the Gür Khan's weakness, he made himself battle-ready and, even though his soldiers were scattered, he set out in all haste, attacked him, and took him down. Left with no alternative, the Gür Khan wanted to humble himself before Güshlüg, but he would not allow it, for he looked upon him as a father and outwardly maintained respect, even though he had treacherously usurped not only the entire realm of Turkistan he had held but his position as ruler as well. Two years later the Gür Khan died of grief, and the treasury, possessions, and army that had been built up over a period of thrice thirty and five years of good fortune and success all fell into Güshlüg's hands.

Güshlüg maintained his position for a few years. In the beginning he had married a girl of the ___ tribe, most of whom were ___, and she had converted him to idolatry.[3] When his authority in the Qarakhitai realm had grown strong, he stretched forth the arm of aggression against the subjects and began to practice unwarranted tyranny. Every year he sent his soldiers into Muslim homelands in that area to devour and burn the grain. When the crops had been thus lost for several years, the people, sorely pressed for grain, were forced to submit to his orders. It went so far that soldiers entered the cities, and a soldier was quartered in every householder's dwelling. Corruption and vice became rampant among the Muslims, and idol-worshipping polytheists did anything they wanted, with no one to stop them.

From there he went to Khotan and took it. He alienated the people there by forcing them to give up their Muhammadan religion and giving them the choice of adopting either Christianity and the Trinity or idolatry after the manner of the people of Cathay. Wanting to establish his absolute authority by forcing the leaders of Islam to yield through rational argumentation, he had it heralded throughout the city that all who wore the garments of learning and piety should present themselves in a certain meadow. As ordered, the religious authorities of Khotan all came out of the city together, and the leader of the community,

[1]Fanakat, known variously as Banakat and Binakath, was on the Jaxartes downstream from Khujand, approximately at the confluence with the Angren. Just north of Fanakat was the fortress of Shash (~ Chach, Old Tashkent), which was renamed Shahrukhiyya when it was rebuilt at the end of the fourteenth century.

[2]Reading تاینگو (*tayangu*, the Turkish word for chamberlain) for the text's تانیکو.

[3]Words missing from the text; probably should be "of the [Qarakhitai] tribe, most of whom were [idolators]." According to Juvaini (Juvaini/Boyle, p. 64), and following him Mirza Haydar Dughlat (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, fol 137b, trs. p. 185), Güshlüg's wife was the Gür Khan's stepdaughter and probably a Buddhist Qarakhitai. The Naiman were Christian. The early sixteenth-century historian Khwandamir (*Habibu's-siyar* 3:26) turns them around: "The wretch was an idolator, and his wife followed the Christian religion."

Imam Ala'uddin Muhammad Khutani, stood up and went before Güshlüg, his tongue sharpened by speaking the truth, and the two of them began a religious debate. When voices were raised, truth triumphed over falsehood, and the learned overwhelmed the ignorant. Imam Ala'uddin bested[1] Güshlüg, who was overcome with astonishment. Enraged, he hurled an unworthy insult against the Prophet. Imam Ala'uddin Muhammad said, "Filth in your mouth, enemy of God's religion!"

Güshlüg ordered him seized and tortured with all sort of painful torments, but he endured patiently. After various exactions they nailed him spread-eagle to the door of his own college. With his demise the Muslims were at once shattered, and the infidels' tyranny over the Muslims began in earnest. As the people raised their hands in supplication, suddenly the arrow of their prayer hit the target, and the tyrannical infidel was dealt a set-back by the world-conquering emperor, Genghis Khan. This came about as follows.

As has already been said, when Genghis Khan had finished fighting in Cathay, he assigned Muqali Guyang and many soldiers to guard Cathay and the eastern direction while Genghis Khan himself set out for the west. He sent Jäbä Noyan ahead with a huge army to deal with Güshlüg, who was then in Kashgar. The Mongol army had scarcely begun to fight when Güshlüg took flight. Jäbä Noyan and his men had it heralded in the city that everyone could practice his own religion as his forefathers and ancestors had done. Güshlüg's soldiers who were living in the city in Muslim homes were all annihilated, and the Mongol army went out in pursuit of Güshlüg. Everywhere he stopped they harassed him until finally he took a wrong road in the mountains of Badakhshan, and he was caught and killed in a valley called Sarigh Qol.[2] The people of Badakhshan got untold booty in cash and jewels.

It is clear that every creature who brings harm to the Muhammadan religion is soon overcome, and he who propagates and strengthens the Islamic code, even if he be not a follower, will succeed and enjoy greater fortune day by day.

Now that the history of Genghis Khan has been written in detail from the beginning of Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that began in Sha'ban 607 [January 1211], through Bars Yil, the Year of the Tiger that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da 614 [January 1218], **[339]** a period of eight years, during the last year of which Genghis Khan was sixty-four years old, we will now begin a summary history of the caliphs, sultans, khaqans, maliks, and atabegs who were his contemporaries in this period. After that we will return to his history, God willing. ~

[1]Text has *ikrám*; correct to *ilzám*.

[2]Sarigh Qol (Yellow Valley) is the area from which the modern Sarykolskiy Mountains, southwest of Kashgar on the border between Tajikistan and China, take their name.

A summary history of the emperors of Cathay and Machin, the rulers of the Qarakhitai, Turkistan, and Transoxiana, the caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, etc. who were Genghis Khan's contemporaries from the beginning of Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that began in Sha'ban 607 [January 1211], through Bars Yil, the Year of the Tiger that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da 614 [January 1218], a period of eight years, and unusual events that took place.

Dates of the rulers of Cathay during this period.

Janzun [Chang Tsung] [reigned a total of] nineteen years, [of which] nine were before and two were after this eight-year period.[1]

Dates of the rulers of Machin during this period.

Ning Zun [Ning Tsung] [reigned a total of] thirty-two years, [of which] fifteen were before, and nine were after, this eight-year period.[2]

History of the rulers of the Qarakhitai, Turkistan, and Transoxiana during this period.

The same Gür Khan was ruling as before. During these years, as has been mentioned, Tayang Khan's son Güshlüg of the Naiman, who had married [the Gür Khan's] daughter, proved treacherous and usurped the kingdom. The Gür Khan sickened of grief and died. Güshlüg was also killed during this period, and those realms were turned over to Genghis Khan. [340]

History of the caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs during this period.

History of the caliphs. In Baghdad was the Caliph al-Nasir-li-dini'llah. During these years he took away the sales tax that had been imposed on the people, like the *tamgha* of these times. It had produced much revenue. The reason was that the daughter of a wine-seller died, and a cow was brought to be given as alms. When the account was made there was mention of the sales tax. The caliph said, "Henceforth let no sales tax be taken from any creature." He built many hospices in Baghdad and ordered it heralded on both sides of Baghdad that the poor should break their fast in the hospices. Mutton, bread, *qatuq*, and taffy were given away there.

History of the sultans.

In Khwarazm, Persia, Khurasan, and Ghazna was Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah. Because all the rulers of those realms had been exterminated, and he had become an autonomous ruler, his fortunes waxed greatly. He had also brought parts of Turkistan and Transoxiana under his sway. His history consists of several stories.

The story of his launching a campaign against the caliph in Baghdad. In the year ___ the sultan led his army on a campaign to Baghdad. Because insults had previously been exchanged between him and the Caliph Nasir, and he harbored hopes of avenging the insults, the sultan had acquired a legal writ from the jurists of his realms, in particular Mawlana Fakhruddin Razi, saying that the House of Abbas had no right to rule as caliphs and that the legal right to the caliphate lay with the sayyids of Husaynid descent. In order to right this wrong it was incumbent upon everyone with sufficient power [341] to raise to the caliphate any Husaynid sayyid who was worthy, especially since the House of Abbas had retired from undertaking holy war

[1]Chang Tsung (章宗) of the Chin, ruled 1190–1209.

[2]Ning Tsung (寧宗) of the Southern Sung, ruled 1195–1225.

against the infidels. [The sultan] nominated Sayyid Ala'ulmulk of Termez, one of the great sayyids, to be raised to the caliphate and then set out.

When he reached Damghan, he heard that Atabeg Sa'd of Fars had gone to Ray intent upon taking Persia. The sultan galloped with a mounted entourage and met Atabeg Sa'd at Khayl-i-Buzurg. No sooner were ranks drawn than the army of Fars was defeated. Atabeg Sa'd was captured, and the sultan wanted to kill him, but the atabeg had the malik of Zozan intercede on his behalf, and the sultan spared his life. He promised to cede the fortresses of Istakhr and Ashkanavan[1] along with two thirds of the income of Fars and left his eldest son, Zangi, as a hostage. He requested permission to withdraw, and the sultan's retinue set out for Hamadan. Atabeg Özbeg, who had come from Azerbaijan to Hamadan in hopes of taking Persia, was routed. The soldiers wanted to pursue him, but the sultan said, "To take two great rulers in one year is not a good omen. Let him go." The sultan continued on to Baghdad. At the beginning of autumn, between Gariwa [and] Asadabad a heavy snowstorm occurred by night. It was so bad that many of the men and most of the animals perished. This was the first blow to the sultan. As a consequence he cancelled his campaign and stopped in Persia for a few days to arrange affairs there.

The story of the Khwarazmshah's thoughtless killing of merchants and envoys, an act that results in strife.

When the sultan returned from Persia, a messenger arrived from Qayir Khan, the amir of Otrar, to announce merchants attached to Genghis Khan. Before thinking or planning, and on the mere opinion of jurists, the sultan immediately ordered that those Muslims, who had taken refuge in the sanctuary of his realm, be killed and their possessions taken as booty.

When your fate turns dark, everything you do goes wrong.

[342] This came about as follows.

At the end of the Khwarazmshah's reign the people enjoyed untold security and welfare. The fires of unrest had been quenched, and the roads were so cleared of bandits and thieves that merchants poured in from all directions in hopes of profit. Since the Mongols were nomads and far from cities, articles of clothing and furnishing were of particular value among them, and the profits to be had by dealing with them were fabled. Therefore, three merchants from Bukhara set out for that region, laden with all sorts of commodities, gold-spun suits of clothing, *zandpeche*,[2] muslin, and other goods they thought suitable for those people.

At that time Genghis Khan had cleared most of Cathay and Turkistan of rebels and opponents and stationed patrols on the roads to let merchants pass in safety and send their goods, as they thought suitable, to Genghis Khan. They sent these three merchants there. When they arrived, one of them displayed his cloth, stating a price of two or three ingots for what was worth ten or twenty dinars. Genghis Khan was enraged by this unjust talk and said, "This person thinks we have never seen clothing before!" Then he ordered all sorts of expensive clothing that was in the treasury shown to him. After that his wares were inventoried and taken as booty, and he was arrested.

Then Genghis Khan ordered the mer-

[1] Reading اشکنون (Ashkanavan) for the text's اشکتون. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:366, note 16.

[2] A coarse cloth made in Bukhara. The variant زندپیچی *zandpeche* has made it into the dictionaries as a ghost word, but it is a misspelling of زندنیجی *zandanijí*, the Arabicized attributive to Zandani(g), a village near Bukhara.

chant's companions and their wares brought in. No matter how much he insisted, they refused to give a price for their clothing, saying, "We have brought these goods in the emperor's name." Genghis Khan was pleased by their speech and ordered a gold ingot given them for each large suit and a silver ingot for every two [pieces] of *zandpeche* muslin. Then he summoned their other comrade and gave him the same price for all the clothing that had been plundered from him. He showed them all sorts of favor, for at that time Muslims were kept in honor and respect and housed in clean white tents as a mark of auspiciousness and respect.

When they were about to depart he ordered the ladies, princes, and amirs to send along with them two or three of their retainers with gold and silver ingots to go to the sultan's realm **[343]** to trade and acquire rarities to be brought back. In obedience to the command, each one of them appointed one or two of his people, and four hundred fifty Muslims assembled.

Genghis Khan assigned Mahmud of Khwarazm, Ali Khwaja of Bukhara, and Yusuf Kanka of Otrar to accompany the merchants as ambassadors to the Khwarazmshah and deliver a message saying, "The merchants of that region have come before us, and as you will hear, we are also sending a group of merchants thither in their company to bring back rarities from those lands and to acquire valuable items from there. The greatness of your family and the nobility of your dynasty are not unknown, and the expanse of your kingdom and range of your authority are well known to all in most climes of the earth. You are a dear son to me, and so also are all Muslims. Since the frontiers near us have been cleared of enemies and all are under subjugation, on both sides neighborliness is firm. It is demanded by intelligence and chivalry that on both sides the path of cooperation be followed, and in case of untoward events we should aid and assist each other and keep the roads safe from danger so that merchants, through whose coming and going the world flourishes, may come and go without anxiety. Henceforth let all causes for fear and concern be erased through our agreement, and let all those who would cause corruption and strife be eliminated."

When the ambassadors and merchants arrived in Otrar, the amir there, Inalchuq by name and a relative of the sultan's mother, Tärkän Khatun, had taken the title Ghayir Khan. One of the group was an Indian who, having been acquainted with him in former days, called him Inalchuq as he had been accustomed to do. Also, out of pride in the greatness of his khan, he did not attach much importance to him. Ghayir Khan was enraged by this and had him arrested—to be sure, he also coveted the merchants' goods. To announce this he sent an envoy to the sultan in Persia. Without listening to Genghis Khan's advice and without thinking, the Khwarazmshah issued a decree allowing their blood to be spilled and their goods seized. Little did he realize that by making their blood and goods licit his own life would be forfeited.

Everyone who possesses wisdom will look to the consequences of his actions. / No matter what you wish to enter in upon, it is necessary to look for a way out. **[344]**

With this decree in hand, Ghayir Khan not only deprived them of life but in so doing also destroyed the world. Before the decree arrived, one of them managed to trick his way out of prison and hide in a hole. When he learned of his companions' deaths, he took off in haste to inform Genghis Khan of what had happened.

This report so affected Genghis Khan that he lost all control. In a conflagration of ire and wrath he went alone to a hill, put his belt around his neck, uncovered his head,

and put his forehead to the ground. For three days and nights he humbled himself and pleaded with the deity, saying, "O great God! O creator of Tajik and Turk! I cannot contain myself in the face of this outrage. With your assistance give me strength to wreak vengeance." After perceiving an answer to this prayer within himself, he came down refreshed and glowing, determined to make arrangements for battle.

Since the Güshlüg affair lay ahead, he began by dealing with him. An army was dispatched and, as has been explained, he was eliminated and envoys were sent to the sultan to remind him of the treachery that had issued from him without justification and instructing him to prepare himself for battle with the army that was moving in his direction. Since the Khwarazmshah was too proud and conceited to have thought of the consequences of his action, he was trapped in a web of calamity and catastrophe. "Having a view to consequences makes one safe from disasters."

The story of how Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah learns that Genghis Khan's army is headed in his direction, of his insistence on doing battle with a troop on the border, and of his return in stupification.

When news of Genghis Khan's army reached Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah, he gave Persia to his son Ruknuddin and set out from Hamadan for Khurasan. After stopping in Nishapur for a month, he headed for Bukhara, where he engaged in sport and frivolity before going to Samarkand. From there he proceeded to Jand with a large army, and from there he went to the borders of Turkistan and his own realm. **[345]**

At that time Genghis Khan's armies had been sent to deal with the Qirqiz and Tumat tribes and to capture Güshlüg and Qudu, the son of the Märkit ruler who had raised an army after being defeated and put to flight, and they were then in ___ in the region of the Turkistan frontier in pursuit of tribesmen who had escaped. The Khwarazmshah's patrol sent word that the Mongol army was nearby. The sultan set out after them, and some Mongol storytellers say it was the very troop in charge of which Genghis Khan had put Sübädäi Bahadur and Toquchar of the Qunqirat and sent them to fight Qudu. When they had done battle with Qudu at the above-mentioned place and killed him and many of his men, the news reached Sultan Muhammad, and he mounted to attack them. He found a wounded man in the midst of those slain in the battle and, having obtained information from him, he set out in pursuit of the Mongol troop. The next day between the two rivers ___ and ___,[1] as dawn was breaking, he caught up with them and arrayed his men. The Mongol soldiers withdrew from fighting and said, "We have no authority from Genghis Khan to fight the Khwarazmshah. We have come on another mission." Since the sultan would not listen to them and would not turn his reins from battle, the Mongols also headed into the field, and the two right wings faced each other. Some of the Mongols charged the center, and there was fear that the sultan would be captured. However, the sultan's son, Sultan Jalaluddin, came forth, repelled those charges, which even a mountain would not have been able to withstand, and got his father out of harm's way.

Gird your loins in your father's presence as one finer even than a raging lion.

Sultan Jalaluddin fought throughout the day until evening. After sunset both armies

[1] In JT_K the names are قیلی and قیج; in Juvaini/Boyle 2:370, these two names occur as قیلی (Qaili?) and قیمج (Qaimich?), for which Boyle notes (ibidem, note 30) that Minorsky suggested an emendation to قنقلی (Qanqli) and قبجخ (Qipchakh) and a possible identification as the Irghiz and the Turghai rivers.

went to their camps and settled down. The Mongols lit fires, decamped, and withdrew. When they came to Genghis Khan they reported the valor and bravery they had witnessed from Sultan Jalaluddin. Since Genghis Khan realized that there was no buffer between them, and all the rulers who kept them apart had been eliminated, he mustered his forces **[346]** and got ready to attack Sultan Muhammad's realm. Even though the sultan had initiated the strife, for the reasons just given Genghis Khan did not want to attack him and sought in every way possible to tread the path of amity and neighborliness. In fact, he did not move to do battle with the sultan until he had taken several insulting and hurtful actions that called for revenge. The first was that he thoughtlessly and unforesightedly killed the group of merchants and ambassadors he had sent to seek friendship and peace with friendly messages, paying absolutely no attention to what they had to say. Second was that he fought with his soldiers unwillingly. Third was that the sultan usurped entirely all the lands in Turkistan that had been held by Güshlüg after he was killed by Genghis Khan's soldiers. Altogether these things caused a vengefulness and enmity and created a desire for redress and expiation.

In short, after the battle the sultan returned to Samarkand, where a perplexity and hesitation began to gnaw at him and an inner unrest upset him externally. Since he had witnessed the might and power of his opponent and he well knew what causes had motivated this strife had taken place, moment by moment anxiety and torment began to overwhelm him and traces of regret began to be apparent in his words and deeds. So overwhelmed was he by fear that the doors of clear thought were closed to him, and sleep and rest departed. Giving in to his destiny, he submitted to what God had ordained. The astrologers were also saying that his ascendant had moved into dark degrees and ill portents were observable. As a precaution until the ill portents had passed, he should undertake no action against an enemy. The astrologers' words also became appended to the causes for his downfall.

He pulled his reins in and stationed most of his soldiers, approximately four hundred thousand in all, in Turkistan and Transoxiana. Twenty thousand were positioned in Otrar with Ghayir Khan, ten thousand in Fanakat with Qutlugh Khan, and thirty thousand in Bukhara with Amir Ikhtiyaruddin Küshli, the master of his stables, Ali Hajib entitled Inanch Khan, Khamid-[B]ur[1] Tayangu and other amirs. In Samarkand he stationed his uncle Toghanchaq and the amirs of Ghor, Kharmil and Kharzur, the son of Izzuddin Ka[r]t, Husamuddin [Ma]s-'ud and another troop with Hindu. **[347]** Fakhruddin Habash and the army of Sijistan he stationed in Termez, and Mahmud Khan was assigned to Sarakhs. His cousin was put in Balkh, ___ Pahlavan in Jand, Daghalchuq Malik in Khuttalan, Burtasi in Qunduz, and Aslaba Khan in Yarkand.

He ordered the ramparts of Samarkand repaired, and he rode around the ditch and said, "If each of the soldiers that are going to attack us throws his whip into this ditch, it will fill up right away." With these words the citizens and soldiers lost heart.

The sultan set out via Nakhshab, and every place he came to he said, "Do what you must to save yourselves, for resistance to the Mongol army is futile." He sent someone to take his wife and mother, Tärkän Khatun, from Khwarazm to Mazanderan.

As he consulted with every advisor to try to find a way to deal with the coming disas-

[1] In the text, خميدور. Juvaini/Boyle (p. 103) reads Khamid-Bur; Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:191) reads Хамид-Пур.

ter, terrifying news poured in moment by moment and things fell further to pieces. Those of experience, especially his son Jalaludin, said, "It is too late to do anything about Transoxiana. We must strive not to lose Khurasan and Persia. We should recall the troops we have stationed in every city, spend whatever is necessary and make the Jaxartes a moat; otherwise we will have to take refuge in Hindustan."

Sultan Muhammad approved of this rather feeble plan and pulled back to Balkh. Just then Imadulmulk of Sawa arrived, having been sent by [the sultan's] son Ruknuddin from Persia with gifts and presents. The sultan received him warmly, and he invited the sultan to Persia, saying, "There we will assemble the armies of Persia and launch our operation strategically and from a position of strength."

Sultan Jalaluddin rejected this proposal, saying, "The best thing to do would be to gather as many of our soldiers as possible and go out again at their fore. If the sultan's heart is feint, let him go to Persia unencumbered and give the army to me to lead to the frontier and strike so that by doing what is within our power we will not be ashamed before the creator or his creatures. If we fail, we will not be the target of arrows of censure, tongues will not be loosed in blame, and people will not say that before now they have taken tribute from us or that now they find us negligent or unoccupied." Several times he repeated these words with all insistence. He knew it was necessary to wait for his father's permission, **[348]** but Sultan Muhammad was so stunned and perplexed that he could not respond. Considering his son's wise proposal a child's plaything, he clung to the notion that his lucky star was merely in eclipse.

The rest of his story, which takes place after this period, will come after the history of Genghis Khan, God willing.

In Anatolia was Sultan Ghiyasuddin Kaykhusraw. During these years he took the city of Antioch from the Greeks, giving them amnesty. He had laid siege and destroyed several towers on the ramparts, and he had almost taken the town when the inhabitants requested assistance from the Franks who were on Cyprus, which is opposite Antioch. An army came, and Ghiyasuddin withdrew. The Franks entered the city, and Ghiyasuddin stationed some of his soldiers in the mountains between Antioch and his territory to keep anything from being taken there from his territory. After a time [famine] broke out in the city, and the inhabitants told the Franks, "Go deal with the Muslims, for we are suffering." Hostilities broke out between the inhabitants and the Franks, and the Antiochans called the Muslims in to help. They did battle with the Franks, who took refuge in the citadel. The Muslims sent someone to Konya to summon Ghiyasuddin. He hastened there with his army, and the day after he arrived they turned the city over to him. The citadel was besieged and taken, and the Franks were captured.

History of the maliks and atabegs.

In Mazanderan was Shah Husamuddin. He died during these years, leaving three sons. The eldest succeeded and exiled the middle son from his territory. He went to Alishah, the Khwarazmshah's brother, and asked him for assistance. On the Khwarazmshah's order Alishah led an army to Mazanderan, but when they were past Gurgan, the eldest son, who had become the ruler, died and the youngest son took over in his stead. Alishah raided Mazanderan, and the son who had become ruler went to the fortress of Kura. No matter how hard they tried besieging him, they could not score a victory. Nonetheless, the territory came under their domination, and the middle son

became governor on their behalf with the *khutba* and coinage in the Khwarazmshah's name. [349]

In Persia, Jahan Pahlavan's slaves Aytoghmish and Mängli were governing. Aytoghmish went to Baghdad and was in [the caliph's] retinue there for a time. The caliph honored him by making him the governor of Isfahan and Hamadan. He got as far as Barjam's territory, and there he was waiting for the arrival of troops from Baghdad when the caliph dismissed Sulayman b. Barjam as amir of the Turcomans and put his younger brother in his place. Sulayman informed Mängli, who dispatched a troop in haste to assist Sulayman. Without warning they seized Aytoghmish and sent his head to Mängli.[1] With that, Mängli's fortune waxed, troops gathered around him, and he seized the entire province of Persia.[2] Since there was great rancor between him and Jahan Pahlavan's son Atabeg Özbeg, the governor of Azerbaijan, the caliph sent a message to Atabeg Özbeg encouraging him to make war on Mängli and promising him assistance. He ordered Jalaluddin Muhammad, the lord of the Ismailis' fortresses, to reinforce him and promised him that when they got rid of Mängli, part of the territory would be the atabeg's, part the caliph's, and part Jalaluddin Muhammad's. The caliph dispatched Muzaffaruddin Kök-Böri, the lord of Arbela and Shahrazor with an army. They went to attack Mängli in Hamadan. He took refuge in a mount near Karaj, and the armies surrounded the mountain. Mängli fled by night, and his soldiers dispersed. The caliph's army took the territory, which was divided as he had promised. Atabeg Özbeg gave his portion to his brother's slave Oghulmish since he had performed valiantly during battle. The soldiers returned home, and Mängli went in defeat to Sava, the *shahna* of which was his friend. He asked for permission to enter the city, and the *shahna* let him in, quartered him in his own house, took his weapons, and wanted to put him in chains and send him to Oghulmish. Mängli requested that [the *shahna*] himself kill him and not send him to Oghulmish. The *shahna* took Mängli's head and sent it to Atabeg Özbeg, who forwarded it to Baghdad.[3]

In Azerbaijan was the Atabeg Özbeg who has just been mentioned.

In Kirman, the lord of Mosul, Izzuddin Mas'ud b. Nuruddin Arslanshah b. Izzuddin Mas'ud b. Qutbuddin Mawdud b. Imaduddin Zangi b. Aqsunqur [350] died during these years. Having made his son Arslanshah, who was only ten years old, the heir, and also having appointed Badruddin Lu'lu' to manage the kingdom as he had done for him and his father, Nuruddin, he died during the night. That very night Badruddin sent messengers to the maliks to renew their pledge of fealty and to the caliph for the issue of a writ of succession. The next morning, all these things having been done, he sat in mourning. The messengers quickly returned, their missions accomplished. From Baghdad edicts and patents confirming Nuruddin's succession and Badruddin's regency were sent.

Nuruddin spent most of his time sulking. His uncle Imaduddin Zangi, who held the fortresses of Shush and [Tall A]'far, had designs on ruling Mosul. Together with Muzaffaruddin of Arbela he took the fortresses of Hakkari and Zawzan,[4] and time and again Badruddin sent his messages

[1] According to Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:301), Aytoghmish was killed in Muharram 610 (May–June 1213).

[2] To here the summary agrees with Ibn al-Athir (*Kamil* 12:301).

[3] Agrees with Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:306f.

[4] Hakkari is the modern Hakkâri on the Great Zab River in the extreme southeast of Turkey.

of advice, but he refused to listen. Badruddin sought assistance from Malik Ashraf, the son of Malik Adil. He agreed and sent a troop to reinforce him. Badruddin went to war with Imaduddin, and Muzaffaruddin of Arbela sent troops to reinforce Imaduddin. Battle was fought. Badruddin defeated Imaduddin's men. From Baghdad envoys arrived and made a truce between them. Arslanshah died after Nuruddin's truce, and his younger brother Nasiruddin Mahmud, who was only three years old, was made ruler. Because he was an infant, Imaduddin's desire for the kingdom grew even greater. He set out for Mosul. Just then Badruddin sent his son with a troop to help Malik Ashraf, and together they went to Egypt to assist [Malik Ashraf's] brother, Kamil. The troop that had been sent by Malik Ashraf to help Badruddin was led by Izzuddin Aybak and was in Nasibin. Badruddin summoned them, and they crossed the Tigris and met three leagues from Mosul. Izzuddin Aybak attacked the left wing, where Imaduddin Zangi was, and defeated him. Muzaffaruddin, who was in the center, attacked Badruddin's left wing and defeated him. Badruddin went to Mosul, and Muzaffaruddin went to Arbela. Envoys were sent, and a truce was made. Malik Ashraf took Sinjar and went to Mosul to help Badruddin. Nasiruddin Muhammad, the lord of Amid, was with him, and they attacked Arbela. The caliph's envoys arrived, a truce was made, and everyone returned home. The lord of Mayyafariqin was Malik Awhad Najmuddin Ayyub b. al-Adil.[1] **[351]** He took the city of Mush and set out against Akhlat, with the lord of which he did battle and was defeated, returning to Mayyafariqin with only a few men. His father sent help, and he did battle with Balban, the lord of Akhlat. Defeated, Balban withdrew into Akhlat and requested assistance from Mughisuddin, the lord of Erzurum. He went himself, took advantage of the opportunity, and killed Balban. He wanted to seize Akhlat, but the people of Akhlat sent someone to summon Najmuddin. When he arrived they turned the rule over to him, and he took control of most of the territory in that area. Once again they rebelled against him, and once more he took the city by force after a massacre and much plunder.

In Syria and Egypt was Malik Adil,[2] and each of his sons was governing in a portion of the kingdom. In the year 614 [1217–18] Adil dispatched his son Malik Mu'azzam Isa, the governor of Damascus, with a large army to Nablus to repel the Franks who, having requested reinforcements from all directions and having gathered in Acre, plundered and wrought havoc from Beisan to Banyas, and to keep them out of Jerusalem. The Franks went from the Acre plain to lay siege to the fortress at Tur [Mount Tabor], which they besieged for seventeen days. Their commander was hit by an arrow and died, and they fled. Adil destroyed the fortress since it was near Acre and difficult to maintain. The Franks departed from Acre and went to sea, disembarking at Damietta in Egypt where the Nile separated them from Damietta proper where the river spills into the sea. They camped there and dug a deep trench around themselves, and there they constructed engines of war. Adil's son Malik Kamil, who was the governor of Egypt, camped opposite them in Adiliyya, and the Franks fought for a time until [the site] was taken by force. [The Egyptians] broke the chains [that had been put in place] so that their

[1] al-Malik al-Awhad of Akhlat, d. 1210.

[2] The Ayyubid al-Malik al-'Adil I Sayfuddin, ruled 1200–1218.

engines could not come or go.[1] In place of the chains Malik Kamil had a very strong boom *(chambar)* made to prevent the Franks from coming or going.[2] They fought a fierce battle, and Kamil seized several ships and scuttled them on the rocks. In short, they fought for several days. Since the Nile was in between, the Damiettans had no fear of the Franks and opened their gates and engaged in commerce.

In Fars was Atabeg Muzaffar Sa'd Zangi, a bit about whom has already been stated in the section on the Khwarazmshah. **[352]** When he went to Fars after plotting with the sultan, and his son Atabeg Abubakr heard of this, he went out to do battle in disagreement. He lay in ambush at the gate of Tang-i-Faruq and attacked his father. In that attack he fell from his horse and was taken captive. His father had him imprisoned and sent him to the Qal'a-i-Safed and then kept his agreement with the sultan. Atabeg Sa'd's nephew was ruling. When he rebelled against him, after a while the malik of Zozan became the governor of that area on behalf of the Khwarazmshah and became very strong and powerful.

❋

Now that the history of the khaqans, caliphs, maliks, and atabegs of the various territories who were contemporaries of Genghis Khan from the beginning of Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that began in Sha'ban 607 [January 1211], through the end of Bars Yil, the Year of the Tiger that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da 614 [January 1218], a period of eight years, has been summarily written, we will commence the history of the next period. ~

[1] "There was on the Nile at that time a highly fortified tower of great strength and powers of resistance. It had steel chains, immensely robust and thick, which stretched across the Nile to prevent ships arriving by the high seas from entering into Egypt" (Maqrizi/Broadhurst, p. 166).

[2] "To prevent the Franks from passing up the Nile, al-Kámil had laid a great boom *[jisr]* to take the place of the chains" (Maqrizi/Broadhurst, p. 172).

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IV

REŞİDEDDIN FAZLULLAH

Câmi'ü't-Tevârîh

(Dünya Tarihi)

Moğul Tarihi
II. Kısım

Açılamalı İngilizce Tercüme
W. M. Thackston

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOURCES
IV

RASHIDUDDIN FAZLULLAH'S

Jami' u't-tawarikh
(Compendium of Chronicles)

A History of the Mongols
Part Two

English Translation & Annotation by
W. M. Thackston

Published at
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Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations
1999

The History of Genghis Khan from the beginning of Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da 615 [January 1219], through Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Safar 624 [January 1227], a period of nine years

At the beginning of this period he set out for Turkistan and the realms of the land of Iran. Within six years he had completed his dealings with those lands, and in the seventh, the Year of the Rooster that began in Safar 622 [February 1225], he returned to his *ordus*. Upon hearing that the province of Tangqut had rebelled again, he mounted on an expedition for there and reconquered it. In the Year of the Pig mentioned above, fifteen days after the midpoint of autumn, which corresponds to Ramadan [of that year], he died. Although he died in his seventy-third year, since it was an incomplete year, he lived seventy-two years, as all Mongols are agreed. **[353]**

Genghis Khan's world-seizing, world-conquering banners head in the direction of Sultan Muhammad's realm after successive conquests there.

At the beginning the Year of the Rabbit, which commenced in Dhu'l-Qa'da 6[1]5 [January 1219] but most of which corresponds to the year 616 [March 1219–March 1220], the dust of Güshlüg's sedition had settled and the roads had been cleared of opponents and rebels. Genghis named his sons and commanders of ten thousand, thousands, and hundreds, organized them, and had them assemble for a *quriltai*. He laid down new regulations and mounted for a campaign against the Khwarazmshah's realm.

In the Year of the Dragon he summered along the Baya River and sent emissaries to the sultan to announce his intended campaign and to warn of the revenge for the murders of the merchants and other things the sultan had done the year before. He advanced in the autumn, taking the entire territory that lay on his way. When he reached the vicinity of Qa[ya]liq, the chief of that area, Arslan Khan, came to submit, was rewarded, and set out as an auxiliary to the Mongol army. From Beshbaliq came the Idiqut of the Uyghur with his horde, and from Almaliq came Suqnaq Tegin[1] with his army.

Genghis Khan reaches Otrar, and it is taken by the Mongol army.

At the end of autumn in the Year of the Dragon, Genghis Khan and his mighty army reached the city of Otrar, and his court tent was pitched opposite the fortress. The sultan had given a huge army to Ghayir Khan, and Qaracha the chamberlain had been sent to reinforce him with ten thousand horsemen. They had repaired and reinforced the fortifications and ramparts and assembled engines of war. Genghis Khan ordered Chaghatai and Ögödäi to lay siege with several divisions, and Tolui Khan was assigned soldiers to go to Jand and Yangi[kent].[2] A group of officers was sent to Khujand and Fanakat, and units were dispatched in all directions, while Genghis Khan himself headed for Bukhara. (The story of how Bukhara and Samarkand were taken will come in good time.) **[354]**

Battles were fought in Otrar for five months, and in the end the people of Otrar were reduced to dire straits and Qaracha gave his consent to surrender and turn over the city. Since Ghayir Khan knew that he

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[1] Reading سوقناق (Suqnaq) for the text's سوقتای. Juvaini/Boyle 1:82 has this name as Siqnaq Tegin.

[2] Reading جند (Jand) for the text's حید, and reading ینگی (Yangi) for the text's بیگی. Yangikent now lies in ruins known as Jankent, "to the south of the Syr-Darya, about three miles from the former Khivan fortress of Jan Qal'a, fifteen miles from Kazalinsk" (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 415f.).

was the cause for all this trouble, he did not imagine in any way that he would be allowed to live. Qaracha did not insist very much, and by night he departed through the gate with his soldiers. Mongol soldiers captured him and took him to the princes, who said, "You, with all you have been through together, have not kept faith with your master. We cannot expect you to keep faith with us." So saying, they had him and all his men killed. The city was taken, all the people were driven out like a flock of sheep, and everything was pillaged. Ghayir Khan and twenty men went to the citadel gate, and people came out in groups of fifty and were killed. Battle lasted for one month, and most were slain. Ghayir Khan was left with two men, but they continued fighting courageously. The Mongol soldiers surrounded him in the citadel, but he went out on the roof and refused to surrender until those two liege men had also been killed. When there were no weapons left, he threw bricks and kept fighting. The Mongols took everything around him and reduced the ramparts and walls level with the ground. Of the peasants and craftsmen who had escaped the sword, some were sent as levy to Bukhara, Samarkand, and those areas.[1] Ghayir Khan was killed in the Kök Saray,[2] and the soldiers departed.

Prince Jochi sets out for Jand and Yangikent, which he takes.

By order of Genghis Khan, Prince Jochi set out in the year mentioned above with Ulus Idi for Jand.[3] First he came to the entrepôt of Sighnaq,[4] which is on the banks of the Oxus. In the vanguard he dispatched as an emissary Husayn Hajji, who had long been a merchant in Genghis Khan's service and was a respected member of the retinue, to deliver a message to the people of the area and advise them as an act of kindness to surrender in order that their lives and possessions might be safe. [355] However, before he could deliver his message and advice, maleficents and common rabble created an uproar and, shouting *Allahu akbar*, killed him, thinking it an act of great merit. When Jochi learned of this, he arrayed his army to fight from sunup to sundown. They battled in successive waves until they conquered the town, and, closing the gates of forgiveness and compassion, they killed all in one instant in revenge. The governorship of the area was given to the slain Husayn Hajji's son.

Leaving there, they proceeded to take Özgand.[5] Then they set out for Ashnas,[6] where there was a throng of rabble and common soldiers. They were unrelenting in fighting, but most were killed. The news reached Jand, and Qutlugh Khan, the commander-in-chief stationed there by the sultan, crossed the Oxus by night and took the desert road to Khwarazm. When news of his abandonment of Jand was received, he sent Chin Temür[7] on a mission to Jand, won them over, and thus avoided hostilities. Since there was no leader or governor in Jand, and everyone was speaking how-

[1]The "levy" *(hashr)* consisted of civilians corvéed and driven before the Mongol army as what would later be called "human cannon fodder."

[2]Reading كوك (Kök) for the text's كول.

[3]The "Ulus Idi" throughout this passage (misprinted in the text as الوس بندى) is actually one of Jochi's posthumous titles, but it has been mistaken through this passage for the name of another individual. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:86, note 1.

[4]Sighnaq, or Sughnaq, lies in ruins six or seven miles north of Tyumen-Aryk in Kazakhstan. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 179.

[5]Location unknown. Perhaps in the Kara-Tau mountains. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 179.

[6]Reading اشناس (Ashnas) for the text's اسباس. The ruins of this place lie on the left bank of the Jaxartes, seventeen miles from the river and twenty miles from the post station of Ber-Kazan. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 179, note 4.

[7]Reading چين (Chin) for the text's جى. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:88, note 7.

ever he wanted and thinking in his own best interests, the common people rose up and attacked Chin Temür, but with kindness and sympathy he informed them of the fate of Sighnaq and the murder of Hajji Husayn and thus quieted them down and concluded an agreement with them, saying, "I will not allow any foreign army to form an attachment with this place." They were content with that undertaking and did not harm him. Chin Temür suddenly left them and went to Jochi and Ulus Idi to inform them of the situations he had witnessed. They set out for there, and on the 4th of Safar 616 [April 21, 1219], they camped outside the city, and the soldiers got busy digging a trench and preparing defenses. The people of Jand closed the gates and began to fight from the ramparts. Since they had never before experienced war, they were astonished how the Mongols could scale the walls of the fortress by placing ladders against the walls and swarming over the ramparts from all directions. The Mongols opened the city gates and drove all the citizens out, but they treated them mercifully—except for a few leaders who had spoken harshly with Chin Temür. Those they killed. For nine days and nights they kept the citizens standing in the plain while the city was given over to general plunder. Thereafter Ali Khwaja, a native of Bukhara who had joined Genghis Khan's service before his emergence, [356] was appointed governor. Then they headed for the city of Yangikent, which they took and left in the care of a *shahna*. From there Ulus Idi headed for Qaraqorum.[1] Of the nomads and Turcomans who were in that vicinity, two thousand men were appointed to go to the Khwarazm expeditionary force. Yasal was in charge of them. After going several stages their own bad luck forced them to rebel and kill the Mongol whom Yasal had stationed at their head as deputy. Yasal was in the vanguard, and when he heard the news he turned back and killed most of that tribe. Some managed to escape in flight. Another tribe went in the direction of the Oxus and amassed there, as will be told in the proper place.

Fanakat and Khujand are taken, and what happened to Temür Malik.

When Temür Malik arrived in Otrar and dispatched his sons and amirs in all directions, he sent to Fanakat the three, Alaq Noyan, Siktür, and Taghai, with five thousand men from various parts who had allied themselves with them. They went there and fought a three-day battle with Elätgü Malik,[2] who was there with a troop of Qanqlis. On the fourth day amnesty was sought and the people surrendered. The soldiers, lords, and common people were separated. Some of the soldiers were killed with swords and others with a barrage of arrows. The women and children were divided among units of a thousand and a hundred, and the young men were sent out to the levy and moved toward Khujand.[3] When they arrived there, the citizens took refuge in the fortress.

One of Temür Malik's liege men, a valiant, brave, and courageous man, had reinforced a high fortress in the middle of the Jaxartes at the point where the river splits and taken a thousand renowned warriors inside. When the army arrived, the fortress could not be taken because neither arrows nor catapult stones could reach it. The young Khujandis were driven there in the levy, and reinforcements were brought in from Otrar and the towns and villages

[1] Thus in the text, but it may be Qara Qum. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:89, note 9.

[2] Reading ایلتگو (Elätgü) for the text's ایلکشو. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:91 and Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:30.

[3] Khujand is the modern Khodzhent on the Jaxartes in Tajikistan.

that had been taken. Finally fifty thousand men from the levies and twenty thousand Mongols were assembled. All were divided into units of tens and hundreds, and a Mongol was appointed to command each unit of ten Tajiks. On foot, they transported rocks from the mountains a league away and threw them into the Jaxartes. [357]

Temür Malik had constructed twelve warships, roofed over and sealed with felt polished with clay and vinegar, and provided with small ports. Every day at dawn he sent off six of these in all directions to fight. Neither fire, arrows, nor naphtha had any effect on them, and when stones were thrown into the water he had the floodgates opened so that by night they were able to make surprise attacks. The army was at its wit's end over what to do with him. After that, the Mongols arranged many projectiles and mangonels and fought hard. When Temür Malik was hard pressed, he brought by night seventy boats he had outfitted for the day of his escape. Loading his household and baggage in them, he put his warriors in them too while he himself and a group of his fighting men got in the warships, lit torches, and set out across the water like lightning. When the Mongol soldiers found out about this, they raced to the bank of the river, but everywhere Temür Malik saw a group of them, he drove his skiffs and warships there and chased them away with arrows that never failed to hit their targets. Then he raced his ships over the water like the wind until he reached Fanakat. With one blow he broke the chain that had been stretched across the water to prevent ships from passing and continued on his way without a care. The soldiers kept fighting him from both banks until he reached the vicinity of Jand and Barjligh.

When Jochi found out about him he stationed soldiers in several places on both sides of the Oxus, had a bridge built of boats, and set in motion carts and crossbows. Learning of the ambush, Temür Malik got out of the water next to the Kent gulf and continued on horseback. The Mongols continued in pursuit of him, but he would come forward with his ships and stand to fight while his household got farther away, and then he would retreat. Several days passed in such struggle. Most of his men were killed, and the Mongols were increasing in number every moment. Finally his household was seized, and he and a few men were left, but they continued fighting bravely, refusing to give up. When those men too were killed, he had no weapons left save three arrow shafts.[1] When he shot one arrow without a point, it blinded a Mongol. To the others he said, "Two shafts remain, just your number, and I begrudge you my arrows. It would be better for you to withdraw and save yourselves." The Mongols withdrew, and he reached Khwarazm, where once again he took up the struggle. Then he and a group of men went to Yangikent. There was a *shahna* there. [358] He killed him and returned. Not considering it wise to remain in Khwarazm, he set out on the sultan's heels for Shahristana, where he joined him. For the period in which the sultan was being chased around he performed valiant service for him. After that he went to Syria in the guise of a Sufi, and when the fires of sedition had died down he was drawn back home by patriotism. He set out and lived a few years in the town of Osh[2] in Fergana, with no knowledge of his family or sons. Once he went to Khujand on business, and there he saw his son, who had found favor

[1] Omitted from the narrative is that Temür Malik was being pursued by three Mongols. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:93.

[2] Reading اوش (Osh) for the text's اوس. It is the modern Osh in Kyrgyzstan at the extreme eastern end of the Fergana Valley.

with the qa'an and regained his father's properties and possessions. He went to his son and said, "If you saw your father again, would you recognize him?"

"I was a nursing infant when my father left," he replied. "How could I recognize him? However, I have an Indian slave who did see him." The slave was summoned, and he told of the marks on Temür Malik's body by which he could be recognized. When he saw them he confirmed Temür Malik's veracity. The news spread abroad that he was still alive, although one group of people refused to acknowledge him because they were holding things that belonged to him. He therefore thought of going to the qa'an, and along the way he chanced upon Qadaqan Oghul, who ordered him bound and held for an investigation into his past resistance to the Mongols. He spoke boldly in this manner:

Sea and mountain beheld me in battle with a group of renowned warriors from Turan. / What can I say? The stars are my witnesses. In manliness the world lies beneath my feet.

He also recognized the Mongol who had been hit by his broken arrow. When the prince had asked him many questions and he had not maintained proper etiquette or respect in his responses, in anger the prince shot an arrow at him and hit him.

He writhed and then gave one sigh, no longer worrying about good or evil.

And that was his end. **[359]**

The conquest of Bukhara.

We have already mentioned that at the end of autumn in the Year of the Dragon the spring of which corresponded with Dhu'l-Hijja of 616 [February 1220], when Genghis Khan arrived in Otrar, he dispatched Chaghatai and Ögödäi to conquer Otrar and Jochi and the amirs with Circassian troops[1] to somewhere else. Until the second month of spring in the Year of the Snake, the beginning of which corresponded with Dhu'l-Hijja 617 [January 1221], which was more or less five months, the princes and amirs were occupied with the conquest of the towns to which they had been assigned. All that happened as has been described.

Now we will list in order the towns that fell to Genghis Khan during this winter from the time he set forth from Otrar until all the princes and amirs rejoined him and he sent Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi out again to conquer Khwarazm while he himself and Tolui Khan crossed the Oxus at Termez and headed toward Iran.

This came about as follows. When Genghis Khan assigned the princes and commanders to conquer those territories, he himself set out from Otrar along the Zarnuq[2] road to Bukhara, accompanied by his youngest son, Tolui Khan, whose nickname was Yäkä Noyan, and a mighty army. They arrived [at Zarnuq] without warning at dawn. The people of the area fled into the fortress in fear of this huge army. Genghis Khan sent Danishmand the chamberlain in to them to inform them of the arrival of his retinue and to advise them. A group of seditious people wanted to molest him, but he shouted out, saying, "I am Danishmand the chamberlain, a Muslim and a Muslim born. I have come as an emissary at Genghis Khan's command to save you from a maelstrom. Genghis Khan has arrived here with a mighty army of brave warriors. If you imagine you can oppose him, he will turn the plain into an Oxus of blood in an instant. If you listen to advice and submit to him, your lives and property will remain safe."

[1] Here the text has clearly "with Circassian troops" *(bá lashkarhá-yi Charkas)*, but since the Mongols had not yet gone anywhere near Circassia, the original must have been something else.

[2] Zarnuq, also read as Zurnuq.

When they heard these reasonable words, they saw it was in their best interests to obey. [360] The leaders came forth and sent out a delegation with a variety of food offerings. When they were presented, he asked about the leaders of Zarnuq. Angered by their complaisance, he sent an envoy to summon them. They immediately went before him and were shown various favors and granted amnesty of their lives. An order was given for the men of Zarnuq to be driven into the plain. The young men were assigned to the levy for Bukhara, and the others were given permission to return home. Zarnuq was then renamed Qutlugh Maliq.

A Turcoman guide from that area who knew the roads very well led the army along a trackless route to the border of Nur.[1] From that time on, that road has been called the Khan's Road.[2] Dayir Bahadur, who was in the vanguard, sent a messenger to inform them of Genghis Khan's arrival and to deliver promises and threats. After emissaries were exchanged, the people of Nur went before Genghis Khan bearing gifts of food and surrendered. After accepting the tribute he said, "Sübädäi will come to you in the vanguard. Turn the city over to him."

When Sübädäi arrived they obeyed the order. Sixty chosen men were sent to Dabus in the company of the son of the amir of Nur, El Khwaja by name, as reinforcements. When Genghis Khan arrived they went out to greet him and presented suitable fodder and offerings of food. Genghis Khan received them with regal warmth and asked, "What is the normal amount of taxes due the sultan from Nur?"

"Fifteen hundred dinars," they replied.

"Pay this amount in cash," he said, "and you will not be subject to further harassment." They paid and were saved from being killed and pillaged.

From there they proceeded to Bukhara, arriving in the outskirts of the city around the beginning of Muharram 617 [March 1220] and dismounting at the citadel gate. Then the soldiers arrived and encircled the city. The army of Bukhara numbered twenty thousand, and they were led by Kök[3] Khan and the other amirs, [Khamid] Bur Tayangu,[4] Sevinch Khan, and Küshli Khan.[5] They emerged from the fortress by night with their people, but when they reached the banks of the Oxus, [the Mongols] fell upon them. At dawn the next morning the gates were opened, and a throng of leaders and dignitaries went before the emperor. Genghis Khan mounted to have a look at the city and fortifications. Then he entered the city, rode to the congregational mosque, and stopped in front of the *maqsura*. Tolui Khan dismounted, went up on the pulpit, and asked, "Is this place the sultan's palace?"

"It is the house of God," they replied. [361]

"The plain is empty of fodder," he said. "Fill our horses' bellies!" The doors to the city storehouses were opened, and grain was brought out. The chests that held Korans were turned into mangers for the horses, and harps and wine were tossed into the mosque. The singers of the city were brought to sing and dance, and the Mongols also sang in their own manner. Sayyids, erudite learned men, shaykhs, and beasts of burden were lined up together to

[1] Nur is the modern Nurata in Uzbekistan.

[2] Reading *ráh-i khání* for the text's *ráh-i khálí*. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:100.

[3] Reading كوك (Kök) for the text's كرك.

[4] Reading تايانگو (*tayangu*, chamberlain) for the text's يايانكر. The first part of his name is uncertain. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:103, note 17 and text p. 346 above.

[5] Text has كسلى. He was Ikhtiyaruddin, the Khwarazmshah's grand equerry. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:103, note 19.

carry out the orders of these people. After that, Genghis Khan left the city and summoned the common people. He mounted the pulpit in the festival prayer space, and after enumerating the sultan's acts of opposition and treachery in great detail, he said, "O people, know that you are great sinners, and your leaders are at the head of the pack in sin. You ask me why I say this. I say it because I am the scourge of God. If great sins had not been committed by you, the great God would not have sent you one like me as a torment."

Then he asked, "In whom do you trust and rely?" Each named a representative from among his own people. Then he appointed a Mongol or a Turk as a *basqaq* for each one to keep the soldiers from harassing anyone. When he had finished with that, he concluded his speech by summoning the rich and wealthy and ordering them to give over their buried wealth. Two hundred seventy persons were assigned, one hundred ninety citizens and the rest foreigners. In accordance with his order they exacted property from the trustees, taking everything they gave and demanding more besides. Then he ordered fire set in the city quarters, and most of the city was burned in a few days, all except the congregational mosque and some palaces made of brick.

Then the people of Bukhara were sent to do battle with the citadel. On both sides catapults were put in place; bows were strung; stones and arrows were sent flying. From inside, vials of naphtha were hurled. For days the onslaught was resisted. Finally the people in the citadel were reduced to dire straits, and the citadel moat was filled level with the ground with various things animate and inanimate. The men of the Bukhara levy took the citadel and set fire to it. The lords and nobles of the age, who were so refined that their feet had never touched the ground, were ignobly taken prisoner and "drowned in a sea of annihilation." Of the Qanqlis, no one taller than a whip was spared. More than thirty thousand men were put to death, and the women and children were taken away as slaves. When the city had been cleared of rebels **[362]** and the walls had been leveled to the ground, all the people of the city were driven into the festival prayer area, and the young men were taken off in the levy to Dabusiyya. From there Genghis Khan set out for Samarkand, intending to take it.

Genghis Khan heads for Samarkand and takes it with his world-conquering army.

At the end of spring in the Moghai Yil mentioned above, which began in Dhu'l-Hijja 617 [January 1221] but most of which was in 618,[1] Genghis Khan set out for Samarkand. Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah had entrusted Samarkand to 110,000 men, 60,000 of whom were Turks, with sixty demon-shaped elephants. There was such a huge throng of common people and elite alike that they could not be numbered. In addition he had fortified the walls of the fortress and constructed several outer walls around the perimeter and connected the moat to water.

When Genghis Khan arrived in Otrar he heard reports of the enormity of the army in Samarkand and the strength of its fortress and citadel, and all were agreed that it would take years to reduce the city itself to capitulation, not to mention the citadel. As a precaution he thought it best to clear the surrounding areas first, and to that end he set out for Bukhara, took it, and then drove an enormous levy to Samarkand. At every place he reached along the way, those who surrendered were unharmed, but at those places that resisted, like Sar-i-Pul and Dabusiya, he stationed a contingent to lay

[1] Dhu'l-Hijja 617 began on January 27, 1221; the year 618 began on February 25, 1221.

siege.

When he reached Samarkand, the princes and officers who had been sent to Otrar and other territories had completed their conquests. They and the levies that had been sent there came, Kök Saray was chosen as a place for the court, and as the various contingents arrived they camped encircling the city.

Genghis Khan himself rode around the ramparts and outer walls for a day or two, contemplating tactics for taking them. During that time news arrived that the Khwarazmshah was in his summer place. Jäbä Bahadur and Sübätäi Bahadur, both great generals, were dispatched with thirty thousand men, **[363]** and Alaq Noyan and Yisa'u[r] were sent to Wakhsh and Taligan.

After that, at dawn of the third day, more Mongol soldiers and levies than could be numbered encircled the city walls. The next day Alpär Khan,[1] S[hay]kh Khan, Balan Khan, and a host of khans did battle outside, and many were killed on both sides. That night all returned to their bases. The next day Genghis Khan himself mounted, stationed all the soldiers around the perimeter of the city, and with arrow and blade forced the city fighters into the plain and battlefield. The citizens, scared by the battle that day, divided into factions.

The next day the Mongols, itching to fight, and the citizens, hesitant, began the battle again. Suddenly the cadi and the shaykhu'l-islam came to Genghis Khan with a group of people and then went back into the city, having been given promises. The next morning at prayer time they opened the gates to let the soldiers in. That day the Mongols got to work destroying the ramparts and outer fortifications, leveling them to the ground. The men and women were driven out into the plain by the hundreds, accompanied by Mongols, but the cadi and shaykhu'l-islam and their dependents were exempted from the exodus. Nearly fifty thousand men remained safe under their protection. It was heralded that anyone who hid would be killed, and as the Mongols were busy looting they killed many they found hidden in nooks and crannies. The elephant drivers took their elephants before Genghis Khan and asked for fodder for them. He ordered them turned loose in the plains to forage for themselves. The elephants were turned loose, but they perished of hunger.

That night the Mongols came out of the city, and the defenders of the fortress were in great fear. Alp[är] Khan and a thousand warriors ready to die attacked the army, emerged from the fortress, and took flight. The next morning the soldiers again stood encircling the citadel, and arrows and stones were sent flying from both sides. The ramparts and outer works of the fortress were destroyed, and the water canal was also ruined. By evening they had taken the gates and gotten inside. A thousand warriors and champions took refuge in the mosque, from inside which they fought hard with arrows and naphtha. The Mongols also hurled naphtha, took the mosque and everyone in it, and burned the lot. They drove the people of the citadel out into the plain, separating the Turks from the Tajiks, and dividing them into groups of hundreds and tens. **[364]** For the Turks they made *nughula*[2] [side locks] and fore-

[1] Reading الپار (Alpar) for the text's الباز. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:118, note 10.

[2] Reading نغولا *(nughula)* for the text's تغولا. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:516 §382. That is they shaved their heads, leaving side- and forelocks in the Mongol fashion. Carpini comments: "*Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, & ab aure vna vsque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Quæ rasure coronæ predictæ iunguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui sunt inter coronam & prætaxatam rasuram crescere vsque ad*

locks, and they put the rest to death—all Qanqlis, more than thirty thousand under the command of Barishmas Khan, Taghayi Khan, Sarsigh Khan, Ulagh Khan, and some twenty-odd of the sultan's other commanders whose names Genghis Khan wrote in detail to Ruknuddin Kurt.

When the city and fortress alike lay in ruins, and many officers and soldiers had been executed, the next day those who were left were counted. Of the total, thirty thousand registered as craftsmen were distributed among the officers, commanders, and ladies. An equal number was assigned to the levy. The remainder were given permission to depart, and as a token of appreciation for their safety they were levied an amount of 200,000 dinars, which Siqatulmulk and Amir Amid Buzurg, two high-office-holding dignitaries of Samarkand, were ordered to collect. He assigned a *shahna* and took some of the levy with himself to Khurasan and sent others to his sons in Khwarazm. Several other times after that they requested levies, and few persons escaped from those levies because that region was totally devastated.

Genghis Khan spent that summer and autumn in the vicinity of Samarkand.

The end of Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah and how he met his death.

When Genghis took Samarkand in the summer of the Year of the Snake that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 617 [January 1221] but most of which fell in 618, which was the third year of his campaign, he constantly received reports of Sultan Muhammad and how strong or weak his army was, for whenever Genghis Khan's scouts captured the sultan's officers or dependents—or whenever they surrendered of their own accord—they reported that the sultan was afraid, perplexed, and hesitant, a man without rest. **[365]** His son Jalaluddin had told him, "We should assemble the soldiers we have left scattered all over the place and strike the foe together." However, since the sultan's luck was on the downturn, he refused to listen.

Knowing the sultan's situation and having learned during the siege of Samarkand that the sultan was in his summer camp, Genghis Khan had sent Jäbä of the Besüt clan with one *tümän* as a *gäjigä* after the sultan and Toquchar Bahadur of the Qunqirat with another *tümän* on Jäbä's heels, saying, "Go in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah, and wherever you find him, if he comes out with an army and you do not have the strength to contend, stop where you are and inform me. If he is weak, fight. Since constant reports tell of his weakness and fear, he will probably not have the strength to stand against you. With the strength of the great God, do not return until you have captured him. If he cannot withstand you and takes refuge with a few men on some steep cliff, or in a cave, or in some narrows, or if he hides himself from the sight of men like a fairy, you must be like the breeze and come out of his territory. Win over all who surrender, give them written assurance, and leave behind a *shahna*. Take by force any who contemplate resistance. As I charge you, you should complete this task within three years, return via the Qipchaq Steppe, and rejoin us in Mongolia, our ancient *yurt*. By approximation it is plain that by that time we should have done with Iran and returned home triumphant and victorious. I am

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supercilia sinunt. Et ex vtraque parte frontis tondendo plusquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt crescere vt mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, & ligant vnamquamque post aurem" (p. 45), "they are shauen on the crownes like priests. They weare their haire somewhat longer about their eares, then vpon their foreheads: but behinde they let it growe long like womans hair, whereof they braide two lockes binding eche of them behind either eare" (p. 109).

shortly going to dispatch Tolui Khan after you to take the cities of Khurasan, Merv, Herat, Nishapur, Sarakhs, and those territories; and I will send Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi with armies to conquer Khwarazm, which is the greatest of all the cities and capital of Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah. Through the strength of the great God, it should take us this same amount of time to accomplish these several tasks and reach home."

So saying, he dispatched them and later his sons to conquer Khwarazm. **[366]** He himself rested for a while from the rigors of travel with Tolui Khan in the vicinity of Samarkand. Jäbä, Sübädäi, Toquchar, and thirty thousand warriors crossed at the Panjab ford and set out in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah. Prior to that, the sultan had been on the river bank at Termez, but when he heard of the fall of Bukhara and then of the capture of Samarkand, he bade farewell to kingship and lit out. With him he had a group of his mother's Turkish relatives, who were called Udanis. They wanted to kill him, but one of them informed the sultan, who changed his sleeping place during the night and left his tent. At dawn the felt of the tent looked like a sieve because it had been pierced by so many arrows. With this, the sultan's apprehension increased, and he proceeded in haste to Nishapur. Every place he came to, he advised the people to reinforce their citadels and fortresses, and this resulted in the people's fear increasing a thousandfold. When he reached Nishapur, he indulged in wine and song in order to stave off his grief over his fate.

Jäbä and Sübädäi first reached Balkh. The grandees of the city sent out a delegation bearing food offerings. A *shahna* was appointed, and they passed on. Picking up a guide there, they sent Taisu Bahadur. When they had gone a way they requested fodder, but the people did not give it and shut the gates. Because the Mongols were in a hurry they proceeded without stopping. The people of the city beat drums and hurled curses at them. Perceiving this insult, they turned back and put ladders against the fortress. On the third day they got onto the ramparts and killed everyone they found. Since they did not have time to make a camp, they burned and smashed all their heavy baggage.

When news of their approach reached Nishapur, the sultan set out for Isfarayin, claiming to be going hunting, but he headed for Persia. When it was reported that a foreign army was nearby, he cancelled his trip to Persia and headed for the fortress at Farzin. That very day he sent his wives, children, and mother **[367]** to Tajuddin Toghan in the Qarun fortress and took counsel with the commanders of Persia on how to deal with the foe. It was considered best for them to take refuge in [U]shturan Koh. The sultan went to inspect the mountain and said, "This place cannot serve us as a refuge."

Then he sent a messenger to summon the malik of Hazar[asf],[1] Salghur, a grandee of the ancient kings and a man of strategic and tactical knowledge. When Malik Nusratuddin Hazarasf arrived, he went into court still covered with the dust of the road and kissed the ground in seven places. The sultan consulted with him, and the malik said, "It would be best for us to decamp immediately. There is an impregnable and highly fortifiable mountain between Lur and Fars called Tang-i-Balu.[2] It is a region filled with good things, and we can make it our asylum and get help from the Lur and the Shul—in one night we can gather a hundred thousand foot soldiers. When the Mongols ar-

[1]Hazarasf ~ Hazarasp (modern Khazar-Asp in the Karakalpak region of Uzbekistan) is on the Oxus south of the Aral Sea.

[2]Reading تنگ بلو (Tang-i-Balu) for the text's بیل نکو. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:383, note 68.

rive we can face them with stout hearts and fight like men."

"His purpose is to show open enmity to Atabeg Sa'd of Fars," the sultan thought. Rejecting his plan as a fancy, he said, "It was our thought to take up residence here among these soldiers and send out in all directions to assemble armies."

He was still thinking about that when Jäbä and Sübädäi reached Nishapur. They sent emissaries to the dignitaries there, Mujirulmulk, Ziya'uddin Zuzani, and Fariduddin, the vizier and comptrollers of Khurasan, calling upon them to surrender and follow Genghis Khan and requesting provisions and fodder. They sent out three persons bearing offerings of food and accepted surrender. Jäbä advised them, saying, "Avoid struggling against 'fire and water' and go out immediately when the Mongol army arrives. Do not place any reliance on the strength of your walls or the abundance of your provisions if you want your homes to remain safe." As a token they gave them a seal in the Uyghur script and a draft of an edict from Genghis Khan, the contents of which were as follows: "Let commanders, dignitaries, and subjects know that the entire surface of the earth, from where the sun rises to where it sets, has been given to us. Mercy will be shown all who submit and to their children and dependents, but those who do not submit and resist will be destroyed along with their children and relatives." Giving them a writ to this effect, they went on their way. [368]

Jäbä went via Jawhara, and Sübädäi via Jam, to Tus. They allowed every place that surrendered to remain, but they annihilated everyone who resisted. The villages to the east of Tus, such as Tufan and that area, surrendered and were given amnesty of their lives, but the people of Tus itself were stubborn, and therefore the territory was massacred and looted.

From there they went to the meadows of Radkan.[1] Sübädäi liked that plain and did not harass the inhabitants but stationed a *shahna* and went on to Khabushan,[2] where he engaged in a lot of killing because of their lack of deference.

In short, everywhere they went, they obtained necessary food and clothing without stopping and passed on through. As was prudent, they marched or halted by day or night on the heels of information concerning Sultan Muhammad Shah, the Khwarazmshah. In inhabited areas that lay on their path they rounded up whatever fine horses and good pack animals they found. In Khurasan there were many walled villages and fortified towns, but they paid them no attention because they had a greater task to perform. Sübädäi went from there to Isfarayin, and Jäbä took the Juwayn road to Mazanderan, where he killed many people, particularly in Darulmulk and the city of Sarabad. Sübädäi went to Damghan, where the people sought refuge in the mountains, but the common folk and soldiers remained in the city, refusing to come out to surrender. As a result, many of them were killed. Coming to Simnan, he killed a host of people, and also in Khwar-i-Ray.

At that point, the sultan arrived from Ray to consult with Atabeg Nusratuddin Hazarasf of Lur concerning the sultan's vanguard and to inform him of the arrival of the Mongols. After his attack of clouded vision, the sultan realized that things had to be done at the right time. Fearing an attack on Hazarasf, he set out for the Lur, and all the other maliks and leaders fled into nooks and crannies. Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah and his sons took the road to the Qarun fortress. Along the way they came across a contingent of Mongols coming in

[1] The Rádkán meadows figure prominently in the literature of the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods. Rádkán is situated around forty-five miles northwest of present-day Mashhad.

[2] Khabushan is the modern Quchan in Khurasan.

droves. One troop, recognizing the sultan, reached for their arrows, shot, and hit the sultan's ventilator in several places. The sultan ran pell-mell for shelter to save himself from the maelstrom, and when he reached Qarun he stayed there for a day. Then, taking a guide and several horses from his officers, he set out for Baghdad. Just then the Mongols arrived and, thinking the sultan was in the fortress, began a fierce battle. Once they realized that the sultan had left the fortress, [369] they pulled back.

The sultan withdrew and turned his reins toward the fortress of Piyakhwahan and from there to Gilan. Su'luki, one of the Gel's amirs,[1] came out to greet him and, encouraging him to stay, gave him various undertakings. The sultan left after seven days and went to the province of Spandar.[2] He had nothing left and was absolutely destitute. From there he went to one of the regional dependencies of Amul and took counsel with the amirs of Mazanderan he felt he could trust. The wisdom of taking refuge for a few days on one of the islands was seen.

The sultan went to an island and stayed there for a while. When news of this became known on the island, as a precaution he moved to another island, his transfer simultaneous with the arrival of a group of Mongols Jäbä Noyan had sent from Ray to pursue the sultan. When they failed to find him, they turned back and laid siege to the fortresses in which were the sultan's wife and treasures. They took them and carried everything off to Genghis Khan in Samarkand.

When this dreadful news reached the sultan and he realized that his wife had been violated, his sons had been put to the sword, and his womenfolk were captive in the hands of strangers, he was so dumbfounded and stunned that the world turned dark before his eyes. He writhed in worry and anxiety and bemoaned that catastrophic and horrible event until he gave up the ghost. **We are God's, and to Him are we going to return.**[3]

O world, how faithless and mean you are: you raise your prey and then hunt it down.

He was buried on the island, although several years later his son Sultan Jalaluddin ordered his bones moved and reinterred in the fortress at Ardahin.

Sultan Khwarazmshah had previously nominated his son Uzlaq to be his successor, but he demoted him while on the island in the Caspian and nominated Sultan Jalaluddin instead.

After his father's death, Sultan Jalaluddin heard that the Mongol army was no longer in Khurasan and Persia since, by Genghis Khan's orders, they did not stop anywhere but kept moving in haste. Feeling safe, he went to Mangyshlak, took as pack animals some horses he found in that region, [370] and sent heralds to Khwarazm. Uzlaq Sultan, the former heir apparent, was in Khwarazm with Aq Sultan and the elite commanders Buchi [?] Pahlavan, Uzlaq Sultan's maternal uncle, Küch-Ay Tegin, Oghul Hajib, and Temür Malik, with ninety thousand Qanqli[4] horsemen. The Mongol army had not yet arrived. When Sultan Jalaluddin arrived the climate was changing, and every faction was inclined to a different one of the brothers. In trepidation over Sultan Jalaluddin's audacity, in secret the amirs hatched a treacherous plot to kill him. One of them informed the sultan, and he took advantage of the opportu-

[1] Gel is the title of the ruler of Gilan.

[2] Spandár is what is generally called Rustamdár in later sources. It is the middle region along the Caspian littoral in modern Iran, with Gilan to the west and Mazanderan to the east.

[3] Kor. 2:156.

[4] Reading قنغلی (Qanghli) for the text's قتلغی. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:401.

nity to take the Nasa road to Shadyakh. He got away from the amirs in the vicinity of Ustuva at Shayaqan Hill,[1] but he encountered a contingent of Mongols with whom he did battle for a while. He killed several men and got out of their midst to safety.

The very moment the sultan left Khwarazm news came of the arrival of the Mongol army. Uzlaq Sultan and Aq Sultan saw little sense in remaining in Khwarazm, so they took flight on the heels of their brother. The next day they too encountered the same troop that had done battle with Sultan Jalaluddin. Not recognizing them as princes, the Mongols killed them and all who were with them.

The sultan reached Shadyakh. For three days he occupied himself with preparations for the road, and in the middle of the night he put his trust in God and set out for the western region to which his father had assigned him. There was only a moment between his departure and the arrival of the Mongol army. When the sultan reached the gate, he stationed Malik Eldiräk there to hold back for a moment any soldiers who might come. Of his own accord Eldiräk took a road different from the one the sultan had taken. When the Mongols arrived they set out in pursuit of Malik Eldiräk, and Sultan Jalaluddin travelled forty leagues that day on the other road, coming within one station of Ghaznin.[2] When news of his appearance was broadcast people came to him from all directions.

During the period in which these things took place, Genghis Khan was still in Samarkand, and he assigned his three elder sons to Khwarazm. Now we will report on this and then return to the history of Genghis Khan, God willing. [371]

[1]Reading بیشتۀشایقان *(ba-pushta-i Shayaqán)* for the text's بیشه‌سابقان. See Juvaini/ Boyle 2:402.

[2]Reading غزنین (Ghaznin) for the text's غرتی. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:404.

Genghis Khan dispatches his sons Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi to Khwarazm, and it is taken by them.

As previously reported, when Genghis Khan had completed his conquest of Samarkand, he sent Jäbä, Sübädäi, and Toquchar into Khurasan and Persia after Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah while he himself spent that summer in that area resting and fattening up the horses, intending to go himself later after the sultan. When Transoxiana had been completely conquered and other regions had been secured, Khwarazm—its original name was Gurganch but the Mongols call it Urgench[3]—was left standing in the middle like a tent with a broken rope. Wanting to take it too, Genghis Khan then assigned his eldest son Jochi along with Chaghatai and Ögödäi to Khwarazm with an army as numerous as the sands of the desert. In the autumn of that year they set out with the commanders of the right wing, and they sent out an enormous troop in the vanguard, which they call *yäzäk.*

As has been said before, after the death of his father, Sultan Jalaluddin had gone to Khwarazm but withdrawn because of attacks by some of the amirs. His brothers and the old sultan's grand commanders who were there announced the arrival of the princes and set out for Khurasan, but along the way they were killed by Mongol soldiers. The throne of Khwarazm then sat empty. Among the sultan's chief military officers were a Turk named Khumär, who was a relative of his mother, Tärkän Khatun; Moghul Hajib; Buqa Pahlavan; Sipahsalar Ali Marghini; and another group, and the city was crowded and con-

[3]Gurganch, Arabicized as Kurkanj but usually called Jurjániyya (Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 478), was the seat of Khwarazm and lay on the west bank of the Jaxartes. It is the modern Kunya-Urgench in northern Turkmenistan.

gested beyond description. Inasmuch as there was no leader in the cosmopolitan area for them to consult when adversity struck, [372] they named Khumär sultan by virtue of his kinship [to Jalaluddin's mother].

One day a few horsemen from the Mongol army rode up to the gate and drove their animals on past. A group of short-sighted individuals, thinking those few were the entire Mongol army, went after them on horseback and on foot. The Mongols, fleeing from them like prey, got as far as the edge of the Khurram Garden, one league from the city. The Mongols then unleased from behind the wall an ambush of fighters who surrounded the citizens and killed nearly a hundred thousand of them. On the heels of those fleeing in rout, the Mongols hurled themselves into the city through the Qaplan Gate and went as far as the place known as Tannura. As the sun was setting, the foreign army turned back and went into the plain. The next day they went back to the city, but this time Faredun Ghori, commander of the sultan's army, was waiting at the gate to resist with five hundred horsemen. Just then Princes Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi arrived with the army and rode around the city to have a look at it. After that they dismounted, the soldiers camped encircling the city, and they sent in emissaries to invite the people of the city to surrender. Since there were no rocks in the vicinity of Khwarazm, they cut large mulberry trees and used them in the catapults instead of stones. As was their custom, day after day they addressed the people of the city with orders, threats, and promises while the two sides exchanged arrows until suddenly the levies arrived and were put to work. First they ordered a trench dug, and they spent two entire days on it. They then worked in concert to divert the water of the Oxus, which the levies had cut off from the city. Three thousand men from the Mongol army were put to work on that project. The citizens, however, ambushed the levy and surrounded them, and on account of that victory the citizens grew bolder in battle and more daring in their resistance.

Due to differences in temperament a quarrel broke out among Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi, who could not get along together; and because of their disagreement and obstinacy, their attention to battle flagged and necessary direction was neglected. [373] That is why the Khwarazmians were able to kill so many Mongol soldiers that to this day there are said to be mounds of bones collected around the old city of Khwarazm.

This lasted seven months, and still the city had not been taken. During all this time, when the princes had set out together, gone to Khwarazm, and laid siege to it, Genghis Khan came to Nakhshab, where he camped for a while. Then, crossing the Oxus at Termez, he went to Balkh and conquered the city and region. From there he went to besiege the fortress at Taligan.

During the very time he was beginning the siege of the fortress there, a messenger came from his sons in Khwarazm, saying that Khwarazm could not be taken, that many soldiers had perished, and that one of the causes was the lack of cooperation among Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi. When Genghis Khan heard this, he grew angry and ordered Tolui, the youngest brother, to go. He was known for his competence. When the messenger arrived and delivered the order, Tolui set out as ordered. Skillfully and cleverly he went to a different brother each day and treated them with kindness and flattery, and thus, thanks to his ingenuity, he created a truce among them. He also worthily undertook to direct military affairs and put the Yasa on a firm footing. After that, the soldiers fought in concert, and that very day they raised their

standard on the ramparts.

They entered the city and set fire to the quarters with vials of naphtha. The inhabitants took refuge in the back quarters and fought in the lanes. The Mongols fought hard and took the city quarter by quarter and house by house, burning and pulling down as they went. Finally, within seven days, they had taken the entire city. They drove the people at once into the plains, where they separated a hundred thousand craftsmen and tradesmen they sent to the east. The women and children were taken prisoner, and the rest were divided up among the soldiers to be killed. It is reported that each individual soldier got twenty-four Muslims, and the number of Mongol soldiers was in excess of fifty thousand. In short, the soldiers killed them all and then got busy looting and pillaging, destroying what was left of the buildings and city quarters. **[374]**

Since Genghis Khan had heard of Shaykh Najmuddin's reputation,[1] he sent someone to him to say, "I shall annihilate Khwarazm. That great one must get out and join us."

"I have lived among these people in Khwarazm for seventy years with both the bitter and the sweet that fate has bestowed," the shaykh replied. "If, now that a catastrophe is about to descend, I were to flee, it would not be chivalrous." His body was never discovered among the slain.

Genghis Khan and his youngest son Tolui Khan, who was called Yäkä Noyan and Ulugh Noyan; troops are sent in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah; the conquest of the lands that lay on the way, such as Nakhshab and Badakhshan; he crosses the Oxus at Termez and conquers Balkh, Taligan, and that area and dispatches Yäkä Noyan to conquer Khurasan.

As has been said in several places, in Moghai Yil, the Year of the Snake that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 617 [January 1221] but most of which corresponds to the year 618, Genghis Khan was besieging Samarkand. At the beginning of that summer, he sent Jäbä Noyan, Sübätäi Noyan, and Toquchar in pursuit of the Khwarazmshah. He took Samarkand that same summer, and after the conquest he sent his stalwarts to Khwarazm.

At the beginning of autumn he and Tolui Khan decamped from Samarkand and went to the meadows of Nakhshab and from there to Termez along the road the Mongols call Temür Qahalqa [Iron Gates], which includes the territories of Kish, Nakhshab, and Termez. From there he sent Tolui Khan forward with a large army to conquer Khurasan, assigning him one out of every ten men. Genghis Khan himself headed for Termez, and when he arrived there he sent emissaries to call upon the people to surrender. **[375]** Trusting in the invincibility of their fortifications and overproud of their own manliness, the inhabitants refused. After eleven days of battle the city was taken, and in revenge the people were driven out and all killed.

An old woman pleaded, saying, "Don't kill me, and I'll give you a large pearl." They asked her to show it. "I've swallowed it," she said. They slit open her belly and took out the pearl. Because of that, they also slit open the bellies of all the dead.

From there Genghis Khan went to the region of Kangurt and Shuman and took them.[2] He cleared the area through massacre and sent his army to take the Badakhshan area. When no trace of opposition was left there, and all regions on that side of the river had been conquered, he set out

[1] Shaykh Najmuddin Kubra (1145–1221), eponymous founder of the Kubrawiyya Order.

[2] Read كنكرت (Kangurt) for the text's لنكرت. Reading شمان (Shuman) for the text's سمنان.

to cross the Oxus.

By that time the winter of that year was over, and at the beginning of Moghai Yil, the Year of the Snake that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 617 [January 1221] he crossed the Oxus at Termez and set out for Balkh, the greatest of the metropolitan areas of Khurasan.

Genghis Khan goes in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin, who is defeated on the banks of the River Indus[1] and crosses over.

When Shigi Qutuqu came before Genghis Khan and gave his report, Genghis Khan had completed the conquest of the fortress at Taligan, the princes had returned from Khwarazm, and Tolui Khan had returned triumphant from Khurasan. Together with the army they summered in the hills of Taligan and rested.

Immediately upon receiving a report, he ordered all to mount, and an enormous army set forth from Taligan in the Year of the Horse in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin, travelling so fast that there was no time to cook food. When he arrived in that place, he asked Shigi Qutuqu, "How did you stand, and how stood the sultan?" He answered. Scoffing at Shigi's and the sultan's tactics, he said, "You didn't know the place of battle, and you were both at fault."

When he reached Ghaznin, he heard that the sultan had passed through there fifteen days previously, [376] heading to cross the Indus River. Genghis Khan stationed Baba Yalavach as *shahna* and set out in haste after the sultan, who had prepared boats on the river bank prior to crossing. When Genghis Khan learned this, he rode by night and had the sultan blocked at dawn. The Mongol soldiers stood in several circles one behind the other like a bow with the Indus River like the string. When the sun rose, the sultan found himself "between fire and water." Genghis Khan had ordered that the sultan be not shot but taken captive. He had also dispatched Ükär Qalja and Qutuz Qalja to scout out the edge of sultan's camp from the river bank. After that, the Mongols attacked, striking the right wing commanded by Khan Malik and removing it from action. Khan Malik fled in rout toward Pursavur [Peshawar], but the Mongols blocked his way and killed him.

They also removed the left wing, but the sultan and seven hundred men fought from dawn until noon, the Mongols attacking from the right and the left. Since there was a prohibition against shooting him with an arrow, they closed the circle around him. When he realized that it was beyond his competence to fight "with a mountain," he mounted a rested horse, snapped the reins, turned around and grabbed his standard, and crossed the river like lightning. When he gained the far bank he wiped the water from his sword.

Genghis Khan was amazed by this feat and, pointing him out to his sons, said, "From that father, such a son should come! *In all the world no one has either seen or heard of such a man among the renowned ancients.* After saving himself on the shore from such a battle, he will perform many valiant feats."

When the soldiers saw the sultan hurling himself into the river, they wanted to go in pursuit, but Genghis Khan forbade them. The sultan's soldiers were all killed, as were all his male children, even nursing infants, and the women of his harem were taken in plunder. Since most of the sultan's treasury was gold in cash and jewels, he had ordered it all thrown into the Indus that day. After that, Genghis Khan ordered divers to go down and bring out what they could. When the spoils had been divided they camped as was their custom. [377]

[1] Reading, here and throughout, سند (Sind, the Indus) for the text's سپید.

Genghis Khan sends Bala Noyan to India in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin.

After that, Genghis Khan sent Bala Noyan of the Jalayir and Dörbäi[1] Noyan with a large army into India in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin. They went into the midst of Hindustan but found no trace of him. Turning back, they took the fortress of Nandana[2] in Hindustan, which had been held by Qamaruddin Karmani but had been taken by one of the sultan's amirs. After killing many there, they set out for Multan.[3] As there were no stones in Multan, they made rafts, filled them with catapult stones, put them onto the river, and took them to Multan. When they arrived they set up mangonels and almost took the place, but inclement weather intervened. They massacred and plundered the territories of Multan, Lahore, Peshawar, and Malikfur,[4] crossed the Indus, and rejoined Genghis Khan.

Genghis Khan withdraws from the banks of the Indus, camps in Parwan, and massacres and plunders west of there.

When Sultan Jalaluddin crossed the river, and Bala Noyan and Dörbäi Noyan were sent in pursuit, Genghis Khan withdrew up the Indus River in the spring of Qonin Yil, which began in Muharram 620 [February 1223]. Ögödäi was sent down river to conquer that area and massacre and pillage to the west. Artisans and craftsmen were sent to the east, others were massacred, and the city was destroyed. Then he sent a messenger to Genghis Khan, saying, "If so ordered, I will go lay siege to Seistan."

Genghis Khan replied, "The weather has turned hot. You come back, and I'll send other troops to lay siege."

Ögödäi returned via Garmser, and Genghis Khan camped that summer in the plains the Mongols call Parwan,[5] waiting for Bala Noyan. [378] He took and pillaged the territories that were in that area. When Bala Noyan and Dörbäi Noyan arrived, he decamped.

When he reached the fortress at Gunavand Qorqan, Ögödäi rejoined him, and that winter was spent in the vicinity of Buya Katur.[6] The governor there, Salar Ahmad, surrendered and made arrangements for as much fodder and other necessities as he could. Most of the soldiers fell ill on account of the foul air, and Genghis Khan gave an order for four hundred maunds of cleaned rice to be given per individual in every household. The order was obeyed.

After that, Genghis Khan put the affair of Sultan Muhammad and his son aside and sent Jäbä and Sübädäi to conquer the sultan's territories in Arran, Azerbaijan, Persia, and Shirvan. His mind at rest on that score, he stationed *shahnas* in all the cities he had conquered. When the soldiers had recovered he thought of pulling back via Hindustan to Tanqut territory, but when he had gone one stage news arrived that Tangqut had rebelled again. Difficult mountains and dense forests also lay along the way, the air was foul, and the water poisonous. He turned back and went to Peshawar. Then, together with all his sons, he turned back along the very way he had come.

After conquering the lands of the Tajiks, Genghis Khan heads for home;

[1]The Dörbetei Dörbei Doghshin of the *Secret History* §261.

[2]For the text's پیه, read نندنه (Nandana, in the Jhelum District, Punjab). See Juvaini/Boyle 1:141, note 2.

[3]The modern Multan in Pakistan.

[4]Malikfur (~Malikpur) was in the Rawalpindi district. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:413, note 6.

[5]Reading پروان (Parwan, located between Bamian and Ghazna in Afghanistan) for the text's منروان.

[6]JT_K has لوسه کسور; JT_{BI} has بویه کتور, which Boyle reads as Buya Katur. It is unidentified in any case.

and events that transpired along the way.

After conquering the lands of the Tajiks, Genghis Khan left Peshawar and headed back for his original dwelling place and old *yurt* in Bechin Yil, the Year of the Monkey that began in Muharram 621 [January 1224]. The reason for his haste was a report of rebellion by the Tangqut people, who had gone against him because he had been absent so long. Taking a route through the mountains, he ordered the *aghruq* he had stationed in the Baghlan vicinity to decamp. He crossed the Oxus and spent that winter in the vicinity of Samarkand. Setting out from there, **[379]** he ordered Tärkän Khatun, the mother of Sultan Muhammad, and the sultan's wives to go out in front and bewail the sultan's kingdom in loud voices until all the soldiers had passed by.

When he reached the river at Fanakat, all his sons except Jochi joined him, and a large *quriltai* was held. After that, decamping from there, they proceeded stage by stage at a slow and easy pace until they reached their old home, where they had lived for so many years in happiness and prosperity.

Now that the story of Genghis Khan has reached this point, we shall begin the rest of the story of Jäbä Noyan and Sübädäi.

After Sultan Muhammad died on an island in Mazanderan, Sultan Jalaluddin went to Khwarazm, but he withdrew because of the uncooperativeness of the amirs and his brothers. Along the way he encountered the Mongol army coming troop by troop after Jäbä Noyan. They clashed and fought, and the sultan went to Nishapur and then to Ghaznin. His brothers, Uzlaq Sultan and Aq Sultan, and their amirs set out after him in trepidation over news of the arrival of the Mongol army into Khwarazm, but they were killed by the same soldiers with whom the sultan had clashed.

Now what did the two commanders, Jäbä and Sübädäi, do and what territories did they take before they returned home to Genghis Khan via the Qipchaq Steppe?

Jäbä and Sübädäi go to Persia.

When Sultan Jalaluddin took flight from Nishapur and headed for Ghaznin, Jäbä and Sübädäi sent a messenger to Genghis Khan to say, "Sultan Muhammad has died and his son Jalaluddin has fled in that direction. We are no longer worried about him, and in accordance with your command we will spend a year or two conquering as many lands that lie before us as we can and then return via the Qipchaq Gates to the rendezvous point commanded in Mongolia, God willing **[380]** and through Genghis Khan's fortune." Thereafter he dispatched envoys for the purpose of taking care of necessary business, and since he had not yet settled down, no fewer than three or four hundred envoys went.

In short, when they began the conquest of Persia, they first took Khwar and Simnan. From there they went to Ray, where they killed and plundered. Then they went to Qum, the inhabitants of which they totally wiped out and the children of which they took captive.

Sayyid Majduddin Ala'uddawla surrendered, sending tribute in steeds and textiles and accepting to have a *shahna*.

Since they had heard that there was a large number of the sultan's soldiers assembled in Sanjas under the leadership of Beg-Tegin[1] Silahi and Küch Buqa Khan, they headed for them and wiped them out.

From there they went to Zanjan, where they massacred many times the number they had done in other cities. Leaving nothing there, they went back to Qazwin. They held a pitched battle with the Qazwinis and

[1] Reading بیکتکین (Beg-Tegin) for the text's بتکتن. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:147.

took the city by force. The Qazwinis, as was their wont, fought inside the city with knives until nearly fifty thousand men had been killed on both sides. They massacred and plundered most of the towns of Persia. When winter set in, they were in a big battle in the vicinity of Ray. At that time Genghis Khan was in the Nakhshab and Termez area. The cold that year was extreme. They headed for Azerbaijan, killing and looting everywhere along the way. When they reached Tabriz, the governor, Atabeg Özbeg, son of Jahan Pahlavan, hid himself and sent someone to ask for a truce. He also sent much tribute and many animals. They turned back under a truce to spend the winter there. Their way lay toward Georgia, and ten thousand Georgians faced them and did battle. The Georgians were defeated, and most were killed. Since most of the roads in Georgia were narrow and there were difficult hills, they turned back and headed for Maragha. When they returned to Tabriz, the governor, Shamsuddin Tughra'i, sent out enough tribute to satisfy them, and they passed on. They laid siege to Maragha, and because the ruler was a woman who sat in Royin[diz], there was no one in the city who could offer resistance or think up a strategy. **[381]** They started fighting, but the Mongols had put the Muslim prisoners out in front to attack the walls, and they killed everyone who turned back. They fought in this fashion for several days. In the end, they seized the city by force and put high and low alike to death. Everything that could be easily carried they took away, and the rest they burned and smashed. Then they set out for Diyarbekir and Arbela, but when they heard of Muzaffaruddin Kök-Böri's numerous troops, they turned back.

Inasmuch as Jamaluddin ___,[1] one of the Khwarazmshah's slaves, had stirred up strife again with a group of people, killed the *shahna* of Hamadan, seized Ala'uddawla for having capitulated, and imprisoned him in the fortress at Girit, a dependency of Lur, they went again toward Hamadan. Although Jamaluddin ___ came forth to surrender, it was to no avail, and he and his liege men were martyred. They laid siege to the city and carried out a general massacre.

In Rajab 618 [August–September 1221], after devastating Hamadan, they set out for Nakhichevan, where they massacred and looted. Finally they forced Atabeg Khwamosh to surrender. From there they went to Arran. First they took Saraw[2] and massacred and looted. Then came Ardabil likewise. From there they went to the city of Baylaqan, which they took by storm, killing old and young alike. After that, they attacked Ganja, the greatest of the cities of Arran. They took it and destroyed it too. From there they headed for Georgia, where the people had assembled an army and were ready for battle. When they were about to face each other, Jäbä hid himself and several thousand soldiers, and Sübädäi went forward with the army. At the very beginning of the battle the Mongols retreated with the Georgians in pursuit. Along the way they took the city of Shemakha by siege, massacring and taking many captives. Since they could not get through Derbent, Jäbä sprang from ambush and caught [the Georgians] in a trap. In an instant thirty thousand Georgians were killed.

From there they set out for Derbent and Shirvan. They sent a message to the Shirvanshah telling him to send representatives for truce talks. He dispatched ten of his nobles. The Mongols killed one of them and seized the others, saying, "If you show

[1] In JT_K the name is given as ايبه, which could conceivably be the name Inä. Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:228) tentatively reads the name as Абиэ.

[2] Saráw is the modern Saráb between Ardabil and Tabriz.

us the way through Derbent, we'll spare your lives; otherwise we'll kill you too," **[382]** They guided them through out of fear for their lives. When they reached that territory, there were many people there. Together with the Qipchaqs they sent a message, saying, "We and you are one group and of one sort. The Alans are aliens to us. We have made a pact with you not to harm one another. We will give you whatever gold and clothing you want. Leave them with us." So saying, they sent a lot of goods. The Qipchaqs turned back, and the Mongols achieved victory over the Alans, massacring and looting as much as they could. The Qipchaqs, in hopes of peace, scattered in safety in their own territory, but without warning the Mongols attacked them and killed everyone they found, taking many times over what they had been given before turning back. Some of the Qipchaqs who remained fled to the lands of the Rus. The Mongols wintered in that area, which was all pasture lands.

From there they went to the city of Sudaq on the coast of the sea that is attached to the Gulf of Constantinople.[1] They took that city, and the people scattered. After that, they attacked the towns of the Rus and the Qipchaqs who had gone there. They got ready by assembling large forces, and when the Mongols saw how many they were they retreated. The Qipchaqs and Rus thought they were retreating out of fear and pursued them a ten-day's distance. Then, without warning, the Mongols turned around and attacked them, and before they could assemble themselves many were killed. They fought for a week, and in the end the Qipchaqs and Rus were routed. The Mongols went in pursuit and so destroyed their towns that most were empty of human beings. From there they traveled until they rejoined Genghis Khan, who had returned from [Tajik] territory.

Genghis Khan reaches his original home yurt from the land of the Tajiks and descends there in his ordus.

Genghis Khan returned from the land of the Tajiks, and in Bechin Yil, the Year of the Monkey corresponding to the summer and winter of 621 [1224], **[383]** when he reached his camp sites, [Hülägü], who was eleven years old, and [Qubilai],[2] who was nine years old, went out to greet him. By chance he had felled a hare and an antelope on the frontier of Naiman territory near Imil-Qojin[3] on the other side of the Ili River, near Uyghur territory. The Mongol custom is the first time boys hunt, their thumbs are greased *(yaghlamishi*[4]*)*, that is they are rubbed with fatty meat. [Genghis Khan] greased[5] [their thumbs] himself. [Qubilai] grabbed his thumb softly, but [Hülägü] grabbed it hard. [Genghis Khan said, "This rascal has done my thumb in!"][6]

When he set out from there, he ordered a great camp made, a golden throne set up, and a large banquet held. Since the ground in that place was soft, dust rose up. He ordered everyone to lay stones in his campsite and tent. All laid stones except Genghis Khan's brother Otchi Noyan, who laid wooden planks instead of stones. He was

[1] Sudaq was in the Crimea, and "the sea...attached &c." is the Black Sea. William of Rubruck calls Sudaq "Soldaia": *"In medio vero quasi in cuspide ad meridiem habet ciuitatem quae dicitur Soldaia, que ex transuerso respicit Synopolim* [the modern Sinop]" (p. 145).

[2] In both places JT_K has هرکه; the first is clearly a textual corruption of هولاکو (Hülägü), and the second should be Qubilai.

[3] Reading ایمل (Imil) for the text's ماتمل.

[4] For the Turco-Mongolian custom of *yaghlamishi*, see Doerfer, *TMEN* 4:98f. §1800.

[5] Reading یاغلامیشی *[ya]ghlamishi* a second time for the text's خایمیشی.

[6] Lacking in JT_K; taken from the Russian translation (JT_{SL} 1/2:230): Чингиз-хан сказал: „Этот поганец прикончил мой палец!"

therefore accused of a disobedience. During those few days Genghis Khan had gone hunting, and Otchi Noyan did not go to the right-hand circle[1] but remained a bit behind. For seven days he was stationed in the *ordu* for that offense. When he said that henceforth he would not commit any offenses, he was excused and granted access.

In the spring of Tavuq Yil, the Year of the Rooster that began in Safar 622 [February 1225], he camped in his *ordus*, and that summer he was at home and pronounced strict regulations. When he heard that the Tangqut had rebelled again, he ordered the army mustered and set out in that direction.

Genghis Khan goes to attack the territory of Qashin, which is called Tangqut.

In the autumn of Tavuq Yil, the Year of the Rooster corresponding to 622 [1225], Genghis Khan mounted an expedition to the territory of Qashin, which they call Tangqut. He ordered Chaghatai to be behind the ordus in command of a wing. Jochi had died, and Ögödäi was with his father. Because Sorghaqtani Beki was pregnant, **[384]** Tolui Khan remained behind for several days and then joined Genghis Khan.

During those days, Ögödäi's son Güyük and Kölgän[2] were being sent back. They asked if he would give something as an honor and reward or not. He said, "I have nothing. Everything that belongs to Tolui, who is the lord of home and the great yurt, he commands." Tolui gave them clothing and all sorts of things. Genghis Khan gave Chuqu Bujaq, the shahna of a hazara, to Güyük, saying, "You have an illness. He will prepare food for you."

When he reached the Tangqut territory, he took most of the cities, like Qamju [Kan-chou],[3] Su[k]ju [Su-chou],[4] and Qaju [Ho-chou].[5] He besieged the city of Dörmägäi[6] and hurled fire into it, and as it was burning, the ruler of that land, Shadurghu by name, who was called [I]lu[qu Burq]an in the Tangqut language,[7] and the great city that was his residence was called Äriqai in the Tangqut language but Eriqaya in the Mongolian language,[8] came out with five hundred thousand men to do battle against the Mongols. Genghis Khan went out against him in battle. In that region are many *na'urs* [lakes] formed from the Qara Müren [Yellow River], and they were all frozen over. Genghis Khan stood on the ice and ordered the soldiers to cross. Many were killed during the crossing. They say

[1]Reading جرگه *(järgä)* for the text's خرکه.

[2]Reading کولگان (Kölgän) for the text's داکیان.

[3]Reading قامجو (Qamju) for the text's قایجو. The Qamju of Persian texts is well known to be 甘州 Kan-chou (the modern Zhangye in Gansu) and clearly recognizable in Marco Polo's "Campçio" (see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:315).

[4]The text has سیجو, for which we may read سجو (Suju) but should probably restore سکجو (Sukju), as it is usually called in Persian and Arabic texts (see Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 366)—Marco Polo similarly calls it "Succiu." It is identified as 肅州 Su-chou, the modern Jiuquan in Gansu (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:315).

[5]This "Qaju" is probably Ho-chou (河州) in Kansu at 35° 28′ N, 103° E. "Qaju" could also represent the Ho-chou known as Qarakhojo east of Turfan, but it is entirely to far to the west to fit here and would not have been reckoned as Tangqut territory.

[6]Here and on p. 432 below, text gives the name of the city as درشکاری; this is to be emended to درمکای (Dörmägäi) for the Dörmegei of the *Secret History* §267, which city is identified as 靈州 Ling-chou.

[7]Cf. *Secret History* §267: "giving unto Iluqu Burqan the name Shidurghu."

[8]This Äriqai/Eriqaya is spelled here ایرقی; on p. 432 below it is ایرمی; for both read ایرقی (Eriqai). Eriqaya (= 寧夏 Ning-hsia) occurs as Erighaya in the *Secret History* §265, and Marco Polo renders it as "Egrigaia" (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:641f.). Eriqaya is called Uraqai in the *Secret History* §267, which accords perfectly with the 斡羅孩 Wo-lu-hai of the *Ch'in-cheng lu* and the 兀剌海 Wu-la-hai of the *Yüan shih*; see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:315.

that three dead men were stood on their heads, for it is an established custom among the Mongols to stand one dead man on his head for every hundred thousand killed.

After that, Shadurghu was routed and went back into the city. Genghis Khan said, "Since he has been defeated like this, henceforth he will not have any power." So saying, he paid no further attention to him and passed on by his city, taking other cities and territories while proceeding in the direction of Cathay.

At the beginning of spring of Noqai Yil, the Year of the Dog corresponding to 623 [1126], he came to Olqun Talan Qodun.[1] While there, he suddenly began to think of his own condition, for he had a dream that indicated that his death was proximate. Of all the princes, Jochi Qasar's son Yesuqa [Yesünggü] Aqa was present. Of him he asked, "Are my sons Ögödäi and Tolui near or far?" (They were in their own military circles.) He told the amirs and those present that they were two or three days away. Immediately someone was sent to summon them. [385]

At dawn the next day, while they were eating, he said to the amirs and those present, "I have a confidential secret and advice for my sons. I want to be alone for a time so that we can tell our secrets to one another and have a consultation in that regard." When the amirs and men were far away, Genghis Khan sat in private with his sons. After giving them much advice, he said, "My sons, know that the time for my last journey and my passing is nigh. Through divine strength and heavenly assistance, I have conquered for you, my sons, a vast and far-flung empire that overshadows a year's distance in every direction. Now I charge you in repelling enemies and elevating friends to be of one mind and one face so that you may pass your days in comfort and enjoy kingship."

He made Ögödäi Qa'an the heir, and after completing his charge and last will, he gave advice, saying, "You go to your realms and peoples, for your realms are being neglected. I do not want my death to be in a tent or for me to go for the sake of name and repute. After me, you must not change my Yasaq. Chaghatai is not here, but when I have passed away let him not dispute my words in his kingdom. Now you must go."

After that, he bade them both farewell and sent them back to their realms and people as he himself set off for the Nankiyas.

Genghis Khan heads for the Nankiyas; the onset of his illness; the ruler of the Tangqut comes to submit and asks for respite in turning over the city.

After completing his last will and dismissing his sons, Genghis Khan set out for the Nankiyas. The rulers of those cities came one after another to submit. When they reached the frontier of the Jurchid realm, the king of the Jurchids, having heard that Genghis Khan was approaching, sent out emissaries bearing gifts, among them a tray of regal round pearls, to say that they surrendered. Genghis Khan said, "Give pearls to all who have pierced ears." Those present who did not have pierced ears immediately pierced them and were given pearls. Still there were many left. [386] "It is a day for giving," he said. "Scatter them all and let the people pick them up." Knowing that the day of his death was nigh, he attached little value to them, and many of the pearls were lost in the dust. For a long time people searched for them in that place and got them out of the ground.

Thereafter, Shadurghu, the king of Tangqut, thought to himself, "I have rebelled against the emperor several times, and every time he has come to kill and loot my

[1] Below, text p. 432, the name of this place is written Onqulun Talan Qidun.

territory. Henceforth it would be wise not to contend with him. One must surrender to Genghis Khan." He sent emissaries and sought a truce and pact bound by oaths, saying, "I was afraid. Accept me as a son." Genghis Khan granted his wish. The ruler asked for a month's respite in order to arrange his offering of tribute and get the people out of the city. The respite was granted. He wanted to do *kichämishi* with him. Genghis Khan said, "I am indisposed. Have patience until I am better." To [B]e[s]ülün he said, "Serve him and be his *shigha'ul*" (meaning host). She went as commanded and served, but Genghis Khan's illness grew worse by the day.

The death of Genghis Khan, and the sudden death of the ruler of the Tangqut and people of that city; the commanders return with his coffin in secret, and the revelation of his death and his burial.

Realizing that he was surely going to die from his illness, Genghis Khan charged his commanders, saying, "Do not reveal my death, and absolutely do not wail or moan lest the foe realize what has happened. When the people of Tangqut come out on the promised day, annihilate them all!"

When fifteen days had passed of the middle month of autumn in the Year of the Pig, which corresponded to Ramadan 624 [August–September, 1227], he departed this mortal world, leaving throne and kingdom to his renowned offspring. The commanders, as ordered, concealed the event until the people came out and they slew them all. Picking up his coffin, they set out upon the return, slaying every creature they encountered along the way until they reached the *ordus*. All the princes, ladies, and commanders who were nearby assembled and held mourning. [387]

[In Mongolia there is a great mountain called Burqan Qaldun. From one side of this mountain flow many rivers. On those rivers is an innumerable quantity of trees and forests. In those forests live tribes of Tayichi'uts. Genghis Khan chose that place for his burial and said, "Our burial site and that of our offspring will be here." Genghis Khan's summer and winter camps were in that territory, but he was born in [Deli'ün Boldaq], in the vicinity of the Onon river, to which it is a six-day journey from Burqan Qaldun. There lives one *hazara* of Oyirats from the family of Uqai Qarachu, and they guard that place.[1] A detailed enumeration of the rivers that flow from the slopes of Burqan Qaldun mountain is as follows: from the middle of the south side, the Keluren; from the east, the Onon; from the northeast, the Kirqutu;[2] from the north, the Kirquchu;[3] from the north, the Chikö;[4] on the northwest, the Qilqo;[5] from the mid-southwest, the Qara; from the mid-southwest, the Burachitu; from the south-

[1]Cf. above, text pp. 84 and 119, where Udachi of the "Forest" Uriangqat and his clan are said to guard the burial ground.

[2]Poppe comments: "In my opinion, the Kirqutu is the same as the Khilgosón, the name of which is once rendered as *Kirquču* (instead of *Kilquču)* and once as *Kirqutu* (instead of *Kilqutu*, a further corruption of *Kilquču*). In other words, Rašīd al-Dīn has made two rivers of one and the name in question is misspelled both times" ("Geographical Names," 39).

[3]Poppe emends the text's كرقچر to كل قچر and reads Kil-quchu, which he identifies with the river Кил-косон (Kilkosón) in the Buriat-Mongolian Autonomous Republic (Poppe, "Geographical Names," 37f.).

[4]The Chikö, now called the Чикой in Russian, is a right tributary of the Selenga (Poppe, "Geographical Names," 36).

[5]The Russian translators identify this river, which they read as Qalaqu, with the Iro, and Poppe agrees that such an identification is possible. He believes, however, that the name should be read as Qilqo and identified—insofar as the name goes anyway—with the present-day Khilok, which does not originate on the northwestern slope of the Kentei range (Poppe, "Geographical Names," 36f.).

west, the Dulä.][1]

One day Genghis Khan was out hunting, and he spied a lone tree growing by itself. He liked the shape of the tree very much. Dismounting in its shade for a while, he experienced an inner joy. "This place," he said, "is suitable for my burial site. Mark it well." During the mourning those who had heard this recounted it. The princes and commanders chose that site in accordance with his order, and they say the very year he was buried there innumerable trees and grass grew in that plain, and now there is such a thick forest that it is impossible to get through. The first tree and the site of his burial can no longer be recognized. Even those who have long served as guardians of the reservation can no longer find their way there.

Of his offspring, his youngest son and his sons and their progeny who remained in that territory are buried there. The other sons and their progeny are buried elsewhere. The *ghoruqchis* [guardians] of that great *ghoruq* have never told the commanders or their peoples [where it is].

Mourning was held each day in a different camp. When the news reached nearby places and distant sites, every several days ladies and princes arrived from every direction to hold mourning. Some groups were so far that it took three months for them to arrive and conduct mourning ceremonies. **Everything will perish except His face. His is the command, and unto Him shall you be returned.**[2] Praise to His friend, and prayers and greetings upon His prophet and his pure family.

May God cause the shadow of protection of the Padishah of Islam, Emperor of the Earth and Time, Lord of the rulers of Iran and Turan, locus of the Merciful's grace and beneficence..., heir to Genghis Khan's throne, shadow of God, helper of God's religion, to continue over the heads of all peoples until the end of the world. "God has mercy on a servant who says amen."

The history of Genghis Khan has now been given from the beginning of Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that began in [388] Dhu'l-Qa'da 615 [January 1219], through Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Safar 624 [January 1227]. At the beginning of this nine-year period he set out for Turkistan and Iran and accomplished that mission in six years, returning to his camp in the spring of the seventh year, the Year of the Rooster that began in Safar 622 [February 1225]. Then he launched a campaign against the Tangqut, who had rebelled. During the third year of this campaign he died during the middle of the autumn in the Year of the Pig. Now we will give the history of his contemporaries during these nine years. ~

[1] Text lacking in JT_K. JT_{SL} 1/2:233f. translates as follows: В Монголии есть большая гора, которую называют Буркан-Калдун. С одного склона этой горы стекает множество рек. По тем рекам—бесчисленное количество деревьев и много леса. В тех лесах живут племена тайджиутов. Чингиз-хан [сам] выбрал там место для своего погребения и повелел: „Наше место погребения и нашего уруга будет здесь!". Летние и зимние кочевья Чингиз-хана находились в тех [же] пределах, а родился он в местности Булук-булдак, в низовьях реки Онона, оттуда до горы Буркан-Калдун будет шесть дней пути. Там живет одна тысяча ойратов из рода Укай-Караджу и охраняет ту землю. Подробное перечисление тех рек, [что стекают со склона горы Буркан-Калдун], такое: с южной стороны, в центре—Кэлурен, с востока—Онон, с большого северо-востока—Кирэкту, с большого севера—Киркачу, с большого севера—Чику, с большого юго-запада—Кара, со среднего юго-запада—Бурачиту, с большого юго-запада—Дулэ. Neither the Russian translator nor Poppe offers an identification for "Burachitu"; Dulä is identified as the Tola (Tuul).

[2] Kor. 28:88.

A summary history of the khaqans of Cathay and Machin, the caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran, Syria, Egypt, etc. who were Genghis Khan's contemporaries during his last nine years, from the beginning of Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da 615 [January 1219], through the end of Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Safar 624 [January 1227], and unusual events that took place.

History of the rulers of Cathay during this period.

Janzun [Chang Tsung].[1] LMSAN.[2] Shou-hsü.[3]

History of the rulers of Machin during this period.

Ning Zun [Ning Tsung].[4]

History of the caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs during this period. [389]

History of the caliphs in Baghdad.

During this period the caliph of the Abbasid House was al-Nasir-li-dini'llah, and the affairs of his caliphate and rule were orderly and upright.

History of the sultans.

In Khwarazm, Persia, Khurasan, Ghazna, Transoxiana, and Turkistan ruled Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah. His history, from the beginning of this nine-year period until the third year, when he died on an island in the Caspian, has been included in Genghis Khan's history. His history from the beginning of these nine years and that of his son Sultan Jalaluddin, until he crossed the Indus in the fourth year of the period, have likewise already been reported in the course of the history.

As for what transpired after that time, it was as follows. When Sultan Jalaluddin crossed the river and escaped Genghis Khan's clutches, he spent a day or two in a forest until nearly fifty men whose lives had not been ended in the water joined him and learned that a group of renegades, both mounted and on foot, were still robbing and wreaking havoc within two leagues of the sultan's camp. The sultan ordered his comrades each to take a staff and ambush them. They killed most of them and took their animals and weapons. Then groups from all around joined them, some on horses and others on oxen. News arrived that there were four military men from Sind in the area. The sultan attacked them with one hundred twenty men, put most of them to the sword, and reoutfitted his men with the plunder. When word of the sultan's defeat and end of his rule reached Hindustan, six thousand horsemen gathered from the mountains of Balala and

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[1]Reading جنزون (Janzun, for 章宗 Chang Tsung, ruled 1190–1209) for the text's چيزون and the Appendix's خيزون. By Rashiduddin's calculation, two years of his reign should extend into this period.

[2]Here spelled لسان; in the Appendix, كيمشان with a reign of 14 years. Apparently, 衛紹王 Wei-shao Wang (r. 1209–1213) and 宣宗 Hsüan Tsung (r. 1213–1224) have been conflated into this one individual. Wei-shao Wang's childhood name was Hsing-sheng (see JT_{SL} 1/2:236, note 1), which probably accounts for the Appendix's كيمشان.

[3]Ai Tsung (r. 1224–1234), "Ning Kiasu, mit Familiennamen Wan-yen Shou-hsü, der als Ai-tsoung 1223–1234 geherrscht hat" (Krause, *Cingis Han*, 94, note 635). For the purposes of this translation, we will assume that where the text has سوسو or شووسو, it indicates 守緒 Shou-hsü, the personal name of the emperor known as Ai Tsung (哀宗), and that where it has سوسه, it indicates the Mongolian Sä'üsä (< Chinese 小廝 *hsiao ssu* 'little slave,' 'page boy,' a deprecative given to the Altan Khan by the Mongols; see *Secret History* §273 and note 45). In any case, both names refer to the same person.

[4]Reading نينك زون Ning Zun (寧宗 Ning Tsung of the Southern Sung, r. 1194–1224) for the text's مينك روز.

Bankala and attacked them.[1] The sultan and the five hundred horsemen he had went out against them, gave battle, and annihilated most of them. Some came over to him, and his army grew to nearly three thousand. Then he set out for Delhi. **[390]**

When he reached the frontier, he dispatched a messenger to Sultan Shamsuddin, who had formerly been a friendly neighbor, to say that it would be chivalrous if they helped each other in adversity and to request a place where he could stay for a while. Since the sultan's great audacity was well known in the world, Sultan Shamsuddin contemplated his response for a day or so, and finally he realized that he was fearful of the sultan's domination, so in the end he killed the messenger and sent a grandee out with suitable offerings of food and gifts, apologizing that there was [no] place with a friendly climate that would suit the sultan's constitution in the environs of Delhi which he could turn over to him to save himself from the foe.

When the sultan heard this, he withdrew back to the vicinity of Balala and Bankala. There a troop of soldiers joined him, and his horde of horsemen reached nearly ten thousand in number. From there he sent Tajuddin Malik Khalaj with a troop to the Judi mountains to raid and pillage, and they returned with much booty. Then he sent a messenger to the Rai of the Khokar to request his daughter in marriage. The Rai granted his request and also sent his son with a troop to the sultan, who granted the son the title Qutlugh Khan. The governor of the province of Sind was an amir named Qubacha. He claimed to be sultan and had an implacable enmity with the Rai of the Khokar. One league from Uchh, Qubacha was routed in the first charge, got in a boat, and set sail for the fortress of Akkar-u-Bakkar,[2] which was on an island. Özbeg[3] fell upon Qubacha's camp, descended, and sent the good news for the sultan to come. Qubacha went in defeat from Akkar-u-Bakkar to Multan. Since it was hot, the sultan set out to summer in the Judi hills [in] Balala and Bankala. Along the way he besieged the fortress of Parasravar,[4] and during that battle he was hit in the arm by an arrow. When the fortress was taken and everyone was killed, he pulled back and passed through the outskirts of Multan. He sent an emissary to Qubacha inviting him to battle. Qubacha came out, and after a time the sultan retreated to Uchh in defeat. The people there came out to do battle; the sultan pitched fire into the city and left in the direction of Sadusan.[5] **[391]**

Fakhruddin Salari, the governor on behalf of Qubacha, and Lachin Khitai, the head of the army, were with Orkhan, the sultan's vanguard. [Lachin] came out to do battle and was killed, and Orkhan besieged the city. Fakhruddin Salari came before the sultan in fear with his sword and burial shroud. The sultan went into the city and stayed there for a month, rewarding Fakhruddin and giving him the governorship of Hindustan before setting out for Debul and Damrila.[6] Chatisar,[7] the governor of that area, fled to an island. The sultan descended in that area and sent Khass Khan with a troop to raid Nahrwala[8] and

[1]Balala and Bankala (also read as Nikala) were in the Lahore vicinity. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:412, note 4.

[2]"Akkar-u-Bakkar" seems to be Bhakkar. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:414, note 11.

[3]Reading اوزبك (Özbeg) for the text's اورنك.

[4]For the text's يسرام, read پرسرور (Parasravar, or Parasrur, the modern Pasrur in Sialkot).

[5]The location of Sadusan has not been established, but it was near the modern Sehwan.

[6]Reading دمريله (Damrila) for the text's دمريله. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:416, note 18.

[7]Reading چتيسر (Chatisar) for the text's جسر. Chatisar was a local Rajput ruler.

[8]Nahrwala was the capital of Gujarat; it is the modern Patan in Baroda. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:416, note 20.

bring many camels from there, and the sultan had a congregational mosque constructed on the site of the fortress.

During all this, news arrived from Persia that his brother Sultan Ghiyasuddin was ensconced in Persia, although most of the soldiers of the garrisons were loyal to Sultan Jalaluddin. Baraq Hajib laid siege to Narmashir in Kirman.[1] The sultan went from there to Makran, but on account of the putrid air many of his men were lost along the way.

When news of the sultan's arrival reached Baraq Hajib, he sent offerings of food and asked for news. When he arrived he asked for one of his daughters in marriage. The sultan had him married. The castellan of the fortress of Narmashir came and handed over the keys to the fortress to the sultan.

In the year 620 [1223–24], the sultan went into the fortress and held a marriage ceremony. Two days later he mounted to go hunting and to graze his horses. Baraq Hajib remained behind on the pretext of suffering from the gout. Along the way the sultan was informed of his pretended illness and realized that he had remained behind in order to rebel. Therefore he sent one of his elite to Baraq Hajib to say, "Since we will soon be setting out for Persia, let Baraq Hajib come to the hunting ground. Since he is a man of experience, particularly with regard to Persia, we will consult with him and act as he sees fit."

In reply the chamberlain said, "I have stayed behind because of a sore foot. It would be best for the sultan to carry out his decision to leave as soon as possible, for Narmashir is [not] a suitable place for a ruler's throne, and this area cannot support his retinue and followers. This fortress must have a castellan, and no one can be more loyal than I, an old servant whose hair has turned white in your court, but I have taken this land by the sword, and it will not be possible for the sultan to return to the fortress." [392] He sent the messenger back, ejected the remainder of the sultan's retinue from the fortress, and ordered the gates closed.

Since the sultan did not have the power to resist or take revenge, he set out for Shiraz and sent a messenger to Atabeg Sa'd to announce his arrival. The atabeg sent his son Salghurshah with five hundred horsemen to greet him and apologize for not coming himself. "I could not come myself," he said, "because I have taken a vow, which can in no way be broken, not to go out to greet any living creature." The sultan accepted this apology and showed Salghurshah great honor and respect. When he reached the city of Fasa on the borders of Shiraz, the atabeg sent all sorts of food worthy of such a guest and gifts and presents suitable for a sultan's table, such as gold, jewels, utensils, clothing, a court tent, implements for wine storage, and a kitchen, with Tajik, Turkish, Abyssinian, and Indian slave boys to take charge of every task. He also expressed his desire to see him in person and gave the sultan a "pearl nourished in the oyster shell of the atabegian family" in marriage, and by creating this son-in-law relationship the bonds of mutual trust were strengthened on both sides. He spend a few days there and then took the road to Isfahan.

In a place called Takht-i-Surkh near the border of Isfahan was Atabeg Ala'uddawla b. Atabeg Sam, the grandson of Ala'uddawla Garshasp b. Ali b. Farmarz b. Ala'uddawla the Elder of the Buyid House, who was resident in the protected town of [Maybud].[2] He went out to present the sul-

[1] This "Narmashir" is the seat of Kirman, which is usually known in Persian as Guvāshīr (or the Arabicized Juvāshīr) or as Bardasīr. See Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 336.

[2] In the text, بیسود; in other texts it is میبد, i.e. May-

tan with offerings of food and other regal gifts, and because he was an old man, the sultan called him "father," sat him next to himself, and entitled him Ata Khan. He had a thousand Turkish slaves in his service, all excellent horsemen and champion warriors. After that he usually was in the sultan's retinue with five hundred of his horsemen, and the sultan named him governor and amir of the city of Isfahan. He became firmly ensconced at court, and his form of address from the supreme divan was "most mighty imperial father most dear." The atabegs of Yazd were his father's brothers and nephews, and the renown and importance they possessed were due to him. His seat was the city of [Maybud],[1] where he was for sixty-three years, although he was also atabeg in Yazd for a time. He lived for eighty-four years. **[393]** In the year 624 [1227] he was martyred in Isfahan.

In short, the sultan arrived and learned that his brother Ghiyasuddin was in Ray with the ministers and army commanders. Unencumbered and with only a few horsemen, the sultan raised his white banners when, without warning, Ghiyasuddin attacked, and some of the heads of the army scattered in fear. The sultan compassionately sent word to his mother, saying, "Now, when sedition is rife and the foe on all fronts overwhelming, is no time for contention." Ghiyasuddin promised to help him and came to his brother with his elite. The sultan rewarded him and assigned all of the amirs to high rank. Tax gatherers were sent out, and all were given written orders and decrees. Through his presence the kingdom regained a modicum of order. The head of his chancery and chief executive officer was Nuruddin Munshi, who composed an ode in praise of the sultan, the first line of which is as follows: " Come, soul, for the world is again happy and joyous through the splendor of the great prince Sultan Jalaluddin."

At the beginning of 621 [1224] he set out to winter in Tustar, sending in the vanguard Elchi Pahlavan with ten thousand men. Along the way Sulaymanshah joined him and gave the sultan his sister.

He stayed no more than one month in the ancient and splendid city of Shapur, and the amirs and atabegs of the Lur came to him. When the horses were fat he set out for Baghdad, thinking that the Caliph Nasir-li-dini'llah would help him against his enemies. He sent an emissary to announce his arrival, but [the caliph] sent a pigeon to Arbela so that Muzaffaruddin Kök-Böri would take his army and get rid of the sultan. Before the Arbela army arrived, however, Qoshiq Temür had grown overconfident in his own strength, and when the sultan drew near he sent a message to Qoshiq Temür, saying, "We have come here to take refuge with the caliph, for powerful enemies have raised their heads, and no army has the power to resist them. If I am helped by the caliph, it will be my job to repel those who have taken over." Qoshiq Temür paid no attention to these words and drew up his battle ranks. The sultan was forced to fight. **[394]** He placed a contingent of his army in ambush and attacked [Qoshiq Temür's men] with five hundred of his cavalry and then turned around. Imagining that they were in rout, Qoshiq Temür set out in pursuit, but when he reached the ambush spot, the sultan's men emerged from their hiding places and took down Qoshiq Temür's men from the rear. Qoshiq Temür was killed, and his army went in defeat to Baghdad. The sultan rode down the Daquq road, pillaging until he was past Tikrit.

Spies arrived to report that Muzaffaruddin Kök-Böri was coming with the Arbela army to ambush the sultan. The sultan and

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bud in Fars.

[1] In the text, ميسده; should be Maybud as before.

a few horsemen attacked Muzaffaruddin and took him captive. The sultan pardoned him, and Muzaffaruddin went forth with great embarrassment and expressed regret, saying, "Until today we had [not] known of the sultan's fine moral character." The sultan spoke regally and praised him for having kept the roads clear of bandits. Then he clad him in honor and gave him permission to withdraw. Muzaffaruddin went to the city and gave further favor by many pleasing actions.

From there the sultan went to Azerbaijan. At that time Atabeg Özbeg, Jahan-Pahlavan's son, was governing Tabriz. He left Sultan Toghril the Seljuqid's daughter in the city and fled to the fortress of Alinjuq. In 622 [1225] the sultan camped in the outskirts of Tabriz. One day Sultan Toghril's daughter came out on the ramparts, saw the sultan, and fell in love with him. She claimed that her husband had divorced her, but Qazi Qawamuddin Haddadi would not listen to her. Qazi Izzuddin Qazwini, however, said, "If you appoint me to the chief justiceship, I will allow you to be married." He was made cadi and gave the queen in marriage to the sultan, and the city was turned over to him. When the sultan entered the city, the people of Tabriz welcomed him. When this news reached Atabeg Özbeg, he was overcome with grief at the loss of his position.

Soldiers flocked to the sultan from all directions, and he set out with thirty thousand men for the lands of the Georgians [395] to take revenge for their having several times raided parts of those territories. One morning at dawn he attacked the Georgians, who were still drowsy from sleep, and led away their commanders, Shalva and Ivane and others, in chains and fetters. Shalva had an enormous body. When he was brought before the sultan, the sultan asked, "Where is your splendor and championship?"

"This is what the sultan's fortune has done," he replied. At once he embraced Islam.

The sultan went in triumph to Tabriz. Shalva [and Ivane] were honored so that they would assist in the conquest of Georgia; and Marand, Salmas, Urmia, and Ushnuviya were given to them.

Shalva and Ivane accepted to undertake various things, and with their promises they seduced the sultan, who sent them off to conquer Georgia. In secret, however, they had summoned their armies and stationed them in ambush, but someone informed the sultan, and after ascertaining the truth, he killed them and attacked their troops, killing most of them, although a few managed to escape. After that affair, the sultan took Tiflis and all Georgian territories and destroyed some of their churches, building mosques in their stead.

Messengers brought news that the Mongol army had crossed the Oxus and was in Khurasan. The sultan set out for Persia. When he reached Isfahan, more than a hundred thousand horsemen and foot soldiers went out from Isfahan to repel the foe. Arraying his troops, he put the right wing under the command of his faithless brother Ghiyasuddin, and he himself took charge of the center. From the other side came Baji Noyan, Naqu Noyan, Esän Toghan, Naimas, and Tainal with the Mongol army, and they did battle at the gate of Sin.[1] Ghiyasuddin, to spite his brother, turned his reins away with Elchi Pahlavan and took flight to Luristan.

When the armies clashed, the Mongol right wing took out the sultan's left wing and drove them to Luristan. The sultan's right wing took out the Mongol left wing

[1] Most of the names in this sentence are garbled in JT_K. The parallel passage in Juvaini (Juvaini/Boyle 2:436) contains a lacuna. Names are taken from JT_{SL} 1/2:243.

and drove them to [Khwar-i-Ray[1]]. The armies clashed, and the sultan was left in the center, surrounded on both sides. Atabeg Ruknuddin Abu'l-Fath Ala'uddawla of Maybud,[2] [who was known as Ata Khan,] was killed in the battle. The sultan [was severely overwhelmed until he managed to get out of the midst. He rushed off in the direction of Luristan. They stopped to rest in a gorge. There][3] **[396]** the scattered soldiers rejoined him. The people of Isfahan did not know what had happened to the sultan. Suddenly messengers arrived saying that the sultan was coming. The people of the city went out to greet him, and those who had failed in battle were dressed in women's headgear and paraded around the city. Those who were not numbered among the officers but had performed bravely were all [rewarded] with lands and admitted to court. This event took place in Ramadan 624 [August 1227].[4] After that, the sultan went to Tabriz and made preparations for a campaign in Georgia.

[The history of Sultan Ghiyasuddin]

Sultan Ghiyasuddin, Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah's second son, emerged from the Qarun fortress, which he had frequented, after the death of his father and the defeat of his brother and headed for Kirman, to which his father had assigned him. The castellan of Narmashir paid no attention to him, so he went to Persia while his brother was in India. In Persia he assembled a large force, and Baraq Hajib and Oghul Malik also joined him to attack Atabeg Sa'd and wreak havoc in the province of Fars. Atabeg Sa'd had gone to the Safed fortress to go hunting, and they rounded up all the animals they could find and withdrew. Conversations were held between Baraq Hajib and the vizier Tajuddin Karimushsharq. Baraq Hajib grew angry and set out with his soldiers for India. Along the way he took Kirman and stayed there. The next year Ghiyasuddin set out for Fars. The atabeg abandoned the city and left. Ghiyasuddin's soldiers pillaged and then went to Khuzistan, where a truce was made with the governor Muzaffaruddin, and they withdrew. After that, he was busying himself assembling forces in Ray when Sultan Jalaluddin arrived without warning.

The story of Sultan Ruknuddin Muhammad Khwarazmshah is as follows. When his father pulled out of Persia, he left him there in his stead. The officers of Persia rebelled, and the father send in reinforcements. He seized them all, and after attaining power he gave them posts. Imaduddin Sawi was his vizier, and when the sultan returned from Transoxiana, he sent him to bring the sultan to Persia. Ruknuddin went out to greet him. When that did not take place, **[397]** the sultan went to an island in the Caspian, and Ruknuddin and a few men went to Kirman. A number of soldiers belonging to the malik of Zozan gathered around him, and he went into the city and gave away the treasures of the malik of Zozan. Then he set out for Persia. When he reached Isfahan, Qazi Ruknuddin took fright and hanged himself. The sultan did not consider it prudent to take up residence in the city. They went into the city, and the citizens, with the permission of the cadi, rioted, and nearly a thousand persons were killed. Therefore the sultan went to Ray. When the Mongol army arrived, he went o

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[1]Text has خوارزم (Khwarazm)—a long way to drive a routed contingent. Read instead خوارری (Khwar-i-Ray), as does the Russian translator (JT_{SL} 1/2:243).

[2]Read میبد for JT_K's مسد.

[3]Text missing in JT_K. JT_{SL} 1/2:244 translates: Султан жестоко сражался, пока не выскочил из окружения; он бросился в направлении Луристана. В одном ущелье остановились [отдохнуть].

[4]According to Nasawi, the Battle of Isfahan took place on 22 Ramadan 625 (August 25, 1228); see Boyle, "History," 330, and Juvaini/Boyle 2:437, note 45.

the fortress of Firozkoh. After six months of siege they got him out, but no matter how much they insisted that he bend his knee, he refused. In the end they martyred him and his dependents.

In Rum was Sultan Izzuddin Kaykavus b. Kaykhusraw b. Qilich Arslan. During these years he died of consumption, and his brother Ala'uddin Kayqubad, who had been imprisoned, was taken out and elevated to the rule since his son was an infant. His uncle and the lord of Erzurum were opposed, but Malik Ashraf, the lord of Akhlat, made a truce between them.

In Mosul was the important ruler Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu'. During these years he laid siege to the fortress of Shush.[1] From the fortress of Aqr went Imaduddin Zangi b. Arslanshah to Daru'l-Mulk Tabriz to Atabeg Özbeg. The atabeg made him a member of his retinue. The siege lasted a long time without results. Badruddin left his army there and went to Mosul. When the defenders of the fortress were reduced to dire straits they surrendered.

History of the maliks and atabegs.

In Tabriz was Atabeg Özbeg. His story has already been given during Sultan Jalaluddin's history.

In Diyarbekir was Muzaffaruddin Kök-Böri, and his story too has already been given.

In Sinjar was Qutbuddin Muhammad b. Imaduddin Zangi b. Qutbuddin Mawdud b. Aq Sonqur. He died, and his son Shahanshah was installed in his place. [398]

In other cities were the sons of Malik Adil. In Syria was Malik Mu'azzam, one of Malik Adil's sons.

In Egypt was Malik Kamil.

In Shiraz was Atabeg Muzaffaruddin Sa'd b. Zangi, whose history has already been given.

In Kirman was Malik Shuja'uddin. As Baraq was going to India he passed by there. The Kirmanis attacked him in hopes of taking Chinese slaves from his harem and retinue. Although he kept saying, "I entertain no hostility toward you," they would not listen. He and his men fought bravely, killing many of the Kirmanis and Malik Shuja'uddin as well. They then took the city and laid siege to the citadel until Sultan Jalaluddin arrived. However, as has been reported, Baraq tricked him and became the absolute ruler. [399] ~

[1] In JT_K, سرش; read شوش for Shush, a fortress twelve leagues from Mosul (Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 12:411).

COMMANDERS OF DIVISIONS OF A THOUSAND AND COMPANIES OF A HUNDRED IN GENGHIS KHAN'S ARMY. THOSE THAT WERE ATTACHED TO THE CENTER AND RIGHT AND LEFT WINGS AND, AFTER HIS DEATH, WERE INHERITED BY HIS FOURTH SON, TOLUI KHAN, KNOWN AS YÄKÄ NOYAN, AND THOSE HE GAVE TO HIS BROTHER, NEPHEWS, AND MOTHER, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MANY WHO WERE TOO DISTANT TO BE KNOWN: [129,000] INDIVIDUALS.

Division One: Those attached to the qol, bara'un qar, and jä'ün qar,[1] that is the center and wings, and were then inherited by Yäkä Noyan: 101,000 individuals.

The Center: Genghis Khan's own personal hazara, all ev-oghlans and persons who were attached to the ordus: 1,000 individuals.

At that time it was customary for the personal *hazara* not to be more than one thousand. The commander of Genghis Khan's *hazara* was a person named Chaghan of the Tangqut nation. He was raised from childhood by Genghis Khan. [When he was eleven years old, Chaghan used to go out and watch over the cows. Once Genghis Khan saw him in the field watching over a herd of cows and with stalks of grass stuck on his head. "Why have you made such a device on your head?" he asked. "I am watching the cows," he replied, "and the cows are my subjects. That which is on my head is a sign for the cows." Genghis Khan liked this response and provided for him. Later he said, "Be my fifth son." Chaghan used to distribute horses and provisions from Persia to the camps and to this *hazara* in just this manner.][2] After Genghis Khan's death, at Ögödäi Qa'an's order he went to Cathay as head of the princes and commanders. When he was sent to Cathay, Buda, who was also of the Tangqut nation and had been taken captive, was appointed commander of the personal hundred and *hazara* in his stead. Buda was from Börtä Füjin's ordu.

The companies of one hundred and one thousand were composed as follows. **[400]**

(1) Genghis Khan's great hundred was first commanded by the great Chaghan Noyan; when he went to Cathay it was commanded by Buda Noyan.

(2) El Temür Ba'urchi's hundred. He was of the Sönit tribe, the younger brother [of Temür[3]]; he was from Börtä Füjin's *ordu*.

(3) Yürki Ba'urchi's hundred. He was of the Dörbän clan, the grandfather of the Bolad Aqa who was a great amir here, also of Börtä Füjin's *ordu*.

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[1] *Qol* (Mongolian ᠭᠣᠣ *ghol*, equivalent to the Arabic term *qalb)* is the normal Turco-Mongolian term for the center of the military array, in which the ruler, or in his absence a general, took his position; the right wing, the smaller of the two wings in Genghis Khan's array (38,000 vs. 62,000), is called in Mongolian *bara'un ghar* ('right hand,' equivalent to the Arabic *maymana* and the Turkish *ong qol*), and the left wing is the *jä'ün ghar* ('left hand,' equivalent to the Arabic *maysara* and Turkish *sol qol*). The Mongolian terms were retained for centuries, although in later times they were subjected to massive misspellings and garblings in Persian texts.

[2] Portion of text dropped. This section taken from JT_{AJ} 71f., which reads as follows: *On bir yashar erdi. Ol chaghan sighır kütüp yürür erdi. Nâgâh bir kün Chinggiz Khan munı yazıda kördi, bir böläk sighırnı kütüp bashına otlar sächäklär sanchıpturur. Chinggiz Khan sordı, "Ne üchün bashıngga nishâna qılıp sän?" tedi. Ol ayıddı, "Män sighırlarnı kütär män. Sighırlar manga tâbi' turur. Ol bashımdaghi, sighırlargha nishâna turar" tedi. Bu söz Chinggiz Khan'gha khosh keldi. Anı ektülädi. Âkhır "[B]eshinchi oghlum bolghıl" tedi. Bu Chaghan ulagh süsün shol 'Ajam'dın oshbunungdek ol ordalargha ol hazâragha bu üläshtürür erdi.*

[3] Restored from p. 56 above.

(4) Oldai's hundred. He was of the Jalayir tribe and was *shahna* of the four *ordus*.

(5) Qongqiyadai's hundred. He was the chief of Yolusun [Yesülün] Khatun's *ordu*.

(6) Elängär's hundred.[1] He was from the [Albat[2]] branch of the Kerayit nation, and of Börtä Füjin's *ordu*.

(7) Jamal Khwaja's hundred. He was of the Märkit nation and a brother of Qulan Khatun's.

(8) Yesün To'a's hundred.[3] He was of the Tatar and an *[a]qtachi* amir attached to Börtä Füjin's *ordu*. The Begtash the qa'an sent on an embassy to Hülägü Khan was his son.

The eight companies of a hundred that are known have now been listed. Others will be written in as they are learned.

Those attached to the right and left wings: 100,000 individuals.

The commanders of the right wing were Bo'orchi [Borghochin] Noyan and his sütüküsün [lieutenant commander] Boroghul Noyan: 38,000 individuals.

The elite *hazara* of Bo'orchi Noyan of the Arulat tribe, the greatest of Genghis Khan's officers. In the beginning he was an officer of the guard; later he became a commander of ten thousand, and then he commanded the right wing. When he died during Ögödäi Qa'an's reign, his place was taken by Boroldai. [During Mänggü Khan's time, it was Balchiq.[4]] During Qubilai Qa'an's time Bo'orchi Noyan's son Eygü Temür took command, and after him, Boroldai's son Yirqamish[5] took command. [Bo'orchi] had many other sons, all great commanders. One was Öz Temür, chief of the *ba'urchis*; he was a well-known *inaq*.[6] Well known in this land were his offspring Beglämish and his son Ujan,[7] and the Tüläk[8] who was executed for having conspired with Sögä. **[401]**

The elite *hazara* of Boroghul Noyan, the *sütüküsün* of Bo'orchi Noyan's *hazara* and one of Genghis Khan's great officers and companions. He was of the Hushin tribe and surpassed Bo'orchi Noyan's rank, for in the right wing there was no one greater than he. In the beginning he was a *bökä'ül* and a *ba'urchi*, and then he became a guard.[9] Later he became a commander of a *hazara*. In Ögödäi Qa'an's time was his son Jübükür Qubilai. In Qubilai Qa'an's time was [Tuqchi[10]] Gürägän, to whom was given Kälmish Aqa's sister and Hülägü Khan's niece, Shirin.

The *hazara* of Jädäi Noyan of the Mangqut nation.[11] In Qubilai Qa'an's time his grandson Mangqutai took over his command. The history of Jädäi Noyan and his relatives has already been given in detail in the section on the Mangqut.[12] Amir Qutlughshah[13] is descended from him.

The *hazara* of Kingqiyadai[14] of the

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[1]The name occurs here as البكار. See text p. 89 above.

[2]Supplied from JT_{AJ} 72.

[3]Reading Yesün To'a for the text's "Yesün Qo'a"; see p. 68 above.

[4]Included in JT_{AJ} 73. Omitted from JT_K.

[5]The Jirqamish of p. 130 above.

[6]Reading, with JT_{AJ} 73 *(öz ınaq mashhûr erdi)*, اياق *(ınaq)* for the text's اناق.

[7]The text can only be taken to mean "Beglämish and his son Ujan"; JT_{AJ} 73f. seems to have these two the other way around: *bu mamlakat[tä] Ujan oghlı Beglämish anıng nasli turur.*

[8]On p. 130 above the name is Tükäl.

[9]JT_{AJ} 74 translates this as *käräk-yaragh*. The first part, كزيك, must be *gäzig* (guard), but I cannot explain the suffixed تيمور. It was probably originally *gäzigtän*.

[10]Here written بورچى but certainly the same as the Tuqchi Gürägän on p. 132 above. JT_{AJ} 74 writes it as تورجى (Torji) Gürägän.

[11]Reading Mangqut (with JT_{AJ} 74) for the text's "Tangqut."

[12]See p. 146 above.

[13]Reading, with JT_{AJ} 74 (see also p. 147 above), Qutlughshah for the text's Bolghanshah.

[14]For the text's لبكقياداى. JT_{AJ} 74 has Kingqiyatai,

Olqunu'ut clan. During Qubilai Qa'an's time his grandson Buqa[1] took over his command. The great Turatu Gürägän and Yisa'ur are descended from him.[2]

The *hazara* of Tolun Chärbi of the Qongqotan clan, the son of Münglig Echigä, the husband of Genghis Khan's mother, Ö'älün Ekä. [Münglig Echigä] had another son who was called Kö[kö]chü Täb Tängri.

The *hazara* of Sökätü Chärbi of the Qongqotan clan, a brother of the Tolun Chärbi mentioned above. In this land the husband of Chekän Khatun, [Tumina[3]] by name, and the Abishqa[4] who went to the qa'an are descended from him.

The *hazara* of Bala Noyan of the Jalayir nation. In Qubilai Qa'an's time he was succeeded by a man named Madu. The emissary who came here from the qa'an and whose name was Ahin was related to him. The Nurin[5] Aqtachi who is here is also a kinsman of his. **[402]**

The *hazara* of Arghai Qasar of the Jalayir nation, an elder brother to Bala Noyan.

The *hazara* of Toghril of the Suldus tribe and a relative of Sodon. The great amir Chäräń[6] Ba'urchi who was in Mängü Qa'an's service was a kinsman of his. Qubilai Qa'an had him executed for having led Ariq Bökä astray.

The *hazara* of Sodo[n] Noyan of the Suldus, who was very famous. He was still alive during Qubilai Qa'an's time, although he had grown so old and senile that he did not recognize his own daughter-in-law and kept saying, "Give her to me!" Amir Chupan is descended from him.

The *hazara* of Shigi Qutuqu of the Tatar nation. When the Tatar were raided he was crying in the cradle. At that time Börtä desired a child, so Genghis Khan told her to raise him. When he grew up he called Genghis Khan *ata* [father] and Bör[tä] Füjin *bärigän ekä*. [Genghis Khan] called him his fifth son. Ögödäi Qa'an called him *aqa* [elder brother], and he sat above Mängü Qa'an. He died during Ariq Bökä's rebellion.

The *hazara* of Dobsoqa[7] of the Dörbän clan. Qutu[8] Noyan and his son Yesü Buqa Gürägän were among his grandsons.

The *hazara* of Mangqal Türkän of the Ba'arin clan. The Bayan who went to the qa'an during Abaqa Khan's reign and became an *amir-lashkar* was one of his sons.

The Oyirat clan *hazara*. They numbered four thousand, but they are not known in detail. Their commander and ruler was Qutuqa Beki. When he submitted, all the Oyirat army was put under his command, and the commanders of *hazara*s were those he wanted. After him his sons, who were *anda-quda*, took over his command.

Ba'arin Qorchi Noyan's *hazara* of the Ba'arin clan. He was a kinsman of Mangqal Türkän's. They numbered two[9] thousand and were a renowned *tümän*, but the names of the commanders are not known since most of those [who] were of their clan in olden times in campaigns and were near each other have branched off.[10] **[403]**

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and there is a Kinggiyadai Buqa Güregen in the *Secret History* list (§202).

[1] JT_{AJ} 74 has Elig Buqa ^CAY.

[2] Reading, with JT_{AJ} 74, توراتو (Turatu) and ییسور (Yisa'ur) for the text's توراتور and ییخور. See also p. 55 above.

[3] Here written نویسه, the name occurs as Tumina on p. 128 above. JT_{AJ} 75 has توسه.

[4] Here spelled اپشقه for ابیشقه (Abishqa). This name occurs as اقسقا on p. 128 and as ابشقا in JT_{AJ} 75.

[5] Reading نورین (Nurin, as on p. 52 above) for the text's بودین.

[6] Reading چاران (Chäräń, as on p. 135 above) for the text's خازان. JT_{AJ} 73 has خاران.

[7] JT_K has دویسوقه; JT_{AJ} 76 has دوسوقه. There is a Tobsaqa in the *Secret History* list (§202) who may be the same.

[8] JT_{AJ} 76 has قتو (Qutu). Text has ارقتو.

[9] Reading, with the *iki* of JT_{AJ} 76, دو *do* (two) for the text's ده *dah* (ten).

[10] The wording of the last sentence is obscure in the Persian text: *tümän-í mashhúr u asámí-i umará-yi*

The *hazara* of {Buluqan Qalja of the Barulas clan. It is said that the Dörbän people and the Ba'arin are close to each other and form one lineage as they were from one origin, and being in one place, they have become one lineage.[1]

The *hazara* of Taichu Gürägän of the Olqunu'ut clan, the brother of Genghis Khan's mother. He married [Genghis Khan's] youngest daughter, Oltaluqan Aqa.[2] Genghis Khan used to call him "Sa'ur Sächän."[3] His story will come in the proper place.

The *hazara* of Moqur Qauran of the Hadargin clan. His father was Kö[kö]chü Täb Tängri. Stories about him have been given in the history. The Hadargin were a branch of the Qiyat of the Niru'un tribe. The meaning of *qauran* is "file"; he was given this name because he had a rough temperament.[4] He was extremely tall. Büküri was his grandson.

The *hazara* of Yesün To'a Taraqi of the Uriangqat clan. His younger brother was the Yesü Buqa Taishi who was a *qorchi*. He was the commander of the *hazara* of Genghis Khan's *qorchis*. The progenitor of this family, Ögöläi Qorchi, served in attendance as a *qorchi*, and he gained importance through [Genghis Khan's] patronage. He came to this land.[5]

The *hazara* of Qada'an Kä[b]tä'ül of the Sönit clan. He commanded one thousand of the *käbtä'üls*.

The *hazara* of Münglig Echigä of the Qonqotan, Kököchü Täb Tängri's [and] Tolun Chärbi's father who was Genghis Khan's mother's husband. His story has been given in the history.}[6]

The *hazara* of the Öng'üt tribe. They numbered four [thousand], and their officer was Ay Buqa. After him were Ala Qush Tegin and Shigü[7] of the Öng'üt tribe. This tribe submitted voluntarily and remained as they had been.

The *hazara* of Köki Noyan and Mögätü Qiyan.[8] They were sons of Qiyan, and the Qiyat tribe, which is presently with Toqta, is said to number ten thousand. There are many Qiyat descended from them.

The Left Wing, i.e. the army of the left, which is called jä'ün in Mongolian. It was commanded by Muqali Guyang, whose lieutenant was Naya'a Noyan of the Ba'arin clan: 62,000 individuals.[9]

The *hazara* of Muqali Guyang of the Jalayir

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hazára-i ísháη ma'lúm níst che aksar dar lashkarhá dar qadím az qawm-i ísháη búdaand u nazdíkand az yakdígar munsha'ib gashtaand; the Turkish translation does not really help much: *ming aghaları atı ma'lûm ermäs tümän mashhûr turur erdi ne aksar qadîmdin bärü shol qawmlar erdi; mundaq qâ'idada turghan aslı bir tümän erdi* (JT_{AJ} 76). Berezin's text (15:203) reads as follows: *asámí-i umará-i tümän-i ísháη ma'lúm níst ka aksar-i lashkarhá dar qadím az qawm-i ísháη búdaand u hamchunán bar qá'ida-i ísháη dánistand*, which he translates as "имена тысячныхъ бековъ ихъ неизвѣстны, поскольку большая часть войскъ встарину были изъ ихъ племени, и такимъ образомъ начальствовали по ихъ обычаю" (15:136).

[1] JT_{AJ} 77: *Andagh ayturlar kim Dörbän khalqi bilän Barin ham birbirinä yaqin erdi, shollar birbirinä bir urugh erdi, asllari bir turur amma bir yerdä bir urugh bolupturur erdilär.*

[2] The name as given here, Oltaluqan, is taken to be a variant form of Altaluqan (~Altalun), as the name normally appears.

[3] On text p. 225 above, the nickname is given as "Cha'ur Sächän."

[4] See text p. 152 above.

[5] Cf. p. 118 above, from which the last few sentences have been taken in JT_{AJ}.

[6] The section marked {...} is garbled and defective in JT_K. This portion has been translated with reliance on JT_{AJ} 76f.

[7] Reading شیگو (Shigü, as on p. 100 above) for the text's سنکوی.

[8] Reading کوکی (Köki, as on p. 198 above) and موکتوقیان (Mögätü Qiyan, as on p. 198 above) for the text's کولی and موکبوقتان. The Kökö and Megetü of the *Secret History* list (§202) probably represent these two.

[9] Text has 60,000, but it should be 62,000, as in JT_{AJ} 78 (*altmısh iki ming*).

nation. Since he was an important commander and performed valiant feats, Genghis Khan put all the clans of the Jalayir army under his command. The *hazaras* assigned to him and counted numbered three thousand in all. When Genghis Khan sent him to Qara'un Jidun, the frontier of Cathay, the Cathaians named him Guyang, meaning great and important. After that his title was confirmed, and his sons were also called *guyang*. Hantun Noyan,[1] whom Qaidu held in prison until **[404]** Nomoghan's return [to] his territory, was one of his sons. Cha'uqur[2] and Omoq are descended from him.

The *hazara* of Yesü Buqa [Taishi] of the Uriangqat, the son of Jälmä Uha, who was one of Genghis Khan's trusted officers. At that time the great commanders who were of importance were Borghochin Noyan, Boroghul Noyan, Jälmä Uha, and Sodon Noyan. Qara'una Chupan, a commander of a thousand, was a nephew of Yesü Buqa Taishi's. In the Cathaian language *taishi* means a great teacher and master,[3] and Ögödäi Qa'an gave him the name *taishi* as a pleasantry. He had to be brought to court in a cart because he always suffered from the gout.[4]

Kähätäi Noyan's and Bujir Noyan's *hazara*.[5] These two were brothers from the Uru'ut clan, a branch of the Niru'un tribe. Because they were great commanders and voluntarily performed valiant feats, Genghis Khan put all the soldiers from their tribe under them, and their *hazara* amirs were those they appointed, although their names have not been learned in detail. In all they were four thousand. One night Genghis Khan had a dream, as a result of which he gave his wife Ibaqa Beki, the daughter of Jagambu of the Kerayit, to Kähätäi Noyan, as has been stated in the history.[6]

The *hazara* of Butu[7] Gürägän of the Ikiräs clan, a branch of the Dürlükin close to the Qunqirat clan. He married one of Genghis Khan's daughters, as has been described. He was of importance and performed valiant feats stoutheartedly, so Genghis Khan put him in charge of all the soldiers from the Ikiräs clan. He appointed his own *hazara* commanders. In all they were three thousand, but their names are not known in detail.

The *hazara* of Yäkä Qutuqu[t] Noyan of the Tatar nation, a great and influential commander. His cousin was Joha Gürägän.[8] He had two full sisters, Yesülün and Yesügän. Genghis Khan married both of them, and they were among his four chief wives. Their story and that of their tribes and the Tatar nation have been given in detail.

The *hazara* of Elchi Noyan. [Huqutu] Noyan,[9] Qata,[10] Butur,[11] [Tägüdär],[12] and Singqor[13]—these five commanders were of the Qunqirat clan. Elchi and [Huqutu] were brothers, and their father **[405]** was Däi Noyan, the ruler of the Qunqirat. Genghis

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[1]Reading هنتون (Hantun, per p. 48 above) for the text's ميشون.

[2]See text p. 49 above.

[3]Reading, with Berezin 7:190, *bakhshí u ustád-i buzurg* for the text's obviously misprinted *buzurg buzurg*. JT_{AJ} 78 translates: *ulugh bakhshi temäk bolur*. *Taishi* is from the Chinese 太師 *t'ai-shih*; the meaning given is correct.

[4]See p. 118 above.

[5]Reading بوجر (Bujir, as on p. 148 above) for the text's بوچير. Both Ketei and Bujir are mentioned in the *Secret History* list (§202).

[6]See text pp. 148 and 226 above.

[7]Reading بوتو Butu for the text's بولو.

[8]The name occurs as Jonma on p. 67 above. JT_{AJ} 79 has جومه.

[9]Reading Huqutu for the text's Qutuqu. See p. 122 above.

[10]Reading قتا (Qata, see p. 122 above) for the text's قبا.

[11]Reading [بوتوار (Butur, see p. 122 above) for the text's لولو.

[12]Add Tägüdär, per p. 122 above and JT_{AJ} 80.

[13]This "Singqor" occurs as "Junqur" on p. 122 above.

Khan's chief wife, Börtä Füjin, was their sister. The other four commanders were their cousins, the sons of Däi Noyan's brother Da[r]itai. There were—and still are—many imperial sons-in-law from them during Ögödäi Qa'an, Mänggü Qa'an, and Qubilai Qa'an's times, and they sat above the emperors' sons. Salji'utai Gürägän, the husband of Kälmish Aqa, was one of them, and so was the Äbügä[n] Gürägän who came as an emissary from there. The entire Qunqirat division they commanded numbered five thousand individuals.

The *hazara* of Quyildar Sächän of the Mangqut clan of the Niru'un. His *hazara* was also of that clan, and he was Genghis Khan's *anda* and of great importance. He performed very great feats and sat in rank below Muqali Guyang. He was never absent from service. In this realm Khalifa[1] is descended from him. Other amirs who are in service, like Nuraqan Noyan,[2] are also descended from him.

The *hazara* of Naya'a[3] Noyan of the Ba'arin clan, from which clan all his soldiers came. Since he was a great officer who had submitted voluntarily and performed valiant feats, Genghis Khan put the Ba'arin troops under him, and he appointed the *hazara* amirs as he wished. In total they numbered three thousand individuals. He was the *sütüküsün* of Muqali Guyang, the commander-in-chief of the troops of the left wing.

The *hazara* of Sutu Noyan of the Qongqotan clan, a son of Münglig Echigä. Their histories have been given in the preceding portion of this book.[4]

The *hazara* of Jalayirtai Yisa'ur of the Jalayir. He is not the Yisa'ur who came here. Kürüt,[5] who was sent as emissary to the qa'an, and who was Arghun Khan's son Yesü Temür's *amir-ordu*, is descended from this Jalayirtai Yisa'ur.

The *hazara* of [Önggür[6]] Noyan of the Baya'ut,[7] a branch of the Dürlükin. Genghis Khan's chief *bökä'ül* and *ba'urchi* was Güchü[gür] Noyan of the Besüt clan. (Among the Naiman the name Qisat[8] **[406]** means a *bökä'ül* [taster], i.e. he does [service[9]].) When he grew to be an old man, Boroghul Noyan was appointed in his place, and when [Boroghul] attained the rank of great commander, this Önggür[10] became *bökä'ül*.

Uqai [Qalja] and Güchü's *hazara*.[11] They were of the Jalayir. They were brothers who[se people] had been personal servants of Genghis Khan's forefathers from olden times because the Jalayir killed Monolun Khatun. [Genghis Khan] wanted to make them great commanders, but they would not accept, saying, "Yesügäi Bahadur advised us to be shepherds." Therefore each one commanded a *hazara*. Säbä,[12] the father of Sartaq[13] Noyan, is of their lineage.

The *hazara* of Sübädäi Bahadur of the

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[1] JT_{AJ} 80 has خلیشه and adds مکرتبای, for which read مکرتای Mäkritäi as on p. 148 above.

[2] On p. 148 above, the name occurs as Nüregäi Yarghuchi.

[3] Reading, with JT_{AJ} 80, نایا (Naya'a) for the text's ناار. The name varies: Naya'a ~ Nayaqa ~ Nayagha. See text p. 149 above.

[4] See text p. 128 above.

[5] See above, p. 53.

[6] Name missing in the text; see p. 137 above and JT_{AJ} 81.

[7] Reading, with JT_{AJ} 81, بایاوت (Baya'ut) for the text's ناياوت.

[8] See Doerfer, *TMEN* 3:571–73 §1604.

[9] Text has قدیق کند, which has no obvious meaning. Perhaps قدیق is a miscopying of خدمت *khidmat* (service). Where *qisat* is defined before (text p. 137 above), it is said to be because the *qisat* "bends over" (*qismishi*), presumably while serving.

[10] Reading انکور (Önggür) for the text's اتکور.

[11] On p. 53 above, the name here given as Güchü occurs as Qarachu. Both Qalja and Güchü are named in the *Secret History* list (§202).

[12] Reading سابا (Säbä, as on p. 53 above) for the text's سایا.

[13] Read سرتاق (Sartaq) for the text's سرقار.

Uriangqat clan. When he died his son Kökchü[1] took command of his *hazara*. Sübädäi Noyan is mentioned *passim* in the history.

The *hazara* of Doqolqu Chärbi of the Arulat clan, the brother of Bo'orchi Noyan. *Doqolqu* means someone who stutters, and *chärbi* means stouthearted and pure.[2] [Tabayin Turqaqun],[3] a great amir, is of his lineage, and this name means leader in Cathaian.

The *hazara* of Udachi of the Hoyin Uriangqat tribe. That tribe and this Udachi's sons and their *hazara* guard the *yasaq* and *yosun* of the great *ghoruq* [sanctuary] in Burqan Qaldun, and they do not go out on campaign.

The *hazara* of Belgütäi Noyan. He was Genghis Khan's brother, and his history and stories about him have been given in the course of Genghis Khan's history.

The *hazara* of Shigü Gürägän of the Qunqirat clan, son of Olchu Noyan.[4] He was married to Genghis Khan's daughter Tümälün Khatun. Four *hazaras* of Qunqirat troops were separated and given to him, and he was dispatched to Tibet, where they are still ensconced. The Baya'udai who is chief of the *qorchis* here came from there, and since that troop formerly belonged to him, he considered the command of the *hazara* to be his. **[407]**

The *hazara* of Ükär Qalja and Quduz Qalja. They were of the Ba'arin clan and were brothers.

The *hazara* of Ögälä[i] Chärbi of the Sönit clan.

The *hazara* of [Tämüdär[5]] Noyan. He was of the Sönit clan and a *qorchi*. He had a tall son who was an attendant on Mänggü Qa'an, Mubarak Qorchi by name. One of his sons was Sönitäi Noyan,[6] and his son[s] are Angachin[7] [and] Bughadai Aqtachi.

The *hazara* of Taisun.[8] He was of the Jalayir nation and a brother of Muqali Guyang's. Another relative of his, whose name is not known, commanded a *hazara*.

The *hazara* of the "Qoshaquns." They were of the Jäjirät clan, a branch of the Niru'un, and brothers. When Cathay and Jurcha were taken, Genghis Khan ordered two men taken out of every ten Mongols. When he found them to be nimble *turqaqs*, he gave them the troop, up to three thousand, and turned over that frontier to them. With only that many they kept order. *Qoshaqun* means that two out of every ten were given to them. *Qosh* means a pair.

Möngkä Qalja's *hazara*. He was of the Mangqut clan and the son of Quyildar Sächän. An account of them has already been given.[9]

Uyar Wanshai's *hazara*.[10] He was of the Qarakhitai nation. He submitted and attained importance in Genghis Khan's service as one of the great commanders. *Wanshai* means commander of ten thousand. Since he commanded the entire contingent of Qarakhitai soldiers for Genghis Khan,

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[1]Text has كوچو; JT_{AJ} 81 has كوكچو (Kökchü); on p. 120 above the name is given as Könjü in JT_K.

[2]The *chärbi* was actually a court official whose duties were similar to those of a quartermaster. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:305f. §176.

[3]The "Tabayin Turqaqun" of p. 130 above is here written تاياربوقاقوت. JT_{AJ} 82 has ياارتورقاقوت.

[4]Reading شيگر (Shigü) for the text's سنكر; see p. 123 above. This "Olchu" must be the Anchu of p. 123 above.

[5]Missing name supplied from p. 56 above and from JT_{AJ} 83.

[6]JT_K has سوبتای, but this should be سونتای (Sönitäi, of the Sönit clan).

[7]This name (see p. 56 above) is spelled here ايكجين; JT_{AJ} 83 has امكاجين.

[8]Reading, with JT_{AJ} 82, تايسون (Taisun) for the text's تايشون. See also p. 53 above.

[9]See text pp. 147f. and 333 above.

[10]Reading, with JT_{AJ} 83, اويار (Uyar) for the text's اديار, and وانشی (*wanshai*, from the Chinese *yüan-shuai*, see Doerfer, *TMEN* 4:229f. §1935) both here and below for the text's دايشی. For Uyar Wanshai, see text p. 333 above.

his sons are now numerous. His *amir-lashkar*s were of importance and appointed by him.

Tughan Wanshai's *hazara*.[1] He was a Jurchid who submitted and rose to importance. All the Jurchid soldiers were put under his command. He fielded a thousand *hazara* amirs he himself appointed. At present his sons are in the qa'an's service, and they are respected and honored. They command his troops without change.

Genghis Khan's troops that were attached to the center, right wing, and left wing **[408]** were his, and after him they went to Tolui Khan, the lord of home and hearth. The *hazara*s and *tümän*s mentioned above have now been written.

We will now begin with those he gave separately to his other sons and brothers.

Those he divided among his sons (other than Yäkä Noyan), his nephews, his younger brother Otchigin, and his mother Ö'älün Ekä: 28,000 individuals.

Those who were given to the sons: 16,000 individuals.

Section. Those who were given to the eldest son, Jochi: 4,000 individuals.

Münggü'ür's *hazara*.[2] He was of the Tayichi'ut clan. During Batu's reign he commanded the left wing. At present the [Toqtalma Khan] Charkas who is of great rank with Toqta is one of his sons, and he has taken over his father's command.

Kinggutai Qutan Noyan's *hazara*.[3] He was a Kinggut. His son Huran, who is with Prince Qonchi, is among the great commanders of that *ulus*.

Hushidai's *hazara*. He was of the Hushin clan, a kinsman and relative of Bo'orchi Noyan's. *He said [to] Batu, "I have grown old," so he appointed as his successor [Yäldäkä[4]] of the Jä'üriyät tribe, whose mother he had married. There are descendants of his there.*

Bai Sinqor's *hazara*.[5] He was of the [Hushin] clan and commanded the *bara'un qar*, i.e. the right wing.[6] **[409]**

Genghis Khan gave these four commanders with their four thousand men to Jochi Khan. At present most of Toqta and Bayan's soldiers are descended from those four thousand. Those who have been added recently are Russians, Circassians, Qipchaqs, Magyars, and others. During the *bulqaq*s [disturbances] between the elder and younger brothers, some of them went there.

Section. The second son, Chaghatai Khan: 4,000 individuals.

Borolatai Qarachar's *hazara*. He was of the Borolas clan. Among his sons was a great amir in Abaqa Khan's service who was highly respected; he used to go around with Tägüdär Oghul.

Mügä Noyan's *hazara*.[7] He was of the [Jalayir[8]] tribe and was the father of the Yisa'ur[9] Noyan to whom Dua gave a troop and sent to the Khurasan frontier. He sat over troops in ___[10] in the vicinity of

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[1]Read, for the text's دایشی, وانشی (Wanshai) for Wangshai (= Yüan Shuai). For Tughan Wanshai, see text p. 333 above.

[2]A Münggü'ür is named in the *Secret History* list (§202).

[3]Reading, with JT_{AJ} 84, کینکتای قوتان for the text's کسکیتای قومان.

[4]This name is spelled here یلدار; on p. 132 above, it is یلدکه.

[5]JT_{AJ} 85 has بابقو.

[6]Section marked *...* moved to above from here per p. 132.

[7]*MA* (fol. 28a) calls him Mügä, and there is a Müge in the *Secret History* list (§202).

[8]Missing word "Jalayir" restored per *MA* (fol. 28a).

[9]Reading ییسور (Yisa'ur) for the text's میسور.

[10]JT_{AJ} 85, بایغز; Berezin (15:217) also has بایغز but he translates it (15:145) as "Онъ находился въ Балха, у Байгура" (?). No reading yields anything known in

Balkh, and [there his sons have become numerous. Nawroz's elder brother Hajji was with him.] He died there, and he has other sons.

Genghis Khan gave these two officers, along with others whose names are not known for a total of 4,000 soldiers, to [Chaghatai Khan], and these four thousand men were the original troops whose descendants are with Dua today. They have multiplied and increased. It is possible that larger or smaller contingents from other tribes have been added to them. **[410]**

Section. The third son, Ögödäi Qa'an: 4,000 individuals.

Ilügäi's *hazara*.[1] He was of the Jalayir nation. He is the one who once bought Nawroz's father Arghun Aqa for a leg of beef, and this Ilügäi's son is the one who said, when Mänggü Qa'an ascended the throne, that the rule should go to Ögödäi Qa'an's offspring. This story has already been given.

Elig To'a's *hazara*.[2] He was Eljigidäi's elder brother, of the "bone" of the Tamghaliq, a branch of the Suldus clan. In this land a descendant of his was ___,[3] who was a *hazara* amir in Khurasan, and at present Amir Mulai commands a *hazara*.

[The *hazara* of Dayir of the Qongqotan. His entire family was with the family of Münglig Echigä.][4]

Genghis Khan gave these commanders and four thousand soldiers to Ögödäi Qa'an. Although there were other officers, only these were of importance. All the soldiers who are attached to the person of the qa'an are descended from these four thousand, but when he became emperor, as was customary, all the princes' soldiers came under his command, and likewise in Güyük Khan's time. When [Ögödäi's] sons refused to obey his will and broke their promises and rebelled and Mänggü Qa'an ascended the throne, he dispersed all the personal troops except those who belonged to Kötän. The reason for that was that he had always been friendly to Mänggü Qa'an, and until the present his sons are still with the qa'an with their assigned troops. When the troops of Ögödäi Qa'an's offspring were dispersed, the troop that Qaidu assembled was not the original troop because Qaidu was in league with Ariq Bökä during his *bulqaq* [insurrection]. After that he was forced by necessity to go to Qubilai Qa'an, and then he fled to his father's and grandfather's home *yurts*. There soldiers who had been dispersed all over the territory gathered around him **[411]** and gradually assembled from every tribe, and all the "forest" soldiers who were left from the old soldiers of that territory joined him. All the soldiers who are at present with his sons are of that sort and of the troop the emperor Genghis Khan had given his grandfather. He has no more than this.

Section. The fifth son, Kölgän: 4,000 individuals.

Qubilai Noyan's *hazara*. He was of the Barulas clan.

The *hazara* of Toghril [of the Nüküz]. In this land Cha'urchi and his son Qara and his grandson Sübätäi, who is a *hazara* amir, are descended from him.

Genghis Khan gave these amirs and four thousand troops to Kölgän. Kölgän's [grand]son was Uru'udai, and Uru'udai's

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the Balkh vicinity.

[1] On p. 50 above he is called Ilügä. MA (fol. 39a) writes his name as ایلکای. He occurs in the *Secret History* list (§202).

[2] The name that occurs here as ایلك is given in MA (fol. 39b) as انلك and in JT_{AJ} 86 as ایلك.

[3] JT_K: ترقیان; JT_{AJ} 86: ترمای, also read by Berezin (15:145) and Smirnova (JT_{SL} 1/2:274) as Тумай.

[4] Taken from JT_{AJ} 86, which is given with the following note: *Bu ming asl nuskhada bitilgän yoq erdi* ("this *hazara* was not recorded in the original manuscript").

karkhana [household[1]] is Tabriz, and it is commanded by Cha'urchi and his sons.

Those given to Genghis Khan's youngest brother, nephews, and mother: 12,000 individuals.

Section. His brother Otchigin Noyan, the fourth and youngest brother: 5,000 individuals.

Genghis Khan gave him five thousand soldiers, [including] one thousand from the Kilungghut of the Oronar tribe,[2] **[412]** one thousand from the Besüt tribe, and the rest from various tribes. When Jamuqa Sächän rebelled and was captured, Genghis Khan did not want to kill him himself because he had called him *anda*, so he gave him to Otchigin Noyan to deal with. When Otchigin killed him, four thousand individuals from the Jäjirät who had been with Jamuqa were annexed to Otchigin's troops, making five thousand in all. Genghis Khan favored him the most of all his brothers, but at the end of the reign, when he set out on the campaign into Tajik territory, he put Otchigin and a few soldiers in charge of home and camp. When he returned he got angry with him because of an infraction he had committed, as has been described in the history.

Section. Jochi Qasar's sons, Genghis Khan's nephews, Yegü, Tuqu, and Yesünggü: 1,000 individuals.

Genghis Khan gave this troop of one thousand, assembled from various places, to his nephews, the sons of Jochi Qasar. Their history and the favor they enjoyed are given in the history.

Section. Qachi'un's son and Genghis Khan's nephew Elji'itäi Noyan: 3,000 individuals.

Genghis Khan gave these three thousand soldiers to his nephew Elji'itäi Noyan. Some of them were of the Naiman, and others were of various tribes. The important commanders of this troop were Aqsu'udai Ujghash Guyang[3] **[413]** and some others of the Uriangqat tribe whose names are not known. Of all his nephews, Genghis Khan loved Elji'itäi the most because he was the most intelligent and best brought up. His father, Qachi'un, died young witout acquiring much renown, but his son Elji'itäi was of great importance and renown.

Section. Genghis Khan's mother Ö'älün Ekä: 3,000 individuals.

Of all the commanders and soldiers who came with his mother from the Qorolas and Olqunu'ut clans, Genghis Khan gave her these three thousand, but their names are not known. When he was giving the commanders mentioned above and their troops to his sons and the others, he said, "I give you these commanders, but you, my sons, are still children while they are experienced. If they ever commit an offense, do not kill them of your own accord, but consult me. After I am gone, consult one another and then carry out what is required by the Yasa." He gave this advice so that such great commanders would serve them willingly and so that, if they committed an offense, [the sons] would consult together and make the offense clear so that they would not think of doing it again and so that they would confess and admit their mistakes and know that their punishment was due to their offense, not out of wrath

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[1] JT_{AJ} 88, *kárkhána* is translated by *üy eli*.

[2] Reading, with JT_{AJ} 88, اورنر (Oronar) for the text's اورتر. There is an Oronartai in the *Secret History* list (§202).

[3] This name occurs here as اق سودای and on p. 207 as اقساوری. JT_{AJ} 89 has اق سوردای; it must be an attributive to Aqsu in Uyghuristan. Ujghash is Ujqash on p. 207 above. All three words appear to be one name; delete the superfluous *va* in JT_K.

or whim.

Aside from the troops Genghis Khan assigned, all the soldiers of the great commanders attached to the right and left wings and to the center whose names have been listed, and other commanders whose names have not been ascertained, all served in his retinue. After his death, by rule, they served in the retinue of the great lady Sorqaghtani Beki and her sons Mänggü Qa'an, **[414]** Qubilai Qa'an, Hülägü Khan, and Ariq Bökä.

When Ögödäi Qa'an became khan, of his own accord and without consulting the princes and commanders, he gave to his son [Kötän the troops of] Amir Toladai Ba'urchi, the brother of Anga Noyan and an amir of the Sönit tribe, along with one thousand Sönit troops and two thousand Sulduz that had been attached to Yäkä Noyan's sons. Genghis Khan's great commander Shigi Qutuqu of the Tatar, whom Genghis Khan called his fifth son, Sodon Noyan of the Sulduz, Jädäi[1] Noyan of the Mangqut, Mönggäsar Qorchi of the Jalayir, [Qubilai[2]] Qorchi of the Baya'ut, Yisa'ur Qorchi of the Mi[n]gqan, and other *tümän* commanders were in the service of Sorqaghtani Beki and Mänggü Qa'an and his brothers. They said, "Ögödäi Qa'an has given his son Kötän the Suldus and Sönit troops that belong to us. Since Genghis Khan gave them to [Tolui Khan's] *ordu* in the division, how can we allow this infraction of his orders? Let us state this in Ögödäi Qa'an's presence. What say you?"

In reply Sorqaghtani Beki said, "What you say is right, but of the things [Genghis Khan] garnered, of what have we received so little that we would have cause for complaint? We too belong to the qa'an,[3] and he is the ruler. Let him command as he sees fit." Since she spoke with intelligence and competence, the commanders all fell silent. However, on this account ill feeling arose between Kötän and Tolui Khan's sons. When the families of Ögödäi Qa'an and Mänggü Qa'an differed, Kötän became alienated [from his own family]. As a consequence, when Mänggü Qa'an also divided their troops, he left Kötän's as they were, as has been explained. After that, Qubilai Qa'an also left his sons as they were, and they always served him stoutheartedly. At present all his offspring are with Öljäitü Qa'an and command their troops as usual, and they are in every way at one with the offspring of Yäkä Noyan.

All the troops that were attached to Yäkä Noyan, and which were more recently with Qubilai Qa'an, serve Temür Qa'an. **[415]** All the troops that Genghis Khan gave to Yegü[4] Noyan are in the qa'an's service, as are the several troops that he gave to his brothers, nephews, his fifth son Kölgän, and his mother Ö'älün Ekä, and by now they have multiplied and become many times the number they were originally.

During the years that Qubilai Qa'an was conquering the realms of Cathay, Nankiyas, Qarajang, Jürcha, Tangqut, and Tibet, he stationed some of those innumerable troops as guards on the borders of Cathay and Jürcha and in the *yurts* of Mongolia that are adjacent to these areas and placed them in summer and winter pastures. The totality of Yäkä Noyan's troops mentioned above was inherited by his sons Mänggü Qa'an, Qubilai Qa'an, Hülägü Khan, and Ariq Bökä, and it is their custom for all who are descended from them to take over their fathers' commands.

Not all [of the lands in the west] had been completely conquered or subdued, for the caliph in Baghdad, the overlord of the

[1] Read جدای (Jädäi) for the text's جلای.

[2] This name, here written نوجین, is certainly the Qubilai Qorchi on p. 138 above.

[3] Delete the text's *Chinggíz* here, per p. 561 below.

[4] Reading یگو (Yegü) for the text's تکو.

padishahs, was still a foe, as were the sultans of Rum who were renowned, the atabegs of Shiraz, the maliks of Syria and Egypt, and the Heretics; and even the lands that had been taken were shaky and could be lost at a moment's notice. After consultation, [Qubilai] assigned the task [of subduing these realms] to his brother Hülägü Khan, in whom, of all the brothers and princes of the Genghisid family, could be seen traces of daring, wisdom, power, and fortune, and he was sent with troops to complete the task of taking Iran. Those who went with Sali Noyan to Kashmir, Badakhshan, and Balkh were all under Hülägü Khan. Of all the other troops, of those held by Yäkä Noyan's offspring and the other princes, two of every ten individuals were taken out of the count in such a way that nothing of the base count would be lessened, and all were given as *enchü* [appanage] to Hülägü Khan to come to this land and reside ensconced. When he conquered it, that territory and its troops became his and his sons'. Therefore, they assigned two of every ten of their brothers and sons who were not in the number, along with their slaves and servants, and they assigned their great amirs, brothers, and sons **[416]** who were worthy of being *tümän* commanders, and sent them all to Iran with Hülägü Khan.

Those amirs' sons all became commanders of units of ten thousand, one thousand, and one hundred. Just as some of the sons of the great commanders from Genghis Khan's time and their offspring were in Hülägü Khan's service, and each one held a commission and post of his own. Down to this time most of their offspring and descendants still hold their fathers' posts, and every son of a great commander who is here has relatives in service to Temür Qa'an and to other important princes and commanders there—except for a few wretches who alienated themselves due to vain thoughts and fancies, were branded as criminals, and fell from the rank of commander but who are still alive.[1]

As has been mentioned, all the military personel who dwell today from the banks of the Oxus River to the borders of Egypt and Syria have been attached personally to Hülägü Khan and his successors on the throne. At present they all belong to the Padishah of Islam, with a separate troop and the personal troops of his father, Arghun Khan, for during Abaqa Khan's time the amirs all voluntarily gave their sons and brothers, together with their liege men, as *enchü* to Arghun. All the following separately are the personal *enchü* of the Padishah of Islam: those Abaqa Khan gave as *enchü*, those Abaqa Khan gave as *enchü* during the Padishah of Islam's childhood,

[1]This passage is fraught with difficuty in the Persian text. JT_{AJ} 95 translates as follows: *Ol beglärdin toghqan jumlasi tümän begi va ming begi va yüz begi boldilar andagh kim aksar qarachu ulughlari Chinggis Khan zamanida bar erdi anlarning urughi bukün Hülägü Khan'ning khizmatinda erdilär, har birisi öz yoluncha mansûb u ma[r]sûmda erdilär; va bu zamanda anlar köpräk urughi oshal atasining yolunda erdilär va har ulughlar oghli bar erdi kim bu yerdä anlarning qarindashlari erür bukün Temür Khan'ning qullughunda turur, va taqi shahzâdalar ol yerdä ulugh mu'tabar lashkar ulughi erdilär—shol dawlatsizlikdän özläri bâtil andeshalar qilip onga yaqgha köngül berdilär gunâhkâr boldilar, shol martabadin imâratdin tüshtilär, valîkan mawjûd erdilär.* Berezin (15:153) translates as follows: Тѣ бекскія дѣти всѣ стали беками темными, сотенными и тысячными, такъ что изъ дѣтей если были старшими беками въ вѣкъ Чингизъ-Хана и родъ ихъ находился на службѣ Хулагу-Хана и каждый находился на своей собственной и означенной дорогѣ, то донынѣ самый первый родъ и потомки ихъ постоянно назначаются на ту же дорогу отцовъ. И у каждаго знатнорожденнаго, находящагося здѣсъ, родственники находятся на службѣ Тимуръ-Каана и другихъ принцовъ тамъ почтенными и военными беками, за исключеніемъ рѣдкихъ людей, которые, вслѣдствіе неудачъ, обративъ сердце къ пустымъ мыслямъ, стали виновны и ниспали съ сана бекства. Однако они существуютъ.

every one of the *käbtä'ül* [bodyguards] and personal retinue of Mongol slaves who were purchased and brought from all over by merchants, as well as some of those who were given as bodyguards by the amirs, who held council and decided they did not have to go into the [regular] number [of the army].[1]

The history of the Mongol rulers that has been ascertained until the present is what has been introduced, but there are many of whom, on account of the length of time and great distances, we have no knowledge. As they are learned of later, they will be appended.

Now that the history of Genghis Khan that was recorded in books, scrolls, and chronologies has been written, partially in general and partially in detail, [417] we wanted to add to what has been described a summary account of what occurred throughout his life as a chronology so that those who so desire can learn of those events in a summary fashion and know with what he was occupied during each year and not have to look back and reread. ~

[1] JT_{AJ} 95f.: *Majmû' lashkar bukün shol Âmûya daryâsı yaqasından tâ hudûd-i Misr u Shâm'gha degäch bar erdi tamamısın [ba-ench]ü khâss Hülägü Khan'da bolghay. Harkimärsä aning urughudın bolsa qâyimmaqâmında ol takht ta'alluq bar bolghay va bu zamân anlardın barısı Pâdishâh-i-Islâm (khallada 'llâhu sultânahu)'da erdilär, lashkarî kim alâhida khâssa atası Arghun'da ta'alluq bar erdi, shol ulughlar Abaqa Khan zamanıda bolghay har biri raghbat ikhtiyârı birlä öz oghlanların öz inilärin nökärlik birgä [ba enchüî] Arghun Khan'gha berip erdilär, va ancha Abaqa [Kha]n buyuldın [enchü] berip erdi, va ancha ham Abaqa Khan zamanıda Pâdishâh-i-Islâm Ghazan Khan yashqına erdi ba-enchüî munga berdi, va tâ bu zamanda harkimärsä shol umarâlar song 'arz qıldılar inilärin öz oghlanların Pâdishâh-i-Islâm Ghazan Khan'nıng oghlı Öljſäit]u'gha berdilär, va ancha bu zamanda jihat-i käbtä'ülî va mulâzamat-i-khâss shol toghmalar Moghul kim bâzirgânlärdin shol atrâf jânibdın satıp alıp keltürüp erdilär, bazı umarâ kengäch qıldılar shol nechä hisâbqa kelmädilär shol öz mingidän jihat-i käbtä'ülîlikkä berdilär tamamı alâhida enchü khâss Pâdishâh-i-Islâm (khallada mulkahu)'da erdilär.* Berezin (15:153f.) translates this paragraph as follows: По этимъ причинамъ, которыя упо-мянуты, все войско, нынѣ находящееся отъ береговъ рѣки Аму до предѣловъ Египта и Сиріи, относится къ собственному удѣлу Хулагу-Хана и каждаго, кто изъ рода его будетъ намѣстникомъ его но тронѣ. Нынѣ оно сполна принадлежитъ Самодержцу правовѣрія—да продлится его существованіе!—съ войскомъ, которое особенно относилось на долю отца его Аргунъ-Хана, ибо беки, во время Абага-Хана, каждый по желанію и волѣ своей, отдалъ въ удѣлъ Аргуну дѣтей и братьевъ своихъ вмѣстѣ съ нукерами. То, что Абага-Ханъ далъ въ видѣ удѣла и то, что Абага-Ханъ далъ въ удѣлъ Государю Ислама—да продлится его владычество!—во время его дѣтства, и до сего времени каждый изъ бековъ, имѣя представленіе далъ въ удѣлъ Государю Ислама—да продлится его существованіе!—братьевъ и дѣтей своихъ. И то, что въ нынѣшнюю пору, ради нахожденія и состоянія лично при особѣ, изъ служителей и Монголы, которыхъ привели старшіе ихъ съ разныхъ сторонъ и которые отошли; и нѣкоторые беки, которые вступили въ бракъ, изъ того, что не вошло въ общій счетъ, даютъ, изъ своихъ тысячъ ради нахожденія: все это составляетъ особенный собственный удѣлъ Государя Ислама—да продлится его владычество!

ℭ A SHORT CHRONOLOGY OF GENGHIS KHAN BY THE YEARS OF HIS LIFE

It is established among the Mongols that Genghis Khan lived seventy-two Turkish years. He was born in a Tonquz Yil, a Year of the Pig, and he also died in a Tonquz Yil, in Tangqut territory. His coffin was taken to his *ordus* in that year, corresponding to the 14th of Ramadan 624 [August 28, 1227], and his death was revealed.

By calculating backwards astronomically it has been ascertained that the Tonquz Yil that was the year of his birth fell in Dhu'l-Qa'da 549 [January 1155], i.e. he died in the seventy-fifth lunar year of his life. The reason for the difference is that Turkish years are solar, and approximately every thirty years there is one lunar year more. Although he died in his seventy-third Turkish year, he died in the middle of the year; and since both the year of his birth and the year of his death were incomplete years, it follows, as previously established, that the length of his life was seventy-five lunar years, or seventy-three Turkish solar years, [of which two were] incomplete, so in terms of years of solar months this would be seventy-two years.

SECTION: A SUMMARY YEAR-BY-YEAR HISTORY DURING THAT PERIOD. SOME OF THIS PERIOD COMPRISES THE TIME DURING WHICH HIS FATHER WAS ALIVE AND HE WAS A CHILD, AND SOME INCLUDES THE TIME DURING WHICH HE SUFFERED SETBACKS—A TOTAL OF FORTY YEARS.

Subsection: During which his father Yesügäi Bahadur was alive and he was a child, thirteen years

This thirteen-year period began in Tonquz Yil with the birth of Genghis Khan, which fell in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da 549 [January 1155], and ended also in a Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that fell in Rabi' II 562 [February 1167]. During this period his father, Yesügäi Bahadur, was alive and a mighty and prosperous ruler of his people. Most of the Qiyat and Niru'un clans, to which they belonged, as well as other Mongols, were his followers. Since Genghis Khan was a child during that time and never away from his father, his story has been related in an over-all general fashion and not repeated here.

Subsection: After the death of his father, a time of setback and trouble, twenty-seven years.

This period of twenty-seven years began in Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that fell in Rabi' II 563 [January 1168], and ended in Bars Yil, the Year of the Leopard that fell in Safar 590 [January 1194]. At the beginning of this period, since Yesügäi Bahadur had died, the child Genghis Khan was bereft of his father, and the commanders and many clans of the Mongols and his father's relatives mutinied and left him for reasons that have been described. **[419]** He was thus dealt a severe setback and suffered difficulties from everyone. After that God had mercy on him by regulating his affairs, and he attained the rulership. Since his condi-

tion during this period was unhappy, it has not been given year by year but only in general as follows.

His father, Yesügäi Bahadur, was the ruler of the Mongol tribes and had followers among his *aqa-inis* and those who had branched off from their forefathers. When he died, most of those tribes inclined to the Tayichi'ut and deserted Genghis Khan. His mother, Ö'älün Ekä of the [Olqunu'ut] clan, made heroic efforts and kept some of them [from leaving]. During those years Genghis Khan suffered many trials from the Tayichi'ut and other collateral tribes, like the Jä'üriyät, Märkit, Tatar, etc. Many times he was seized by each of those tribes, but he escaped their clutches with various tactics, and since felicity and fortune were slated for him, he gradually attained success. Earlier on, he fought with the Tayichi'ut and raided them. After many hostilities he annihilated most of that tribe, and some submitted. He overcame the Tatars, Märkits, and other united opponents, and his army grew in numbers until he became strong and powerful at the end of the above-mentioned twenty-seven years. This is a summary account of this period. Thereafter, when he had become strong, his history is known year by year.

A detailed year-by-year account.

This consists of two sections, one for the years before he was given the title Genghis Khan, and the other for the years after that, a total of thirty-three years.

The period before he was given the title of Genghis Khan, eleven years.

The beginning of this period of eleven years was Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that fell [420] in Rabi' I 591 [February 1195], and it ended in the Year of the Ox that fell in Jumada II 601 [1205].

Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that began in Rabi' I 591 [1195].

Genghis Khan was in his forty-first year, and in this year he returned from battle with Jagambu, the brother of Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit and the Tongqa[yi]t branch of the Kerayit that had united against him and stirred up sedition. Upon his return to his *ordus* he reveled and rested.

Luy Yil, the Year of the Dragon that fell in Rabi' I 592 [1196].

In this year Genghis Khan had grown so greatly in strength that Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit and a mighty and important ruler, came to him in helplessness and asked for assistance. Ong Khan, in a struggle over the rulership of his people, had killed most of his brothers and uncles, but one brother had escaped and fled to the king of the Naiman, Inanch Khan, who sent a troop, drove Ong Khan away, and took the kingdom. Ong Khan went to the Gür Khan of the Qarakhitai, but when he did not find security there either, he returned, went into Uyghur territory and got a few head of sheep, on whose milk he sustained himself. In that state of destitution he took refuge with Genghis Khan. [421] In the spring of this Year of the Dragon, he joined him in a place called Güsägü[r Na'ur]. Genghis Khan felt sorry for him, gave him money and soldiers, and restored him to the rulership.

Prior to this, once before, Ong Khan's uncle had taken the kingdom from him by force, and Ong Khan had taken refuge with Yesügäi Bahadur, who took the kingdom from the uncle and gave it to him. They called each other *anda*.

Moqai Yil, the Year of the Serpent corresponding to Rabi' I 593 [1197].

In the autumn of this year Genghis Khan did battle with the king of the Märkit peo-

ple, Toqto'a Beki, and defeated him. All that was taken in booty he gave to Ong Khan to enrich him.

Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that fell in Rabi' II 594 [1198].

Genghis Khan remained in his place during this period. Ong Khan, having grown strong, left without consultation, attacked the Märkit people, and carried away the wife of Toqto'a Beki, the chief of that tribe, as booty. His brother made one of Toqto'a's sons surrender and brought him and his followers in.

Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that fell in Rabi' II 595 [1199].

During this year Genghis Khan and Ong Khan did battle with Sariq Khan, the brother of [422] Tayang Khan, the ruler of the Naiman. They struck his tribe at a place called Qizil Bash.[1] He fled in defeat to the territory of Käm[käm]ji'üt. Yedi Tuqluq, his scout, had fled from Genghis Khan's scouts and gone up on a mountain. His horse's girth strap came loose, he and the saddle fell off, and he was captured.

During that winter he did battle with Kögsä'ü Sabraq, the commander of Buyuruq's army. Once again Kögsä'ü Sabraq came, the armies were arrayed on both sides, and it was agreed that battle would be fought the next morning. That night Ong Khan had fires lit in his camp and took flight. When Genghis Khan rejoined him after being separated, Kögsä'ü Sabraq came in pursuit with Buyuruq Khan's army and raided the tents of Ong Khan's brother and some of his soldiers. Ong Khan asked Genghis Khan for help again, requesting his four commanders. Genghis Khan sent them with troops to strike Buyuruq Khan's forces, and they took back and restored everything that had been taken from Ong Khan and his brother and their people.

Tavuq Yil, the Year of the Rooster that fell in Jumada I 597 [1201].

During this year Genghis Khan learned that the Ikiräs, Qorolas,[2] Dörbän, Tatar, Qataqin, and Salji'ut tribes had assembled at the Käm[3] River and elevated Jamuqa Sächän of the Jajirat as *gür khan*. Jamuqa was defeated at Yedi Qurqan, and at that same place the Qunqirat clan submitted.

Noqai Yil, the Year of the Dog that began in Jumada II 598 [1202].

In this year Genghis Khan mounted a campaign against the Anchi Tatar and the Chaghan Tatar. [423] He had stipulated that no booty or plunder was to be taken until the battle was over, but his uncle Otchi, Qutula Qa'an's son Altan, and Näkün Taishi's son Quchar disobeyed and took booty. Genghis Khan ordered everything to be taken from them, so they went over to Ong Khan in anger and started stirring up trouble, as will be related later.

In the autumn of this year Genghis Khan and Ong Khan learned that the Naiman ruler's brother Buyuruq and other clans allied with him were launching a campaign against them with a massive force. They did battle with them, and they went to the border of Öngü[4] and Cathay, which is a mighty wall built to separate Cathay from Mongolia. It was at that time that Genghis Khan requested the daughter of Sangun, Ong Khan's son, for marriage to his son Jochi. Sangun requested Jochi's daughter for his son. Because the marriages were not concluded there were bad feelings on both sides. Ong Khan's son contemplated attack-

[1] Reading قزيل باش (Qizil Bash) for the text's قويل ماش. See p. 268 above.

[2] Reading قورلاس (Qorolas) for the text's قورياس.

[3] Reading كم (Käm, see p. 277 above) for the text's كهر.

[4] Reading اونكو (Öngü) for the text's ايتله.

ing Genghis Khan, but Ong Khan kept him from doing it.

Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Jumada II 599 [1203].

In the spring of this year Genghis Khan was in his *ordus*. Ong Khan and Sangun summoned him on the pretext of asking for a daughter in marriage, but while he was on his way there Echigä prevented him from going. After that, Ong Khan and Sangun conspired to lead their army and ambush Genghis Khan. A spy learned of this in time to warn him. Battle was fought, and Genghis Khan went in defeat to Baljiuna, a small spring, where he spent several days drinking water squeezed from the mud. After that, he set out for another place, and from there he sent a messenger to Ong Khan and Sangun and their commanders to remind them of the rights and obligations of every description they owed him. They refused to make a truce. It so happened that some of Ong Khan's officers became alienated from him, plotted treachery, and deserted him. [424] Some of them joined Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan's brother Jochi Qasar was separated from him at that time, and Ong Khan's soldiers raided and pillaged his tent and baggage. He reached Genghis Khan hungry and naked. Genghis Khan sent a message in Jochi Qasar's name to Ong Khan saying, "I have tried hard to rejoin my brother, but I can find no trace of him. If my khan-father will give me back my tent, I will submit." By this ruse Ong Khan was taken unaware.

During that winter, he wintered in a place called Tämä'än Kähär and camped in his tents. Before this victory he had brought the Tayichi'ut and other Mongol tribes under his command and subdued and become the ruler of the Mongol commanders from among his *aqa-inis* and others who had joined Ong Khan. When he killed Ong Khan, who was a ruler of puissance of an ancient family, the throne, possessions, and realm became his.

During this year the title Genghis Khan was bestowed upon him. "Genghis Khan" means the same as "Gür Khan," i.e. mighty and powerful ruler. It was always customary in that land for great rulers to be called Gür Khan, and when the Mongols clans of the Niru'un and some of the Dürlükin banded together and gave Jamuqa Sächän the title of Gür Khan, that is why they gave him that name, although it did not prove to be lucky. The same name, but in Mongolian, was given to Genghis Khan, who up until this point had been called Tämüjin, the name his father had given him.

Astronomers and some historians date the beginning of his rule from this year, and thus they report that he was born in a Year of the Pig, his father died in a Year of the Pig, he became ruler in a Year of the Pig, and he died in a Year of the Pig.

In Mongolian histories the beginning of his rule is dated from this year, when he killed the Naiman Tayang Khan and received the title Genghis Khan.[1]

Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat beginning in Jumada II 600 [1204].

In the spring of this year, when Ala Qush Tegin of the Öng'üt sent a message [425] saying that Tayang Khan, the Naiman ruler, had asked him for assistance to make war on Genghis Khan, Genghis Khan gathered his *aqa-ini* and held a great *quriltai*. In the autumn of this year he launched a campaign against Tayang Khan, striking him along with the Märkit ruler Qutuqu and the Qataqïn, Salji'ut, and other tribes that had allied themselves with him. Last of all he killed Tayang Khan.

Hükär Yil, the Year of the Buffalo beginning in Jumada II 601 [1205].

[1] This paragraph is not in the Turkish translation JT_{AJ}.

In this year Genghis Khan launched a campaign against Qashin territory, which is called Tangqut, took the fortress of Ligi [Li-chi] and the city of K'eng Lo-szu[1] and pillaged the realm of Tangqut, taking many captives.

Section. After receiving the title of Genghis Khan, a period of twenty-one years and a partial year, making twenty-two years.

This period began in Bars Yil, the Year of the Leopard that began in Rajab 602 [1206], and ended in Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Rajab 624 [1227], the year he died.

Bars Yil, the Year of the Leopard that began in Rajab 602 [1206].

In this year Genghis Khan was fifty-two years old. Having recently defeated and killed the Naiman ruler Tayang Khan and a group of other rulers who had joined him, [426] he returned to the area of the Onon, his original *yurt*, having attained great power and status. He ordered a white, nine-footed standard raised and a great gathering held. Kököchü Täb Tängri, the son of Münglig Echigä, a noble man who claimed miraculous powers, had said, "God has given the rulership of the face of the earth to you." That day he came forward and made manifest his claim to miraculous powers, saying, "Now that the rulers of this clime, each of which was called Gür Khan, have been conquered by you and their realms taken by you, you too shall have the title *chingiz*, which means the same, i.e. king of kings. God has commanded that your title be Genghis Khan, for *chingiz* is the plural of *ching*, and *chingiz* is the intensive form of *ching*. Therefore, the meaning of *chingiz khan* is emperor and king of kings." The amirs approved of this and confirmed him in that title. He had acquired extremely great power and strength and was known as the lord of the world. After that he launched a campaign against Buyuruq, whom he ambushed in his winter grounds, killed, and seized his realm.

Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that fell in Rajab 603 [1207].

In this year Genghis Khan launched a campaign because the Qashin territory had rebelled again, and he subdued that realm. Also in this year he sent emissaries to the Qirqiz. They submitted and sent their own emissaries with a white falcon as a gift in the company of Genghis Khan's emissaries.

Luy Yil, the Year of the Dragon that fell in Rajab 604 [1208].

In this year Genghis Khan spent the summer at home. In the winter he set out to make war on the ruler of the Märkit, [427] Toqto'a Beki, and Güshlüg, Tayang Khan's son, who had conspired together and stirred up trouble. Toqto'a Beki was killed in battle, and his brothers and people fled to Uyghur territory. Güshlüg also took flight and went to the Gür Khan of the Qarakhitai, the ruler of Turkistan.

Moghai Yil, the Year of the Serpent that fell in Sha'ban 605 [1209].

In this year Genghis Khan summoned the Idiqut, the ruler of the Uyghur, who had already dispatched his emissaries to submit. He sent messengers to give information on Toqto'a's brother and sons.

Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that fell in Sha'ban 606 [1210].

During the summer of this year Genghis Khan was at home. In the autumn he set out once more to make war on Tangqut territory to chastize them. The ruler of that

[1]Reading كينكلوسى K'eng Lo-szu for the text's ليكلاوش. See note to text p. 307 above.

realm, Shidürghu, gave him his daughter.

Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that fell in Sha'ban 607 [1211].

In the spring of this year Genghis Khan was at the Kerulen. Arslan Khan, the ruler of the Qarluq, and the Idiqut, the ruler of the Uyghur, came to him there and was received favorably. Toquchar Noyan of the Qunqirat and two thousand horsemen were assigned to act as scouts at the rear, and in the autumn the army set out for Cathay, where they took many cities. [428]

Bechin Yil, the Year of the Monkey that fell in Ramadan 608 [1212].

In this year Genghis gave each of [his sons] a troop,[1] assigning each of them to lay siege and take a particular city in Cathay. Many cities were taken.

Tavuq Yil, the Year of the Rooster that fell in Ramadan 608 [1213].

In this year Genghis Khan went to the vicinity of the city of Jungdu [Chung-tu], the capital of Cathay. The Altan Khan took counsel with his officers whether to do battle or not. Having decided that it was in their best interests to make peace, they sent emissaries to submit. [The Altan Khan's] daughter Gungju was given to Genghis Khan, who then pulled back. The Altan Khan went to the city of Namging in the east of Cathay on the banks of the Qara Müran [Yellow River]. Genghis Khan's troops took Jungdu and removed the Altan Khan's treasures that were there. Many provincial governors surrendered.

Noqai Yil, the Year of the Dog that fell in Shawwal 610 [1214].

In this year Genghis Khan was still in Cathay, and he, his sons, his commanders, his retinue and followers, and his supporters were all occupied with seizing lands and provinces.

Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that fell in Shawwal 611 [1215].

In this year Genghis Khan was still in Cathay. He dispatched Samuqa Bahadur with an army [429] to take some territories there. He dispatched Tolun Chärbi toward Chaghan, and he took many regions.

Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that fell in Shawwal 612 [1216].

In this year Genghis Khan dispatched Muqali Guyang to retake the areas that had been taken before but had fallen into rebellion. He retook them all.

Hükär Yil, the Year of the Buffalo that fell in Dhu'l-Qa'da 613 [1217].

In this year Genghis Khan set out from Cathay for his original territory. He sent Sübädäi Bahadur to wage war on the Märkit nation, and for that campaign he had carts reinforced with iron so they would not break in the difficult mountains; and with him he sent the two thousand he had left behind previously with Toquchar Bahadur. They went and swept away Qudu, Toqto'a Beki's brother, and what was left of the Märkit army. He sent Boroghul Noyan and Dörbän Noyan to annihilate the Tumat tribe, which had previously surrendered but then rebelled. Boroghul Noyan was killed during battle, and Genghis Khan showed exceptional favor to those he left behind.

Bars Yil, the Year of the Leopard that fell in Dhu'l-Qa'da 614 [1218].

In this year Genghis Khan turned over to Muqali Guyang and the entire army of the left wing, along with some of the army of Cathay that had submitted, the territory of

[1] The Persian text in JT_K is corrupt here. Translation is based on JT_{AJ} 63: *har bir oghligha lashkar bolup bärdi.*

Cathay he had conquered **[430]** and confirmed on him the title of Guyang, which means a king's realm in Cathaian. He sent Jochi to retake the Qirqiz territory that had rebelled.

Taulai Yil, the Year of the Rabbit that fell in Dhu'l-Qa'da 615 [1219].

In this year Genghis Khan rested in his *ordus* and held a great *quriltai* at which the armies were arrayed, and he mounted for a campaign against the Tajiks.

Luy Yil, the Year of the Dragon that fell in Dhu'l-Hijja 616 [1220].

In this year Genghis Khan was on the road in his own territory and spent the summer at the Irtysh River. When the horses had been fattened, in the autumn he made a circle and took the territory that lay on his way. When he reached Otrar, he stationed Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi to take that place and other cities in that part of Turkistan while he himself went with Tolui Khan to Bukhara.

Moghai Yil, the Year of the Serpent that fell in Dhu'l-Hijja 617 [1221].

In this year Genghis Khan camped in Bukhara. Also in this year he took Samarkand and other cities in that vicinity. The princes came to him. Jochi took Yangikent, Barchin,[1] and that area and came back. He sent Jäbä Noyan and Sübädäi Noyan in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad to Khurasan, Persia, and Azerbaijan. He dispatched Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi **[431]** to lay siege to Khwarazm while he himself went to Nakhshab and Termez in order to cross the Oxus. In the vanguard he sent Tolui Khan with an army to conquer the cities of Khurasan. He took most of the fortresses and crossed the Oxus, took Balkh, and went to Taligan, which he besieged.

Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that fell in Muharram 619 [1222]..

During this solar year two lunar years began. In the spring of this year Genghis Khan laid siege to Taligan. Tolui Khan took all the cities and outlying areas of Khurasan. Genghis Khan sent an emissary to him to tell him to return because the weather was warm. He returned, and along the way he plundered the province of Quhistan, took the city of Herat, where he massacred and pillaged, and rejoined Genghis Khan as he was destroying the fortress at Taligan. Chaghatai and Ögödäi also arrived there. Jochi had gone to rejoin his *aghruq* and *ulus*.[2] Also in this year news arrived that Sultan Jalaluddin had gone to the banks of the Indus, where he fought with Qutuqu Noyan and was defeated. In this year Genghis Khan set out in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin, whom he put to flight across the Indus. He sent Bala Noyan in pursuit as he turned back.

Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that fell in Muharram 620 [1223].

In the spring of this year Genghis Khan turned back from the banks of the Indus. He sent Ögödäi Qa'an to conquer the western parts of that region. He massacred and pillaged, but when the weather turned hot **[432]** he was recalled. He rejoined his

[1]The taking of Barchin during Ögödäi Qa'an's time is mentioned by Carpini: *Quedam autem ciuitas, nomine Barchin, diu restitit eis. Ciues enim in circuitu ciuitatis foueas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas repleuissent* (p. 87, lines 20–23), "But a certeine citie called Barchin resisted them a long time. For the citizens had cast vp many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the said ditches" (p. 121).

[2]For the text's فوجی read جوجی *Jochî*, with JT_{AJ} 67, which translates: *Jochi aghruqına qaytıp kitip turur erdi.*

father on the Boraghul plain, and there they summered until Bala Noyan returned from India, having taken the cities there and stationed a *shahna*.

Bechin Yil, the Year of the Monkey that fell in Safar 622 [1224].

In the summer of this year Genghis Khan turned back and spent the summer on the road. Then he set out for home, proceeding at a leisurely pace.

Tavuq Yil, the Year of the Rooster that fell in 623 [1225].

In this year Genghis Khan dismounted in his own *ordus*. It was the seventh year since he had ridden out on the Tajik campaign. He spent the entire summer there, and in the autumn he set out for Tangqut territory, which he had pacified several times but which had rebelled again. That winter he besieged Dörmägäi and set fire to it.[1] The ruler of that realm, Shidurghu by name, came out of the city of Uraqai,[2] the greatest of the cities of that realm, with five hundred thousand soldiers and gave battle. Three hundred thousand men were killed.

Noqai Yil, the Year of the Dog that fell in Safar 623 [1226].

In the spring of this year in Onqulun Talan Qidun,[3] Genghis Khan suddenly felt ill. Summoning his sons Ögödäi and Tolui, who were there, he withdrew and spoke to them in private. He made Ögödäi Qa'an his heir [433] and gave them permission to withdraw to their realms and homes. He himself set out for Nankiyas. When he reached a place on the frontier of Tangqut and Jurchid territory, the Jurcha sent emissaries with trays of pearls, which Genghis Khan gave away. The Tangqut ruler saw it was in his best interests to surrender, but he requested a month's respite in order to prepare his tribute and have his men come out. Genghis Khan was stricken by symptoms of an illness.

Tonquz Yil, the Year of the Pig that fell in Safar 624 [1227].

During this year, the seventy-third from the year of his birth, Genghis Khan completed his seventy-second year and died of the illness he had in Tangqut territory. Prior to that, when he was giving his last will to his sons and sending them back, he stipulated that when his death occurred it was to be kept secret. They were not to mourn or wail lest it become manifest. The commanders and soldiers were to wait patiently until the Tangqut ruler and people came out. They were then to kill them all and not let the news of his death reach the territory earlier lest the people rise up. In accordance with his will, they kept the death hidden, and when the people of Tangqut came out they put them all to the sword. They picked up Genghis Khan's coffin and set forth, killing every creature they saw along the way lest the news be spread abroad. In this Year of the Pig, corresponding to the 14th [of Ramadan] 624 [August 28, 1227], they delivered his body to his *ordus* and announced the death. Mourning was held in the four great camps, and he was buried in the place he had designated for his burial. **Everything will perish except His face. His is the command, and unto Him shall you be returned.**[4]

Now that we are finished with the year-by-year history of Genghis Khan, we will complete the third section.

[1] For the name Dörmägäi, see text p. 384 above.

[2] For the name, see text p. 384 above.

[3] On text p. 384 above, the name of this place is written Ulqun Talan Qodun. In JT_{AJ} 68, it is Onqun Talan Qoduq.

[4] Kor. 28:88.

ℭ SECTION THREE OF THE STORY OF GENGHIS KHAN

ON HIS GOOD CHARACTER AND NOBLE CUSTOMS, ON THE GOOD DECREES, WORDS OF WISDOM, AND ORDERS HE SPOKE AT VARIOUS TIMES, ON THE TIMES OF EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE DURING HIS RULE THAT WERE NOT INCLUDED IN THE PREVIOUS TWO SECTIONS; BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN LEARNED FROM MISCELLANEOUS PERSONS AND BOOKS, THEY ARE BEING WRITTEN SEPARATELY.[1]

Genghis Khan said, "If there are people whose sons do not listen to the wisdom of their fathers, whose younger brothers do not heed the words of their elder brothers, whose husbands do not trust their wives, whose wives do not obey their husbands, whose mothers-in-law do not like their daughters-in-law, whose daughters-in-law do not respect their mothers-in-law, whose adults do not support their children, whose young persons do not accept the advice of their elders, whose masters do not seek the affection of their slaves, and who do not comprehend their *yosun* and *yasaq* with intelligence and competence—among such people thieves, brigands, and robbers spring up and drive them from their homes—that is, they pillage and plunder them. Their herds and flocks can find no rest, and they cannot mount horses that have been watered. Consequently those horses become exhausted, die, and rot away to nothingness. Such people are incompetent and worthless. When Genghis Khan attained fortune and all came under his command, and his strict *yasaq* gave them order, those who were learned and brave he made commanders of the army; [435] to those who were nimble and quick he entrusted the *aghruq* and made them herdsmen; the unlearned he whipped lightly and sent them off to be shepherds. Thereby his fortune waxed day by day like the moon, and through God's power divine assistance came down from heaven, and good fortune grew from the earth to help him. His summer pasture lands became places of revelry and celebration, and his winter quarters were commodious and comfortable. Since by the grace of the great God I have comprehended these things, and I have deduced these articles of wisdom myself, therefore our ease, prosperity, and revelry have reached such a degree. Henceforth, for however many years—five hundred, a thousand, or ten thousand—that my offspring will come into existence and rule as khans, my progeny, no matter how grand they may become, will safeguard them-

[1] Much of the Persian in this section is very obscure, particularly in syntax. It all has the feel of having been rendered into Persian from Mongolian, which, of course, it probably was. Fortunately we have the Chaghatay Turkish translation made by the anonymous Jalayirid at the end of the sixteenth century (JT_{AJ}). Since in many regards his text seems to have been better, or at any rate he seems to have understood better what was meant, I am including the Turkish translation in the footnotes with each passage in this section. The few phrases included in the Turkish but missing from the Persian are signaled by <...>.

selves with the Genghisid *yosun* and *yasaq* and will not replace it. They will enjoy favor from heaven, and they will always have pleasure and enjoyment. God will grant the entire world to them, and the people will pray for them. They will live long and enjoy the good things of this world. [The proverb] 'He who punishes well rules long' is an allusion to this.' "[1]

❁

He also said, "Among my offspring, many emperors will come into existence after this. If the grandees and warriors who will serve them do not maintain the *yasaq* strictly, the empire will become shaky and end. They will wish they had Genghis Khan, but they will not have him."[2]

❁

He also said, "Commanders of ten thousand and a thousand who come at the beginning and end of the year and listen to words of wisdom and then return home can most likely lead troops, but those who sit at home and do not listen to words of wisdom are like a rock that falls on a large body of water, or an arrow that is shot into a reed bed and disappears. Such persons are not worthy of being leaders. <Whoever can keep his own house in order can also keep territory in order; anyone who can keep ten men under his command is worthy of being given the command of a thousand or ten thousand men.>"[3]

❁

He also said, "Everyone who is capable of

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[1]*Eränlärning oghlanları atasının biligini tınglamasalar, va inilär aghalarının sözinä iltifât qılmasalar, erläri khatunlarıgha ınanmasalar, khatunları erining buyrughuncha yürümäsälär, va qayınları kelinlärin qabûl qılmasalar, va kelinlär qayınların hurmat etmäsälär, ulughlar kichiklärni asramish qılmasalar, va kichiklär ulughlarning nasîhatın saqla[ma]salar, va buzurglärning köngli qullarning köngligä ta'ayyunraq* [read *yaqınraq*] *turghaylar,* <*va erlikini öz qolıdın ichqundurmasalar, va har kimersä yakhshı körsälär va taqı ahl-i-vilâyatnı vabây qılmasalar va taqviyat qılmasalar bermäsälär*> *va yosun yasaq yolunda 'aql u kifâyat bitmäsälär [bilmäsälär?], bu sababdın ol arada mukhâliflar oghrı ötrükchi va yaghı harâmîlar andagh kimersälär paydâ bolghay ol kimersä öz maqâmında yol bermägäy, ya'nî talap alıp ketmägäy va atı ulaghı va gala u rama tavar qarası anlarning âsâyish tapa almaghaylar; atların simürtip minä almaghaylar; lâjaram andagh atları arıp terisi qaytıp ölgäy. Munungdek qawm tartîbsiz erdilär; anlargha [99] eminlik tınchlıq farâghat u âsâyishlıq yoq erdi. Bu mahalda nechük Chinggiz Khan paydâ boldı anıng farmânigha keldilär anlarnıng qatıgh yasaqların anlar üzä yengil qıldı yasamishî qıldı, ancha dânâları bahadurları bar erdi anlarnı lashkar ulughı aytıp yürügüzdi, va ancha jäld châlâk tapıp aghruq qulugha berdi galabâng ayttı, va nâdânlarnı qamchı birlän urup kichikligä tüshürüp qoychı aytıp chupanlıqgha yibärdi. Bu sababdın anıng ishi kündin küngä ulughluqgha tegdi; oshal âsmândın ba-quvvat khudây ta'âlâ'dın nusrat anga endi, yer yüzindä anga madad dawlat paydâ bolmish, yaylaqları anıng yeri 'ayshqa va jirqamishî boldılar va qıshlaqlarında muvâfiq u mutâbiq tüshdilär, ba-fazl-i khudây ulughluqnı bu ma'nâdın tapdım va bu biliglärni öz 'aqlım birlä istinbât qıldım, bu sababdın âsâyish u 'aysh u jirghamishî bizgä boldı tâ bu ghâyatqa tegdi. Oshbundın song tâ besh yüz, ming, daghı on ming yıl agar farzandlarım vujûdqa kelgäylär, khanlıq olturghaylar, munungdagh yosun va yasaq Chinggiz Khan'nıng kim shol khalaf har neyärsä mumtâz tüshdi munga körä saqlanghay, öngä ish chıqarmaghay. Ham shol âsmândın madad dawlat anlargha paydâ bolghay, va payvasta 'ayshqa jirqamishî bolghaylar, va khudây jahânnı anlargha soyurghamishî qılghay,* [100] *va khalq-i-'âlam anlargha du'â qılghay, 'umrı uzaq bolghay, va ni'mat köp bolghay. "Man hasunat siyâsatuhu dâmat riyâsatuhu" ishârat munungdagh ma'nâ turur.*

[2]*Oghlanlarında köp pâdshâhlar mändin song vujûdqa kelgäylär. Ulugh va pahlavânlar va beglär kim anlar allında bolghaylar yasaqnı qatıgh tutmaghay, padshahnıng ishi mu[ta]zalzil u munqatı' bolghay. Chinggiz Khan'nıng ârzûsın talab etkäy kelgäy.*

[3]*Tümänbegi u mingbegi u yüzbegi qachan yıl avvalında âkhırında kelgäylär Chinggiz Khan'nıng biligin tınglaghay u yana ketkäy, magar anlar artuqsı lashkar paydâ qılghay. Va anlar kim öz yurtlarında olturupturur biligni eshitmäy, anlarnıng hâli misâli tash bolghay küp astında qalghay bâkamâlgä (?) keltürmäy; atqan oq bolghay nâpadîd bolghay. Andagh kimersä peshvâlıqda oltura almaghay.* <*Har kimersä öz üyini râst qılsa, mulkni ham râst qılghay; har kimersä on kimersäni yasamishî etsä, lâyiq anga bolghay kim mingbeglikni taqı tümänbeglikini munga bergäylär u yasamishî qılghay.*>

cleaning out his own insides is capable of cleansing a kingdom of banditry."[1]

❁

He also said, "Let any officer who cannot keep order in his own squad be branded a criminal along with his wife and children, and let another be chosen as officer from his squad—and companies of a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand likewise."[2] **[436]**

❁

He also said, "Every word upon which three learned men are agreed can be repeated everywhere; otherwise it cannot be trusted. Measure your own words, and those of others, against the words of the learned: if they are in conformity they can be spoken; otherwise they should not be spoken."[3]

❁

He also said, "No one who goes to an elder should speak until the elder asks him a question. Then let him give an appropriate answer to the question. If he speaks more than this and they listen, well and good; otherwise, it is like beating cold iron."[4]

❁

"A horse that runs well when it is fat, when it is half-fleshed, and when it is lean can be called a good horse. A horse that runs well in only one of these three conditions cannot be called good."[5]

❁

"Great commanders who are leaders as well as all soldiers must mount for the hunt. Let their names be announced. When they mount for war, let them announce their names and war cry. Let them always pray to God for good and trust in Him so that, through the might of the ancient God, all avenues of escape in any of the four directions be closed."[6]

❁

"A man should [stand silent] like a calf in the midst of the people, but in time of battle he should leap like a hungry hawk after his prey."[7]

❁

"No word spoken that is true, whether spoken in seriousness or in jest, can ever be taken back."[8]

❁

"A man [is not the sun] that he can show himself openly to his relatives everywhere. A woman whose husband has mounted to go hunting or on an expedition should keep the home in order and decorated so that if an envoy or a guest alight at the home he will see that everything is well arranged, and she should prepare good food and see

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[1] *Har kimersä öz ichini pâk qılsa mulkni ham shol oghrıdın pâk qılghay.*

[2] *Har onbegi onusını özi dek yasamishî etmäsä, anı oghlı khatunı bilän gunahkâr qıldım; shol onnıng birisi jihat-i beglikkä ikhtiyâr qıldım; u yüzbegi u mingbegi u tümänbegi munungdaq käräk.*

[3] *Har söz kim bar üch dâna bilä kengäshmäk käräk; har anı aytghanın etkil, va'illâ munga i'timâd bolmasa öz sözüngni taqı dânâlarnıng sözigä qiyâs etkil; agar muvâfiq tüshsä etkänläri hargiz kelmäy qalmas.*

[4] *Har kimersä ulughlar aldıgha barsa tâ ol vaqtqa degäch hech sözlämägäy; vaqtî kim ol ulugh suâl etmägünchä anga körä qiyâs etip anıng suâlıgha mutâbiq bilä javâb ay[t]ghay; agar andın ilgäri söz etsä agar tınglasa fabihâ, va'illâ temir [read* تیمر *for the text's* یتمر*] qazghanda käräk.*

[5] *Har at kim semizlikdä yakhshı yügürür va yarım etli dariq ham anıng dek yügürür, ol atnı yakhshı tep aytırlar; amma at kim bir hâlda yügürür oshbunungdek üch hâlda yakhshı yügürür, anı yakhshı tep emäs.*

[6] *Umarâ ulugh kim sarvar bolghay u tamamı lashkari andagh käräk kim nechük kim anggha atlansa öz atlarıgha mu'ayyan qılghay nechük kim urushqa atlanghan täk atı u âvâzası özining mu'ayyan yürgüzgäy u dâyim khudây ta'âlâ'dın du'â[-yi] khayr tilägäy u köngül baghlap ârâyishnı säkkiz yaqtın tilägäy tâ quvvatnı khudây-i qadîm bir yerdä turup tört taraf tutqay.*

[7] *Khalq arasında nechük kichik buzaghu dek tek turghay, va taqı urush vaqtında misâl ach [...] kî* [102] *shikârgâhda jahd ishkä zârlıq bilä kelgäy.*

[8] *Har söz kim aytsalar u gumân alsa kim söz qatıq turur, anı agar haddıgha tegürä aytsalar va agar hazl bilän söz uzatmaqlıq etmägäy.* Followed by: *Kimersä özini nechük bilsä taqı berägüni shundagh bilgäy.*

to the guest's needs. As a consequence, she will have made a good name for her husband, his reputation will be good, and he will hold his head aloft like a mountain in assemblies and gatherings. A man's good repute is known from the goodness of his wife. If the wife is bad, disorganized, and of poor judgment, this will be known of the husband also. The proverb is well known: 'In the home everything resembles the master.' "[1] **[437]**

❁

"In *bulghaq*s one should act as Därigäi Urba of the Qataqin clan acted, which was as follows. He had gone on a *bulghaq*, and he had two liege men with him. From afar they spied two riders. The liege men said, 'Since we are three and they are two, let's strike them.' He replied, 'Just as we have seen them, so have they seen us. They may whip their horses and flee.' Afterwards it was learned that one of the two was Temür Uhaz of the Tatar nation, and he had positioned nearly five hundred of his liege men in ambush in a valley and then showed himself so that when the three riders attacked him, he would flee to that place and then, with the help of his liege men, seize them. [Därigäi Urba] comprehended this and fled. He had twenty other liege men in the vicinity. He joined them and led them all away. The point is that precaution and determination are necessary in all things."[2]

❁

"We ride to the hunt, and we catch many wild oxen. We go on military campaigns and annihilate many enemies. When God gives a way, such things are possible; you forget this and think things are otherwise."[3]

❁

"There is no warrior like Yesügäi Bahadur, and no one else possesses the skills he had, but he did not suffer from hardship and was not affected by hunger or thirst. He thought his liege men could tolerate hardship as well as he could, but they couldn't. A man is worthy of leadership who knows what hunger and thirst are and who can judge the condition of others thereby, who can go at a measured pace and not allow the soldiers to get hungry and thirsty or the horses to get worn out. The proverb 'Travel the pace of the weakest among you' is an allusion to this."[4]

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[1]*Er künni özindä ermäs tep bilgäy barcha yerdä özi dek eränlär bilän körgäy. Andagh bolsa erläri anggha ya chäriggä ketip ersä khatunlar üyün asbâbın yarashuq qılghay andagh kim nechük elchi ya mihmân bolsa anıng üyünä kelip qonghay barcha närsädin tartîbli körgäylär va ashını yakhshı etkäy mihmânnı yakhshı qonaqlaghay lâjaram erining yakhshı atını paydâ qılghay anıng atı biyükkä chıqghay nechük tagh üstünä chıghan dek yakhshı erli yakhshı khatunlı tep ma'lûm bolghay. Va agar khatunı yaman fi'llig nâsupâs bolsa yolsız va tadbîrsiz bolsa, erining yamanlıqı oshbundın ma'lûm bolghay. Masal mashhûr turur: [dar] khâna ba [kad]khudây mânad hama chîz.* The translation of the first sentence depends largely upon the Turkish and Smirnova's Russian translation (JT_{SL} 1/2:261: Мужчина—не солнце, чтобы [одновременно] показываться людям всюду); the Persian text is corrupt.

[2]*Bir vaqtda bulghaqlıqda andagh barur erdi kim Därigäi Uha shol qawm Qataghin'gha barur erdi kim bulghaqlıqdan ketip özi birlä iki nökäri erdi. Yıraqdın iki atlıghnı körditär. Nökärläri ayddılar "Nechük biz üchäw anlarnı qovalı (?) chapıp barıp soqalım" tedi. Ol ayddı kim* [103] *"Biz anlarnı nechük kördümiz, anlar ham bizni anıngdaq körditär. Shâyad ol iki atlıq qamchı soqup qachqaylar." Songra mu'ayyan u muhaqqaq boldı kim ol ikining birisi Temür Uha erdi shol qawm Tatar, va qurb besh yüz erni shol nökärläri bilän özi bir yalghada busupturur erdi. Özlärin körsätip tâ nechük ol üch atlıghlar anga qasd etkäy qachurup qovup kelgäy va bi-madad nökärläri bilän anlarnı tutghay. Ol ma'nâ tapıp qachtı, va yigirmi nökär taqı ol zaman havâli bolup bulargha birikti va jumlasi chıqıp keldi. Maqsûd olkim ihtiyât qılmaq ishlärdä vâjib turur.*

[3]*Biz anggha atlanduq va bisyâr köp tagh öküzin öltürdük, va lashkar birlä atlanıp va bisyâr yaghını halâk qılduq. Nechük khudây ta'âlâ yol berdi ersä va anıngdaq muyassar bolmısh unutghanda öngägä köngül qılghanlarnı.*

[4]*Qalghanlarda hech kim Yesü[gäi Bahadur]daq hech bahadur bolmaghay, [hunar]lärdä anıngdek kimersä misl taqı biräw bolmaghay, lîkan shol mashaqqat safar*

❁

"Just as *ortaqs* [merchants] come with gold-spun fabrics and are confident of making profits on those goods and textiles, military commanders should teach their sons archery, horsemanship, and wrestling well. They should test them in these arts and make them audacious and brave to the same degree that *ortaqs* are confident of their own skills."[1]

❁

"After us, our offspring will wear gold-brocaded robes [438] and eat sweet and fatty tidbits. They will ride beautiful horses and embrace lovely ladies. They will not say, 'These things were assembled by our fathers and elders.' On that day of greatness they will forget us."[2]

❁

"When a man gets drunk on wine and *darasun* [rice wine], he is just like a blind man who can't see anything, a deaf man who can't hear when he's called, and a mute who can't reply when he's spoken to. When a man gets drunk he is like someone in a state of death: he can't sit up straight even if he wants to. He's as dazed and senseless as someone who's been hit over the head. Neither are there intelligence and skill in a wine-drinker nor are there morals or good conduct. He does bad things: he fights and kills. It keeps a person from doing the things he knows how to do and from practising the skills he possesses, and when one loses these two, [it is like bringing food from the fire and throwing it into the water]. If a ruler is avid for wine and *tarasun*, he cannot perform weighty deeds and important functions; any officer who drinks too much wine or *tarasun* is incapable of commanding his unit; a guard who is avid for drinking wine will suffer great catastrophe; common people who like to drink will lose their flocks and herds and everything they possess and go bankrupt; a servant who is addicted to drink will pass his days in torment. Wine and *tarasun* make the heart drunk, and they intoxicate good and bad people alike [so that one] is unable to say whether [a thing] is good or bad. They intoxicate the hand so that it is incapable of holding; they intoxicate the foot so that it cannot walk; they intoxicate the heart so that it cannot have correct thoughts; they keep all the senses and limbs from functioning. If one must drink, then let one drink thrice a month, for more is bad. If one gets drunk twice a month, it is better; if one gets drunk once a month, that is even better; and if one doesn't drink at all, that is the best of all."[3]

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ranjin bilmägäy shol susaqlıqdan achlıqdan özi khabarsiz bolghay taqı kimersä shol nökärläri va lashkarläri anıng birlä birgä bolsalar barchasını taqı tahammul qatıqlarnı özi dek bilgäy anlar tâqat u tâb keltürä almaghaylar; bu sababdın peshvâlik lashkar bashlıghı bola almaghay. Va kimersä shâyista-i lashkar [104] *bashlıghı ersä qachan shol achdın susaghlıqdın khabarli bolghay, taqı biräwlärning hâlin munga körä qiyâs etkäy, va yolda hisâb bilän yürügäy artuq yürümägäy, qachan lashkar ach va susaghlıq etsälär tavar qara at ulaghı harıghay.*

[1]*Andagh kim bazirganlar bizgä altun bilä toqughan tonlar va tangsuqlar yakhshı närsälärni alıp kelürlär fâyida etmäk umedi üchün ol matâ'lar qumâshlar bilän baghâyat qavî köngüllig bolghaylar, umarâ lashkar song andagh käräk kim oghlanlarıgha oq attırghay, atqa chapturghay, tutushmaqnı yakhshı bildürgäy, anlarnı munungdek ishdä âzmâyish etügäy va andagh bolghay bolghay mashhûr u bahadur bolup yürügäylär. Qachan anıng dek ol bazirganlar qavî köngülli boldılar, ol hunarni bildilär.*

[2]*Bizdin song bizning urughumız qabalar bilän bilän aqcha toldurghay yakhshı tonlar keygäylär va ni'matlar charb u shîrîn yegäylär, yakhshı sûratlıq atlargha mingäylär va khûb yüzlüg kürklüg khatunlarnı alghaylar. Aytmaghaylar kim "Bularnı bizning atalarımız aghalarımız jam' qılghan erdilär" tep, va bizni ol ulugh kün unutmaqlıq etkäy.*

[3]*Er sharâb va tarasun khor bolsa nechük mast üsrük bolsa körä almaghay nanarsa turur ergin tep nechük anga oqusalar, tınglamaghay, va tilsiz va tilsiz dek* [105] *bolghay, va nechük anga söz aytsalar, javâb berä almaghay, va nechük kimersä üsrük boldı ersä ol hâlatda ölgän bolghay: agar tiläsä turup olturayın [ay]tsa râst*

✿

When Genghis Khan set out on his expedition to Cathay against the Altan Khan, [439] as was his custom he went up alone on a hill, unloosed his belt and threw it over his neck, opened the ties of his tunic, knelt, and said, "O God, you know all from long ago. You know that the Altan Khan initiated hostilities and began our enmity. Ökin Barqaq and Hambaqai Qa'an were abducted by the Tatars and sent before the Altan Khan, who killed them, my elders and ancestors, though they were innocent of any crime. [If you consider me right in what I think,] I ask for vengeance and retaliation for their blood. I want you to let men, fairies, and demons help and assist me." He prayed thus in all humility, and afterwards he arose and departed. Through his sincerity of intent, he gained victory over the Altan Khan, who was such a mighty and splendid emperor with vast lands and impregnable fortresses without number, and those realms came under his and his sons' control.[1]

✿

When Genghis Khan dismounted on a hill called Altan, he cast a glance around at his camps, servants, retinue, and assemblage and said, "My *qorchis* are as thick as a dense forest. My wives, daughters-in-law, and daughters are as colorful and radiant as red fire. It is my sole purpose to make their mouths as sweet as sugar by favor, to bedeck them in garments spun with gold, to mount them upon fleet-footed steeds, to have them drink sweet, clear water, to provide their animals with grassy meadows, and to have all harmful brambles and

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oltura almaghay. Anıngdek kimersäni bashıgha zakhm tegän bolghay, anıng üchün madhûsh mutahayyirlıqqa qalghay va sharâb va tarasunnıng 'aqlgha va hunargä fâyidası bolmaghay va khalq arasında yakhshı ham bolmaghay, yaman ishlärni etkäy tartıshmaqlıq öltürmäklik paydâ. Bu yosunluq erdä shol närsälär bolsa va hunarläri barı yıghılghay. Shunungdäk kimersä har ikisin mu'ayyan yoqaltqay ash va shilänni otdın keltürüp sugha baturghay. Agar pâdshâh kimersä sharâb va tarasungha harîs bolsa anıng ulugh ishläri va biligläri va yosunları mu'azzam jidamishî etä almaghay. Beg bolghan kimersä sharâb va tarasungha harîs bolsa, anıng ishläri minglärni va yüzlärni va onlarnı yasamishî etä almay âkhırıgha yetmägäy. Er käshiktü qachan sharâb ichmäklikkä harîs bolsa, ol kimsä ulugh qatıq urus damishi etkäy, ya'nî balâ-yi 'azîm munga teggäy. Qarachu är kimersä, ya'nî 'âmma, sharâb ichmäklikkä harîs bolsalar, at va gala va har ne chaqlı bar ersä anlarnıng jumlasini tamâm etkäy va muflis bolghay. Khizmatkârân kim ersä ichmäkkä harîs bolsa, payvasta rûzgâr anlarnı mu'azzab u mushavvash bar. [106] *Bu sharâb tarasun mast etküchini köngül yüzi bilän körmäs va yakhshılarnı va mundaq mast qılurlar etmäslär yaman turur ya yakhshı. Qolını mast etsä ta shol tutmaq almaq hunardin qalghay, va ayaghını mast qılsalar ta shol harakat kelmäkdin qalghay, va könglini mast etsä ta kengäsh andeshasini savâb etä almaghay, va jumla havâss va âlât-i idrâkni shol ishlärdin yıghılghay. Agar shunı ichmäkdin chârası bolmasa, andagh käräk kim bir ayda üch qatla mast bolghay. Nechük shol üchdin ötsä khatâ bolghay. Agar bir ayda iki qatla mast bolsa, yakhshıraq. Va agar bir qatla bolsa, barıdın yakhshıraq. Va agar özi ichmäsä, andın yakhshısı yoq. Va ol nafas kim mast bolmaqnı özi qaydan tapqay, agar tapsa 'azîz erdi.*

[1] *Chinggiz Khan ol vaqtda kim 'azîmat mamâlik-i Khitay'gha qıldı Altan Khan'gha urushmagha atlandı, bimûjibî kim ma'hûd ol erdi, dabanlar yoqarı tagh üstündä erdi. <Tash yumalandı qoghush yerlärdin BWSFgha kelip tüshti.> Qoyaqnıng chekläri achıldı, tizigä keldi, ayddı "Ay bâr-i khudâyâ, qadîmdın bärü sen bilür sen va âgâh sen kim ilgäridin Altan Khan fitnalik qılghan erdi va khusûmatnı bashlaghan ol erdi: Ökin Barqaq va Hambaqai Khan'nı qawm Tatar anı tutup anga alıp bardılar. Aqalarım mäning atamnıng* [107] *jadd erdilär, gunâhsız öltürdi, va män qisâs intiqâm anlarnıng qanın talab qılur män. Agar bilsäng kim bu andeshamnı mäning haqqım turur, shol yoqartın quvvat nusrat manga madad yibärgil va farmân bergil ta shol üstümizdäki malâ'ikalär va adamlar va parîlär va devlär manga madad yibärgil, va farmân bergil ta shol mu'âvanat manga körsünlär." Va ba-tazarru' harne tamâmraq ârzûsını niyâz qılıp bu munâjâtnı qıldı. Andın song atlanıp teprädi va bivâsita sidq-i-niyyat bilän râst Altan Khan kim andagh pâdshâh erdi shawkatlıq va 'azamat erdi, va kasrat-i lashkar va bistat-i vilâyat va hisânat-i qilâ' anıng nihâyati yoq, zafar tapıı. Ol mamlakat vilâyat anıng oghlanları musallam boldı.*

thorns cleared from the roads and paths upon which they travel, and not to allow weeds and thorns to grow in their pastures."[1]

❁

"If any of my offspring once commits an offense against the established Yasaq, advise him verbally. If he transgresses a second time, give him a stern warning. The third time, send him to Dörbäljin Qulchun. When he has gone there and returned, he should be sufficiently repentant. If he has not been reformed, then order him to prison. When he comes out, if he is well behaved and reasonable, well and good; otherwise, let all his brethren assemble and discuss what should be done about him."[2] **[440]**

❁

"Commanders of units of ten thousand, one hundred, and one thousand should keep their soldiers in such order and in such readiness that whenever a command is given they should mount without regard to day or night."[3]

❁

"Every male child born in Barqujin Tögüm and the Onon-Kerulen region possesses a brave and manly heart without having to be taught or trained, and they are also wise and clever. Every girl born there is comely and beautiful without combs or rouge, and they are uncommonly spry and efficient."[4]

❁

When Muqali Guyang was sent back to Nankiyas with his troops, he took seventy-two fortresses in that region. Then he sent a messenger to Genghis Khan to inform him of his conquests and ask him whether he had permission to return or not. The command was issued, saying, "Let him not turn back until he has taken more fortresses." When the messenger returned, Muqali Guyang asked, "Did he indicate me?"

"Yes," he replied.

"... This group he pointed to and said, 'These are my helpers and assistants, my talented warriors, good archers, mighty horses, hunting birds, and hunting dogs.' "[5]

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[1]*Chinggiz Khan bir vaqtda biyük qır bar erdi—anı Altan Qırı tep ayturlar erdi, biyük arqa erdi. Anda kelip tüshdi. Jan jangha atrâf jânibqa ordalarıgha va khayl hashmıgha nazar qıldı. Qorchılargha buyurdı turghanlar munungdek bu qır daq bolup qara bolsunlar va khatunlar va kelinlär va qızlar kim andagh qızıl ot tüslug JYNAY [?] turur erdilär, hamesha mäning niyyatim ol turur kim ilgäriki shakar soyurghamishînı anlarnıng aghızlarıgha shîrîn qıldım va songghı yürgüzüp anlargha altunlı tonlar bilän keltürdüm, va anlarnı yakhshı akhta atlargha mindirip yolda yürgüzdüm va tatlı arıq* [108] *aqın sulardın ichirdim, va tavar qarasın anlarnıng yakhshı otluq suluq yerlärdä otqazdım; oshal kechä bolsun yollarnı ihtiyâj qıldım; ot tikänlär bar erdi anlar yurtlarında buyurdum tâ anlardın yıraq eti[n]giz dep ot tikännı ketäringiz tep.*

[2]*Agar shol bizning urughdın biräw yasaq kim muqarrar turur bir nawbat khilâf etsä, anı tilingiz bilän nasîhat etingiz. Va agar iki nawbat mukhâlafat etsä, yana tilängiz balîgh körüngüz. Üchünchi qatla anı bamawzi' Dörbäljin Quljur'gha yibäringiz. Nechük ol yergä barsa va yana kelsä özini bilgäy. Va agar tâ adab tapmasa, anı banda zîndângha buyurunguz. Agar shol yerdin chıqıp kelsä, adab tapghay va 'aqlın saqlagha, [fabihâ]; va'illâ jumla agha u ini jam' bolghaylar va kengäsh etkäylär va maslahat anı körgäy.*

[3]*Tümänbegi va mingbegi va yüzbegi andagh käräk kim har biri öz lashkarini andagh yasamishî qılghaylar zabt andagh bolghay kim har vaqtda kim anıng farmânıgha va hukmıgha yetkäy kechäni kündüz qılıp etmäy atlanghay.*

[4]*Har er farzand kim Barqujin Tögüm va Onan Kälürän'dä toghsa, bê hidâyat u âzmâyish artuq mardâna u bahadur bolghay, va dânâ u zerak bolghay. Va har qız kim ol yerdä toghsa, bê mashshâta u gulghûna naghz, ya'nî yakhshı u khûb yüzlüg bolghay. Va bu ülgü shundın jäld burunghıdın* [109] *biri erdi.*

[5]*Bir vaqtda Muqali Guyang'nı lashkar bilän Nankiyas tapa yibärdi, yetmish iki qal'anı ol vilâyatda aldı va elchi yibärdi qulluq bilän Chinggiz Khan'gha va oshal hâldan nechük vilâyatlar fath qılghanın khabar berdi va suâl qıldı kim "Bizgä ijâzat bar mu ya yoq mu? Yarlıgh nä ermish, yaqa yatalıq mu ya taqı qal'alarnı alalıq mu?" tep. Nechük elchi qaytıp keldi, Muqali Guyang sordı "Nechük qullughumızni Chinggiz Khan'gha tegürdüng, mäning sözümni 'arz qıldıng nä edi?" Ol elchi ayddı "Bash barmaghın bashmish [basmish?] qıldı." Sordı kim "Mäni song barmaghını*

❁

One day Bala Qalja, who was one of the commanders of consequence, asked, "They call you the lord of might and a champion. What signs of victory and conquest have you?"

In reply he said, "Before I mounted the throne of kingship I was once riding alone along a road. Six men were waiting to ambush and kill me. When I got near them I drew my sword and attacked. They started shooting arrows at me, but they all missed me and not one hit me. I killed them all with my sword and went on my way safe and sound. As I was returning I passed by the bodies of those six. Their horses were wandering around ownerless. I rounded all six up and brought them home."[1] **[441]**

❁

"Once I was coming with Borghochi. Twelve men were waiting in ambush on the top of a hill. Borghochi was coming after me. Relying on my own strength, I attacked them. They, all twelve together, started shooting arrows. All around me their arrows were whizzing. I was making charges. Suddenly an arrow hit me in the mouth, and I fell. The pain of the wound was so great I lost consciousness. Just then Borghochi arrived and saw me like someone in the throes of death, beating my feet against the earth and rolling around like a ball. Immediately he heated some water and brought it to me so that I could gargle and spit out the congealed blood in my throat. The spark of life that had departed returned, and I felt that I could move. I got up and attacked them again. They took fright at my audacity and fell off the mountain to their deaths. The reason for Borghochi's being *tarkhan* is that he performed such a valiant feat at that time."[2]

❁

When Genghis Khan was a youth, one morning he arose from sleep, and in his forelock were several white hairs. Some of his confidants asked, "O prosperous emperor, you are not even at the beginning of old age. How has this white hair come to your forelock?"

In answer he replied, "Since God wanted to make me the commander of tens of

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qoydı?" Ayddı kim "Muqali'gha qoyghıl" tep ba-harza ermäs män ta ülgünchä küch berdim va sa'y u ijtihâd tamamın kördüm va taqı buyurdı "Taqı kimlär barmaghını qoydı?"Oshandaq oq barmaqların qoydılar shol yoldın Ayddı "Borchi va Borghul va Qubila va Chilaghun va Qarachar va Jädäi va Badai va Qıshlıq—bu jamâ'atqa buyurdı barmaqlarıngız qoyunguz tep. Ayddı 'Mändin ilgäri song mu'âvin u mu'âzid va küchbergänlär bâ-isti'dâd va oqnı yakhshı atımchılar kotal at baghlatqanlar va qoshqa shikârlig qılghanlar qush JWYgänlär it yügürtkänlär barchaları anlar erdilär.' "

[1]*Künlärdä bir kün Bala Qalja kim shol mu'tabarân umarâ erdi, oshbundaq buyurdı kim "Säni sâhibshawkat bahadur tep ayturlar. Shol 'alâmât-i* [110] *fath säning qolunggha nechük zâhir bolupturur?" Javâb buyurdı kim "Burunlar takht mamlakatkä olturmasdın burun bir nawbat yalghuzın yol bilän kelür erdim. Altı er yolumda busup bir chuqurda manga qasd ettilär. Mäni nechük anlargha yaqın keldim ersä, jumlasi bir damdä oqnı yamghur tek qıldılar. Tamamısının oqları khatâ boldı va hech qaysı manga tegmädi. Va män qılıch birlä anlarnı halâk qıldım. Ol yerdin salâmat kechtim ersä, mäning yolumda ölgänlärning altı akhta atı hech kimersäsiz tizgin basa basa yürür. Altısını ham alıp keltürdüm."*

[2]*Bir nawbat Borghochi bilän kelür erdim. On iki kimersä tagh üstündä yolnı alıp turur erdilär. Va Borghochi mäning songumda kelür erdi. Anga intizâr qılmadım va i'timâdbar quvvat u shawkat körüp anlargha hamla qıldım. Anlar har on ikisi ittifâq bilän oqnı attılar. Chıqa choq aytıp oqım ham anlargha ravân bardı. Barchasını atqan oqlarından nâgâh bir oq aghzımgha tegdi va yıqıldım. Oshol qatıq zakhmdın bêhoshlıq qıldım. Anıngdäk hâlda Borghochi yetishti va mäni kördi kim shol zakhmlıq bolup yatur erdim, ayaghımnı yergä sibädim va nechük yoldäk boldı. Ol hâlda ısıg su paydâ qıldı ta gharghara qıldım halqûmumda qan uyushup erdi qaytardım. Jân ketip erdi, yana* [111] *keldi va chın harakat zâhir boldı. Turdum va yana hamla qıldım. Shol mäning salâbatımdın qoruqtılar, taghdın özlärin tashlap halâk boldılar va jân berdilär. Va sabab tarkhanlıq Borghochi Noyan'ning urughigha ol turur andagh ol vaqtda munungdek sa'y qıldı.*

thousands and to raise the banner of my fortune, he gave me a sign of old age, which is a token of greatness."[1]

[1]*Chinggiz Khan yigit zamanıda ertä uyqudın turdı ersä kâkûlindä bir nechä qıllar aqarıp turur erdi. Jamâ'at muqarrabân suâl qıldılar kim "Ay pâdshâh-i javânbakht, sän hanûz yash egäch qarılıqgha tegmäy turup säning kâkûlingdä shol aq nishânası nedin zâhir boldı?" Javâb ayddı kim "Nechük khudây ta'âlâ tilädi kim mäni muqaddam u mihtar-i tümänât u hazârahâ qıldı, ya'nî ulughlarning va minglär tümänlärning bashlighı qıldı va tuq dawlat manga boldı, 'alâmat qarı, kim nishânı ulughluq turu[r], manga paydâ boldı."*

ℭ SECTION FOUR

THE HISTORY OF ÖGÖDÄI QA'AN, SON OF GENGHIS KHAN, IN THREE PARTS

Here will be given stories that pertain to him, of his acts, deeds, and words with regard to ruling, justice, and generosity, aside from what has already been mentioned in the history of his father, brothers, and relatives, so that the reader may know immediately. His story has been placed first, before the stories of his brothers Jochi and Chaghatai, who were elder, because he was Genghis Khan's heir and the qa'an of the time, and his rule came immediately after Genghis Khan's.

Part One is on his lineage, a detailed account of his wives, his sons and their progeny down to the present; a genealogical chart of him and his offspring.

Part Two is on the history of his reign, a picture of his throne, his wives, princes, and officers at his coronation, and a mention of the battles he fought and the victories he attained.

Part Three is on his good character, his pronouncements, decrees and orders, [M3] and events that occurred during his reign not included in the above two parts but learned from miscellaneous books and persons. **[443]**

Part One. On his lineage, a detailed account of his wives and his sons and grandsons down to the present; a genealogical chart of him and his offspring.

Ögödäi Qa'an was the third son of Genghis Khan and his wife Börtä Füjin of the Qunqirat tribe, Däi Noyan's daughter who was the mother of the four major sons and five daughters. His brothers and sisters have been mentioned in the section on Genghis Khan.

Ögödäi's name was originally ___, but he did not like it, so later his name was changed to Ögödäi, which means "ascending upwards."[1] He was known for his intelligence, competence, knowledge of tactics and strategy, gravity and self-possession, courage, and justice, although he was also pleasure-loving and a drinker, for which Genghis Khan sometimes took him to task and gave him advice.

After Genghis Khan had tested his sons and discovered for what each of them was suited, he had some hesitation over the throne and office of qa'an. Sometimes he thought of Ögödäi Qa'an, and other times he considered his youngest son, Tolui Khan. Although the Mongol custom had always been, from ancient times on, for the father's *yurt*, home, and tent to be taken over by the youngest son, [M5] he said, "The throne and rule are difficult jobs. Let Ögödäi take them, and let Tolui rule the choicest part of the *yurt*, home, flocks, treasures, and armies I have built up." Every time he held council with his sons in this regard, since they saw that this was their father's view, they concurred and sup-

[1] A folk etymology. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:167–69 §49.

ported him.

In the end, when he was stricken with an illness in Tangqut territory, as has been said, he went off in private and made Ögödäi his heir, settling the throne and office of qa'an on him. He also assigned each son a separate path, saying, "Let anyone who is desirous of ___ join Jochi.[1] Let any who desire to know customs and wisdom well go to Chaghatai. Let all who are inclined to manliness and generosity **[444]** and desire good things and possessions join Ögödäi. Let all who are desirous of courage and renown, the fray of battle, territorial expansion, and world rule serve Tolui." He also assigned to his sons commanders and troops, and, as was said in his history, to each of them he appointed a separate portion of the empire.

His wives and concubines.

Ögödäi Qa'an had many wives and sixty concubines. Those of his wives who were of importance and well known are the following four: [M7]

(1) The first wife was Boraqchin of the ___ clan, the daughter of ___. She was the greatest of all.

(2) The second wife was Törägänä of the Uhat Märkit.[2] In some versions it is related that she had been the wife of Dayir Usun, the chief of the Märkit, and when her husband was killed she was brought in as booty and taken by Ögödäi. Prior to that, Dayir Usun had given his daughter Qulan Khatun to Genghis Khan. Another version is that she was of that nation but not the wife of Dayir Usun. *It is related that when they seized the brothers Qudu, Chibuq, and Chila'un, they brought the wives of all three and stood them opposite. "Let's go take them by force," said Ögödäi to Chaghatai, but Chaghatai did not approve of this. Ögödäi, however, went haughtily and took Törägänä Khatun by force. Genghis Khan approved and gave the other two ladies to others.*[3] This lady did not possess great beauty, but she was totally domineering by nature. As will be related in the story of Güyük Khan, she ruled for a long time, but because she paid no attention to Genghis Khan's will and did not heed the advice of her *aqa-ini*, she created strife among the *aqa-ini* and family of Genghis Khan. This will be related in the history of Güyük Khan.

The third was Mögä Khatun, daughter of ___ of the ___ tribe.

The fourth was Jajin. [M9]

Ögödäi Qa'an's sons.

Ögödäi Qa'an had seven sons. The mother of the five elder sons was Törägänä Khatun. The other two were each by a different concubine. The names of the seven sons and their offspring, insofar as has been ascertained, are as follows. **[445]**

The first son, Güyük.[4]

[1]Text missing. Juvaini also gives these recommendations as follows: "To Tushi [Jochi], the eldest, he assigned hunting and the chase, which is a great sport with the Mongols and held in high esteem by them; while to Chaghatai, who came next to him, fell the administration of the *yasa* and the law, both the enforcement thereof and the reprimanding and chastisement of those that contravened it. Ögetei he selected for all that called for understanding and counsel and for the administration of the kingdom; and Toli he promoted to the command and organization of troops and the equipment of armies" (Juvaini/Boyle 1:40).

[2]She is mentioned as Döregene in the *Secret History* §198.

[3]Section marked *...* lacking in JT_K. See above, text p. 72f.

[4]Güyük is spelled variously by Carpini and William of Rubruck as Cuyne, Cuynth, and Kencham: *Primus filiorum Occoday est Cuyne, qui nunc est Imperator* (Carpini, p. 86). "Cuyne" has MS variants of Cuyut and Cuyhne, which point to a putative Latin original of Cuyuc or Cuyhuc. "Kencham" was probably originally Keuchan, for Küyük/

His *yurt* was in the land of the Qobaq[1] in the places called Bari Mingraq, Imil, and Yursa'ur. Although Ögödäi Qa'an's designated heir was his grandson Shirämün, after Ögödäi's death Törägänä Khatun and Ögödäi Qa'an's sons went against his order and elevated Güyük Khan as emperor even though he had suffered from chronic illnesses his whole life. His story will be given in detail in a separate section. He had three sons as follows.

(1) Khwaja Oghul,[2] whose mother was Oghul Qaimish Khatun of the ___ tribe. He is not known to have had a son.

(2) Naghu, who was also born of Oghul Qaimish Khatun. He had a son named Chabat. When Baraq came to Iran [M11] to attack Abaqa Khan, [Qaidu] sent this Chabat with a thousand of his personal troops to assist him, but he turned back in anger before doing battle. When he reached Bukhara, Baraq's son Beg Temür sent troops in pursuit to catch him, but he escaped with nine horsemen and took the desert road to Qaidu. He fell ill of fear and died of that malady.

(3) Hoqu, whose mother was a concubine. It is said that at present there is a grandson of his, Tügmä by name, who disputes with Qaidu's son Chapar and does not obey him, saying that he should be in command. His father was named Tügmä.[3] Stories of these three sons will come in the proper place during the course of the history of Chaghatai Khan and Abaqa Khan, God willing.[4]

The second son, Kötän.[5]

Mänggü Qa'an gave him a *yurt* in Tangqut territory and sent him there with troops. He had three sons, as follows.

(1) Möngätü,[6] whose mother was ___. **[446]**

(2) Küyän, born of ___. He had a son named Yesü Buqa.[7]

(3) Jibik Temür.[8] His mother was ___, and he had sons, but their names are not known.

Güyük Khan. In the *Secret History* (§§270, 274–77) the name is spelled Güyüg. For the translation we will adopt the spelling that has become fairly standard, Güyük.

[1]Reading قوباق (Qobaq, the modern Kobuk) for the text's قرماق.

[2]Khwaja Oghul's name is so spelled in JT_{msT} fol. 109a; in Uyghur it is written, as it was likely pronounced, سمعر مصمع "Qucha (or Qocha) Oghul."

[3]In the genealogical chart in JT_{msT} and in JT_{AJ}, this Tügmä (here spelled توكمه but below on p. 449 تومكه, and in JT_{msT} دوكه / ـــــ) is the son of Khwaja Oghul, not of Hoqu. He has four sons: Yoshmut (يوشموت / ـــــ), Yesügän (يسوكان / ـــــ), Ölchügän (ارلجوكن / ـــــ, which JT_{AJ} 112 reads as الجاوكان, possibly Ölchä'ügän), and Abachi (اباجي / ـــــ). In JT_{msT} Hoqu has eleven sons: (1) Örgä (اوركه / ـــــ), who has three sons, Tarmabala (ترمبلا / ـــــ), Ärtänä (ارتنه / ـــــ), and Künkän or Künkäi (كونكن / ـــــ), (2) Qumbu (قومبو / ـــــ), and his son Tägüdär (تكودر / ـــــ); (3) Könchäk (كونجك / ـــــ), (4) Dorji (دورجي / ـــــ) and his son Kürin (كورين / ـــــ), (5) Tübsin (توبسين / ـــــ) and his son Jüshkäb (جوشكب / ـــــ), (6) Ermägsän (ايرمكسن / ـــــ) and his son Artaba Shiri (ارتبه‌شيري / ـــــ), (7) Tägüs Buqa (تكوس بوقا / ـــــ), (8) Täkshi (تكشي / ـــــ), (9) Darbung (داربونك / ـــــ), (10) Egirdi (ايكيردي / ـــــ), and (11) Ishkib (ايشكيب, Uyghur lacking). It is not clear whether the Uyghur-script names represent an independent tradition or whether they are mere transcriptions of the Arabic-script versions.

[4]See below, text p. 537.

[5]In JT_{msT}, the name Kötän is given in both Persian and Uyghur scripts (ـــــ). Carpini (p. 86) calls him "Cocten."

[6]In JT_{msT}, the name is spelled موتكو in Persian and similarly ـــــ in Uyghur. In *MA* (fol. 41b) it is spelled منكتو. In JT_{AJ} 112 and JT_{AZ} it is مونكاتو. The latter indicate Möngätü rather than the "Möngkä Temür" of JT_K and JT_{BI}.

[7]In JT_{msT}, this Küyän is skipped and Yesü Buqa is given as one of Kötän's sons. Text has كويار, but in *MA* fol. 41b the name is written كويان, and in JT_{AJ} 112 it is كوتان (reproducing Kötän).

[8]This name varies between جينك (Ching) and جيبك (Jibik) Temür. Most MSS have something closer to Ching, but Hambis makes him Jibik (Hambis, *Yuan che*, 74).

When Ögödäi Qa'an's and Güyük Khan's sons plotted against Möngkä Qa'an, when the members of the conspiracy were tried and their troops were taken away and dispersed, Kötän's sons were not harmed and they were allowed to retain the troops they had because they had previously been friends and supporters of his. Since their *yurt* was in Tangqut territory, [M15] Qubilai Qa'an and his son Temür Qa'an left Kötän's family there. They are friends and supporters of the Qa'an as of old, they are obedient to his orders, and they flourish in the shadow of his favor.

The third son, Köchü.

This son turned out to be extremely intelligent and favored by fortune. Möngkä Qa'an had it in mind to make him his heir, but Köchü predeceased him. He had three sons as follows.

(1) Shirämün, whose mother was [Qataqash] of the [Qunqirat] tribe.[1]

(2) Bula'uchi, born of ___ of the ___ tribe; he was in the retinue of ___.

(3) Sösä, whose mother was ___ of the ___ tribe; he was in the retinue of ___.[2]

When Köchü died, Möngkä Qa'an brought up Shirämün, the eldest son who was very intelligent and competent, at his court because of the friendship he had had with Shirämün's father. [M17] He also said that Shirämün should be his successor, but in the end [Shirämün plotted against Möngkä Qa'an and was convicted for this crime. When][3] Möngkä Qa'an sent his brother Qubilai Qa'an to Cathay, Qubilai requested Shirämün from his brother and took him along on account of their friendship. Then, when Möngkä Qa'an set out for Nankiyas and Qubilai Qa'an joined him, [447] he mistrusted Shirämün and ordered him thrown into the river.

The fourth son, Qarachar.

It is said that Qarachar had one son named Totaq, and their *yurt* was in ___.

The fifth son, Qashi.

Since Genghis Khan had just conquered the territory of Qashi, which is now called Tangqut, when he was born, he was named Qashi. Because he drank too much and drank constantly, he died in his youth from overindulgence in wine. Since he died during his father's lifetime the name Qashi was made *qoriq* [taboo], and thereafter the territory was called Tangqut.

He had a son named Qaidu, born of Sanga Khatun of the ___ tribe.[4] [M19] He lived to be extremely old and was alive until last year. Qaidu was raised in Genghis Khan's camp, and after Ögödäi Qa'an he served in Möngkä Qa'an's retinue. After him, he was with Ariq Bökä, conspiring and making efforts to elevate him to the khanate. When Ariq Bökä went before Qubilai Qa'an and submitted to him, Qaidu was wary of Qubilai Qa'an because it was the law that no creature should change the Qa'an's command or decree, and any who did would be branded as criminals. He had transgressed the law and rebelled, and from that time until the present, on account of his rebellion, many Mongols and Tajiks have been annihilated, and flourishing land has been devastated.

At first Qaidu did not have many troops or followers since when Ögödäi Qa'an's offspring plotted against Möngkä Qa'an, their troops were taken away and dispersed (except Kötän's sons). [Qaidu], however,

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[1] Mother's name and tribal affiliation missing in the text; taken from p. 123 above. Carpini (p. 86) calls Shirämün "Chyrenen."

[2] Sösä served in the retinue of Qubilai Qa'an. See text p. 648 below.

[3] This portion of text missing from JT_K.

[4] This woman's name occurs variously as سنكه (JT_K), سمكه (MA 44b), سكنه (JT_{AJ} 113), and شبكنه (JT_{AZ}). "Sanga" is only a guess.

was extremely intelligent and competent as well as crafty, and he accomplished everything through deceit and trickery. He strategically gathered two or three thousand soldiers from all nooks and crannies. Then, when Qubilai Qa'an was far away in Cathay for the conquest of Machin, he rebelled. When he and his family were summoned for *quriltais*, the first, second, and third years they made excuses and did not go. [448] Little by little he assembled troops from all directions and, cultivating a friendship with Jochi's offspring, he acquired territory with their help. Qubilai Qa'an knew it was necessary to send troops to deal with them, so he outfitted his son Nomoghan with a group of princes, officers, and many troops, [M21] but along the way the cousins conspired against Nomoghan and seized him and the troop commander, Hantum Noyan, sending Nomoghan to Mänggü Temür of Jochi's offspring, the ruler of that *ulus*, and Hantum Noyan to Qaidu. (Their stories will be given in the section on Qubilai Qa'an.[1]) From that date to the present, when the world is illuminated by the glory of the Padishah of Islam, Qaidu has been in rebellion against Qubilai Qa'an, Abaqa Khan, and Abaqa Khan's offspring. He used to call Abaqa Khan and his family *shighaldash* [feast companion],[2] and they used to call Qaidu the same. In former days they used this name with each other, and it means to make a *toy* [banquet] with each other. Many times he did battle with Qubilai Qa'an and Abaqa Khan, as will be told in their histories. Qubilai Qa'an favored Baraq, the son of Yesünto'a son of Mö'ätükän son of Chaghatai, and sent him to take charge of Chaghatai's *ulus* and to do battle with Qaidu. Baraq came, and they did battle. Qaidu was victorious, but in the end the two of them conspired together and rebelled against the Qa'an and Abaqa Khan. This will all be mentioned in later sections.

In the year 701 [1301–2],[3] Qaidu and Baraq's son Baidu fought together against Temür Qa'an's troops, but they were defeated and were both wounded in battle. [M23] Qaidu died of his wound, and Baïdu still suffers from his wound, which has resisted treatment. At present his eldest son Chapar has been installed in Qaidu's place, but some of his brothers, Orus and other princes, do not give their consent, and their sister Qutulun Chaghan is at one with them, and they say there is a dispute among them.

The number of Qaidu's sons is not known exactly. Some say he had forty sons, but this is an exaggeration. Nawroz, who was there for a time, reported that he had twenty-four sons. However, those who are known in these parts are only nine, as follows.[4]

(1) Chapar, born of ___ of the ___ tribe. At present he is in Qaidu's place. Those who have seen him have reported that he is an extremely thin person, scrawny, and with a face and beard like Russians and Circassians. [449] [He is of middling height, thin, and has seven sons, as follows: Büri Temür, Öljäi Temür, Qutluq Temür, Chechäktü, Tuq Temür, Chärigchi, and Uladai.][5]

(2) Yangichar,[6] born of ___ of the ___ tribe. He possesses looks and skill. His father loved him very much. In charge of a vast troop, he is continually with Nayan,[7]

[1]See text pp. 632–36 below.

[2]See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:368 §245.

[3]In JT_K the year is given as 702.

[4]JT_{AJ} 113 actually gives nine names: (1) Chapar, (2) Yangichar [~ Bangichar], (3) Orus, (4) Sarban, with two sons, Borangtai and Bujir, (5) Tödä'ür, (6) Quril, (7) Suqa Buqa, (8) Eygü Buqa, and (9) Li Bakhshi. All of these are recognizable in the garbled list below from JT_K.

[5]Taken from JT_{AZ} and JT_{AJ} 113; missing in JT_K.

[6]Or Bangichar. Both occur.

[7]Nayan ~ Bayan. See p. 508 below.

the son of Qonchi of Orda's offspring. [M25] Because they are allied with the Qa'an and the Padishah of Islam, and because his cousin Küilük is inclined to the sons of Qaidu and Dua, they have shown him favor lest Nayan join the forces of the Qa'an and the Padishah of Islam and cause them trouble. Since Nayan is of Orda's offspring, Toqta', who holds the throne of Jochi Khan, assists [him], and at this time they are thinking of making war on the sons of Qaidu and Dua, and for that reason they have sent here emissaries named Aghruqchi and Uladai.

(3) Orus, born of Qaidu's chief wife, Dörbäjin.[1] Since his father's death he has been disputing *(tämächämishi)* the rule. Tügmä, son of Tügmä son of Hoqu son of Ögödäi Qa'an, is united and in full agreement with him in this regard, and so is his sister Qutulun. Dua was inclined to Chapar, and he made efforts on his behalf and raised him to the khanate. [M27] Qashi's son Qaidu gave Orus a large troop. At present those troops are with him, and they do not bend their necks, for there is inimical hostility between them that has resulted in battle. [He has two sons, Alghu and Hulachu.][2]

(4) Örüg Temür;

(5) Tödä'än;[3]

(6) Shah;[4]

(7) El Nobar;

(8) Umar Khwaja;

(9) Bariqi;

(10) Quda'ur;[5]

(11) Quril;

(12) Suqa Buqa;

(13) Eygü Buqa [who] came from ___;

(14) Li Bakhshi, who has many sons but they are not famous;

(15) Sarban. Sarban crossed the Oxus with a troop and is in the vicinity of Badakhshan and the Panjab,[6] attacking Khurasan at every opportunity. The Padishah of Islam's troops have repeatedly defeated him. In the autumn of 702 [1302] Prince Kharbanda led a troop to Sarakhs, where he heard that Sarban's troops were in the vicinity of Maruchaq. He attacked them, killing many and pillaging. It had been Sarban's intention to go to Khurasan that winter with a large force. With him were Görgüz's son Qutlugh Buqa's son Uighurtai and Nawroz's brother Oyiradai, and they encouraged him to wreak havoc, [M29] and with that desire they went to the Tus vicinity. Prince Kharbanda retreated from Sarakhs along the Bavard road, where he assembled the army at Elji'idäi's Spring and then attacked them without warning in the Tus area. **[450]** When ranks were arrayed, they pulled back at nightfall. During the night they fled, with troops in pursuit as far as Ribat-i-Sangbast. They wanted to stand in battle, but they couldn't and had to flee in rout. The snow and cold got to them, and many men and animals perished. Sarban's *amir-gäzig* lost the use of his hands and feet. He took one of his liege men in his embrace to keep from dying, but the two of them perished together, frozen to the spot. Some of the stragglers returned home, and they had arranged with Qutluq Khwaja, the son of Baraq's son Dua, to join him in the vicinity of Herat, but since the mountains of Ghor, Gharcha, and Ghazna were snow-covered, they couldn't get through. The Padishah of Islam's fortune drove them to desperation and rendered them naught.

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[1]Reading دربجین (Dörbäjin) for the text's درنچین; in JT_{AJ} 112 it is garbled to اونجین.

[2]Missing from JT_K; added by JT_{AZ} and JT_{AJ} 113.

[3]*MA* fol. 44b has نوادی.

[4]*MA* fol. 44b and JT_{AZ} have the unlikely Shah; JT_K has سیاه چونکتاه.

[5]Quda'ur in JT_{AZ}; Tödä'ür in *MA* fol. 44b; Qaha'ur in JT_K.

[6]The Panjab is the modern River Panj (Pyandzh, Пяндж), which forms the Afghanistan–Tajikistan border and eventually becomes the Oxus.

Sarban had two sons, Borangtai and Bujir. [M31] End of the section on his sons.

Qaidu had a daughter named Qutulun Chaghan. He loved her the most of all his children. She went around like a boy and often went on military campaigns, where she performed valiant deeds. She was listened to by her father, and she handled the administration for him. Her father refused to marry her off, and people accused him of having relations with her. Several times when Qaidu's emissaries have come to the Padishah of Islam, this girl has sent greetings and letters saying, "I will become your wife. I want no other husband."

*During the last few years, because of shame and the accusations people were making, he was forced to marry her off to a man named Abtaqul of the Qorolas clan.

This is the fourth year Qaidu has fought Kambula in a place called Täkälkü, a hill near the Chapqa River.[1] First they did battle in Qarba Taq, and then they made a rendezvous to do battle at Mount Qaraltu. Yoqusara [?] arrived on the third of the month, the middle month of autumn, and the qa'an's troops reached Qaidu on the second. Dua was straggling behind. They did battle with Qaidu, and suddenly Qaidu was wounded and withdrew with his troops. [M33] He died a month later at Taiqan Na'ur, and his remains were brought to his *ordu* ten days after that.

He was between fifty and sixty years old. They say he had in his beard only nine scattered hairs, which were turning white. He was of an average height and stood straight. He did not drink wine or kumiss and did not eat salt.

His offspring and that of some of the princes who died with him dwell at a very high mountain called Shinqorliq, in an area between the Ili and Chu Rivers where there are many villages, the two largest of which are Tarsakent and Qaryaliq. From there to Samarkand is a two-week journey. Qaidu's daughter Qutulun lives there. Her husband, Abtaqul, is a lively, tall, good-looking man. She chose him herself for her husband, and by him she has had two sons. She dwells

[1] The "Kambula" of the text may be Temür Qa'an's brother Kammala. Khwandamir (*Habibu's-siyar* 3:72) has the following on the demise of Qaidu, which agrees in the main with Rashiduddin's account: "When Qubila died and Temür Qa'an succeeded, in the year 700 [1301], corresponding to the Year of the Ox, Temür organized a force of a hundred battalions and sent them to do battle with Qaidu. Having learned of the approaching forces, Qaidu sent emissaries to Dua Khan, who was then padishah of Chaghatai Khan's *ulus*, with this message: 'It would be best for you to come hither as quickly as possible with your victorious army and join me so that together we may eliminate the threat of Temür Qa'an's army.' Dua Khan used various pretexts not to send Qaidu Khan any assistance, and Qaidu perforce was obliged to move slowly toward Qaraqorum with his few troops to meet Temür Qa'an's hundred battalions. Although Qaidu's army was less than a hundredth the size of Temür Qa'an's, he was intent upon battle and fought ceaselessly for three days and nights. On the fourth night, since he was wounded and almost captured, he ordered all his warriors to light fires in several places. When Temür Qa'an's men saw the flames of so many fires, they thought that assistance had reached Qaidu from some source. That very night Qaidu's men decamped and withdrew, but the Cathaian commanders, imagining that Qaidu was trying to trick them into drawing closer, fell into the trap and did not pursue him. At the same time, Dua Khan and the warriors of Chaghatai Khan's nation joined Qaidu, and the two princes, after making plans, banded together and headed for Temür Qa'an's army. The two sides clashed on the banks of the Irtysh, and both sides fought so valiantly that the bloodshed was incredible. Dua was twice wounded in the leg, and several of his kinsmen were felled. In the end Qaidu was victorious. The Cathaians, routed, set fire to the meadows behind them so that no one could pursue them. After this victory Qaidu Khan fell ill with dyspepsia, and some of the ignorant Cathaians who called themselves physicians gave him twenty-five pills, and the illness turned into dysentery. Qaidu Khan died in the month of Rajab in the year 702 [February 1303]."

there contentedly and tends the *qoruq* of her father.

Qaidu had another daughter, younger than the former, named Qutuchin Chagha. She was married to Tübsin son of Tazai Gürägän of the Olqunu'ut. (Tazai Gürägän was married to the daughter of Hülägü's brother Süb[üg]ädäi, who was born of a concubine.) This Tübsin loved a maid and planned to run away with her to the Qa'an's court, but he divulged his secret to an equery who informed on him. Qaidu had him killed for this.

He [Qaidu?] had other daughters.*[1]

After Qaidu died, since Qutulun Chaghan was desirous of leading the military and running affairs, she wanted her brother Orus to take her father's place. Dua and Chapar yelled at her, saying, "You should mind your scissors and needles. What have you to do with kingship and chieftainship?" She was insulted and avoided them, inclining instead to Orus, stirring up sedition and strife.

This has been a summary mention down to the present of one of Ögödäi Qa'an's grandsons, Qaidu by name, who has in recent years taken hold of some of Ögödäi Qa'an's *ulus* by force and invasion. [M35] Now let us continue with the branch of the Qa'an's sons, God willing. **[451]**

The sixth son, Qada'an Oghul.

His mother was a concubine named Ärgänä,[2] and he was brought up in Chaghatai's *ordu*. During Ariq Bökä's rebellion he was in Qubilai Qa'an's retinue, and the second time the Qa'an sent troops to fight Ariq Bökä, he made him the leader of the army, and he killed Ariq Bökä's general Alamdar. After that he remained in Qubilai Qa'an's retinue as before. He had seven sons as follows:[3]

(1) Dorji, and he had two sons, Sösä and Asugiba.[4]

(2) Yisa'ur, whose sons are unknown.

(3) Qipchaq, the one who was with Qaidu and made peace between him and Baraq. He was sent to Iran to help Baraq, but he turned back in anger as a ruse. He has a son named Quril.

(4) Qada'an Öbük. He had two sons, Lahauri and Mubarakshah. [M37]

(5) Qurumshi,[5] whose sons are not known.[6]

(6) Yäbä, who was also in Qaidu's retinue. He had two sons, Örüg Temür and Esän Temür. *Qaidu sent Örüg Temür to the Khurasan frontier. When Nawroz fled to that side of the river, he was with Örüg Temür and gave him his daughter. When Nawroz took flight and returned, Örüg Temür was accused of supporting the Padishah of Islam. Qaidu summoned him and killed him. He had eleven sons: [Köränsä],[7] Tuqluq Buqa, Qutluq Khwaja, [Qutlugh] Temür,[8] Abachi, Küch Temür, Chin Temür, Chin Pulad, Arghun, Muhammad, and Ali. Köränsä and some of his brothers are at present on the Khurasan frontier in league with Qaidu's son Sarban. [M39] He too has been accused by them of

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[1] Material marked *...* missing from JT_K; supplied by JT_{AZ}.

[2] JT_K and JT_{AJ} 113 have ارکنه (Ärgäna?); *MA* fol. 39 has ایرتکنه.

[3] JT_K has "six sons" and omits the seventh, Ajiqi.

[4] اسکبا, read as Asugiba by Hambis (*Yuan Che*, 139[1]. *MA* (fol. 42b) has اسکر for this name.

[5] The name Qurumshi, which is encountered not infrequently in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, is the Mongolian for Khwarazmi. All persons with the name were presumedly named for significant victories in Khwarazm.

[6] Section below marked *...* moved from here.

[7] Hambis, *Yuan Che*, 81[3], reads this name as کورانسه (Köränsä ~ Qorangsa) for JT_K's کوراسیه and JT_{AZ}'s کورسبه. This agrees perfectly with the "Corrensa" of Carpini (pp. 86, 94–6, 106), who actually met him in 1246.

[8] Reading, with JT_{AJ} 113, Qutlugh Temür for the text's تورقلون تیمور.

the same thing [of which Örüg Temür was accused]. It has been represented that Chapar has summoned him and sent him forth.

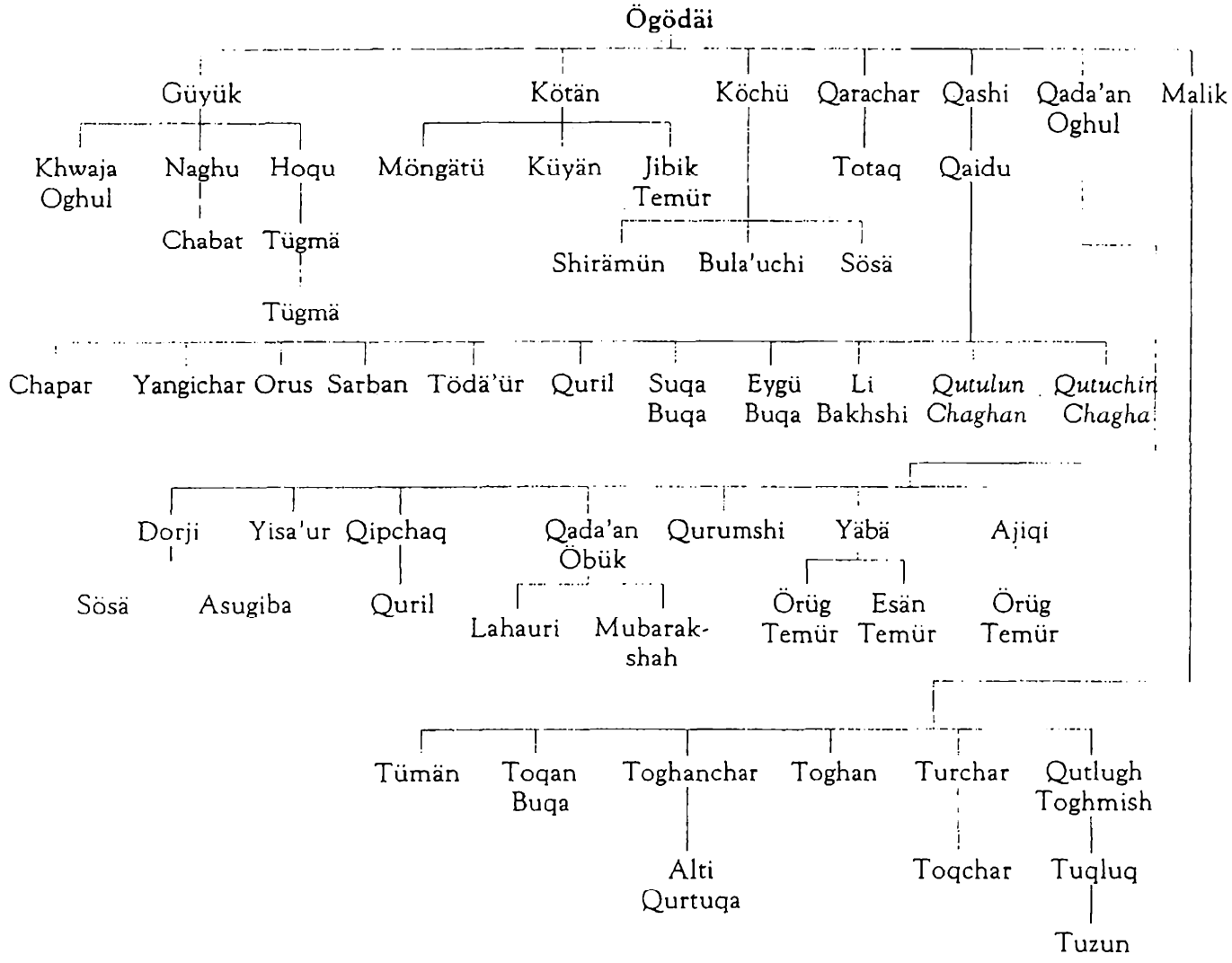
Esän Temür had a son named Ali Khwaja.*

[(7) Ajiqi, who had a son named Örüg Temür.] **[452]**

The seventh son, Malik.

His mother was also a concubine, and he was raised in Ögödäi Qa'an's *ordu* by Danishmand Hajib. [His sons were (1) Tümän,] (2) Toqan Buqa, [(3) Toghanchar, who had a son named Alti Qurtuqa,] (4) Toghan, [(5) Turchar, who had a son named Toqchar, and (6) Qutlugh Toghmish, who had a son Tuqluq, who had a son named Tuzun.][1]

Ögödäi Qa'an's sons and their branches are as in the following chart. [M41–47]



Part Two of the history of Ögödäi Qa'an. The history of his reign, a picture of his throne, wives, princes, and amirs at his enthronement, and the battles he fought and victories he attained. His early reign, and a depiction of his enthronement.

When, in the Year of the Pig corresponding to 624 [1227], Genghis Khan died—as all people must—having reached the Tangqut frontier on his way to Nankiyas territory, his coffin was taken to Kerulen, his home *yurt*, and there mourning was observed. The princes and amirs held council together concerning the kingship and then went to their own places of residence. For nearly

[1]The sons' names are taken mostly from JT_{AJ} 113 and JT_{AZ}.

two years the throne remained unoccupied. Then they thought that if anything happened and there was no leader or ruler, orderly kingship might suffer. It behooved them therefore to make haste to install someone as qa'an. On this sensitive mission they sent emissaries to each other and made preparations for a *quriltai*. When the severity of winter had been broken and the beginnings of spring were apparent, all the princes and amirs came from all directions to the ancient *yurt* and great *ordu*. From the Qipchaq Steppe came Jochi's sons Orda, Batu, Shiban, Tangqut, Bärkä, Bärkächär, and Toqa Temür; [M49] from Qayaligh came Chaghatai Khan with all his sons and grandsons; **[453]** from the Imil and Qobaq[1] came Ögödäi Qa'an with his sons and family; and from the east came their uncles Otchigin [and] Belgütäi Noyan and their cousins, and Qachi'un's son Elji'idäi Noyan. From all directions came commanders and dignitaries of the army, and they all gathered at Kerulen. Tolui Khan, who was called Yäkä Noyan and Ulugh Noyan and was the lord of his father's hearth and home *yurt*, was there too.

Those assembled spent three days and nights in revelry and enjoyment, and after that they discussed kingship and the kingdom until, in accordance with Genghis Khan's will, they settled the office of qa'an on Ögödäi.

"In accordance with Genghis Khan's will, we must install you as emperor with God's help," the sons and princes said first to Ögödäi, "so that refractory leaders may gird their loins in service, and so that all, far and near, Turk and Tajik, may be obedient to your command."

"Although such was Genghis Khan's decree," replied Ögödäi, "I have elder brothers and uncles. My younger brother Tolui Khan in particular is more worthy than I to undertake this job, for it is the Mongolian custom for the younger son to take his father's place in the home and run the paternal *yurt*. Ulugh Noyan is the youngest son of the great *ordu*, and he was in attendance upon our father at all times, day and night. [M51] He has seen, heard, and learned the *yosun* [custom] and *yasa* [ordinance]. How can I be enthroned as qa'an when he is here?"

Of one accord the princes said, "Among all his sons and brothers, Genghis Khan entrusted this great labor to you and gave you the power to bind and loosen. How can we change his decree?"

After much insistence, Ögödäi Qa'an realized that he must carry out his father's order and his uncles' and brothers' wish, so he consented. All removed their hats, put their belts over their shoulders, and, in Hükär Yil, the Year of the Ox corresponding to 626 [1229], Chaghatai took his right arm, Tolui Khan took his left arm, and Otchigin took his belt, and together they sat him on the emperor's throne, while all those present, one by one, both inside and outside of the court tent, bent their knees as they congratulated him on his accession and named him qa'an.

The Qa'an then ordered the possessions and treasures brought forth, **[454]** and he commanded that those innumerable things be divided among his relatives and the tribes and clans. When the banquet and bestowal ceremonies were over, he ordered, in accordance with their ancient law and custom, that food be given for three days for the repose of Genghis Khan's soul, and forty beautiful girls from the families of the commanders who were in attendance were chosen and dispatched to his soul, clad in costly raiments and bedecked with gems and jewels, with select horses. [M53]

Now that the story of the Qa'an's enthronement is over, let us begin with his

[1] Reading قوباق (Qobaq, the modern Kobuk) for JT_K's قوبان and JT_{AZ}'s قوناق.

history in the same fashion as we wrote for Genghis Khan, i.e. after the completion of every several years, we will give the history of the rulers of surrounding and neighboring kingdoms and of those of his lineage who ruled autonomously over various areas. Then we will return to his history. And so on, until his story is completed.

The history of Ögödäi Qa'an from the beginning of Hükär Yil, the Year of the Ox that began in Rabi' I 626 [January 1229], the year of his accession, until Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Jumada I 631 [February 1234], a period of six years.

During this period, after consolidating the kingdom and army, he mounted a campaign to subdue Cathay and the territories that had not yet been taken. Having annihilated the Altan Khan, he returned victorious to his capital.

The Qa'an begins to give orders, and he issues ordinances and orders administrative affairs.

When the Qa'an was established on the throne of empire, the first ordinance he issued was as follows. [M55] "All commands previously given by Genghis Khan should be kept in effect and immune to any change or alteration. Any crime or offense committed by anyone up to the day of our accession is herewith pardoned by us, but henceforth, if anyone dares undertake an act not in conformity with old or new ordinances, [455] he will suffer chastisement and retribution in keeping with the offense."

Before the Qa'an was enthroned, actually during the very year Genghis Khan died, the princes and amirs who had remained in Genghis Khan's camp had held council and sent Genghis Khan's nephew Elji'idäi Noyan and the Qa'an's son Güyük Khan to the frontier of ___[1] territory in order for them to take it. They had pillaged and conquered that territory and left a Tangqut officer named Bahadur there with a troop as a *tamma* [garrison] to guard the area. Everyone had something to say about this action, but when the Qa'an acceded to the throne he silenced all those who were speaking against the action with the ordinance mentioned above. Then he assigned troops to all the frontiers of the empire to guard and maintain the borders.

In the direction of Iran strife and sedition were still rife. Sultan Jalaluddin was still vying for supremacy, so [the Qa'an] dispatched Chormaqan Noyan and a group of officers with thirty thousand horsemen to deal with him. He sent Köktäi and Sübädäi[2] Bahadur with an equal number of soldiers in the direction of the Qipchaq Steppe, Saqsin, [M57] and Bulghar. To Cathay, Tibet, Korea, Jürcha, and those areas he sent a group of great generals ahead while he and his younger brother['s son] Möngkä Qa'an set out behind them for the parts of Cathay that had not yet submitted and in which the emperor of Cathay still held sway

The Qa'an and his brother Tolui Khan move toward Cathay and conquer what is still in rebellion.

In Bars Yil, the Year of the Leopard that began in Rabi' I 627 [January 1230], the Qa'an and his brother Ulugh Noyan set out for Cathay, for during Genghis Khan's reign, as has been explained, the Altan Khan, the emperor of Cathay whose name was Sä'üsä,[3] abandoned the city of Jungdu [Peking], one of his capitals, along with

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[1] In JT_{AZ} this name is given as قونقان (Qunqan?); a variant in JT_{AZ}'s MS H has قوريقان (Quriqan?). In $JT_{K\&BI}$ it is قورتقان. It may refer to the Quriqan mentioned on text p. 26.

[2] Reading سوبداى (Sübädäi) for the text's سونداى.

[3] Sä'üsä, the nickname Ögödäi gave the Chinese emperor. See note at text p. 388.

many of its dependencies, and went to Namging and that area, where many troops gathered around him. [456]

Until that time [Sä'üsä] was still acting as emperor, and the Qa'an wanted not only to drive him from the territories that Genghis Khan and his army had taken and which were under Mongol control but also to conquer the entirety of that realm. To this end he took with himself Tolui Khan and Kölgän and some of his other nephews and sons and a huge army, dispatching Tolui Khan with twenty thousand soldiers to Tibet, [M59] while he himself went to the right into the Cathaian territory the inhabitants of which are called *hula'an tägäläns*, i.e. people who wear red jackets. Since the Qa'an's road was long, Tolui Khan made excursions along his way, and by the next year, which was the Year of the Rabbit corresponding to 628 [1231], there were no provisions or supplies left and the soldiers had grown extremely lean and hungry. Things got so bad that they were forced to eat human flesh, any- and everything animal, and dry grass. They went onto mountains and plains in hunting circles until they came to the first city, the name of which was Khanjunfu,[1] on the banks of the Yellow River. They laid siege, and after forty days the inhabitants sought amnesty and turned over the city. Nearly ten thousand soldiers got away in boats, but their women and children were taken captive, and the area was laid waste before they proceeded.

Tolui Khan reaches a place called Tungqan Qahalqa, where the Altan Khan's troops had constructed a chapar, and that place, which is like a pass, is taken.

As Tolui Khan approached Tungqan Qahalqa,[2] he thought that since the place was a difficult rocky stretch lying between mountains and with an unassailable pass, [M61] the foe would certainly have taken it, intending to defend it and keep him from passing. And so it was. When he arrived he saw that a hundred thousand of the Altan Khan's soldiers under the command of Qoda Rigo,[3] Qobägädür,[4] and several others had constructed a *chapar* [barricade] on the plain and at the foot of the mountain and were standing there, troops arrayed, [457] ready for battle and overconfident of their own superior strength relative to the Mongols' small number. When Tolui Khan saw how many they were, he summoned Shigi Qutuqu Noyan in private and took counsel with him.

"Since the foe has taken up and fortified such a position and is standing battle-ready," he said, "it is difficult to do battle with them. The best thing would be for you to take some three hundred horsemen and make a sortie near them to see whether or not they will leave their positions." As ordered, Qutuqu Noyan sallied forth, but the enemy absolutely would not budge from his position lest the *chapar* be spoiled and their order lost. Overconfident in their own vast numbers relative to the few Mongols, they looked upon the Mongols with contempt and made great boasts, saying, "Let us encircle these Mongols and their ruler and seize them, and then we will do thus and so to their women." So saying, they said such vile things and made such

[1]For the text's خانچونقو, read خانجونفو (Khanjunfu) for Ho-chung fu (河中府), Marco Polo's "Cacionfu" and the modern Puchow in Shansi.

[2]This Tungqan is the Tunggon of the *Secret History* §251, the Chinese T'ung-kuan (潼關, the modern Tongguan in Shaanxi).

[3]JT_K has قدای رنکو; for this, emend to قدای ریکو and read Qoda Rigo, who is the Wan-yen Ho-ta, the duke of Jui-kuo, of the *Ch'in-cheng lu*. Qoda is clearly Ho-ta, and "Rigo," or some similar reading, could represent Jui-kuo.

[4]For the text's قمرتکودر, read قوبکودر (Qobägüdür), the Höbegedür of the *Secret History* §251.

hideous wishes that God disapproved of their pride and overbearing confidence and overturned them in the end. [M63]

When they paid no attention to Qutuqu Noyan's sally and refused to give up their position, Tolui Khan said, "As long as they do not move from their position it is impossible to do battle with them. If I pull back, our ranks will be broken, and they will grow even bolder. It would be best for us to head for the areas held by their emperor. If possible, we will join Ögödäi Qa'an and the great army." He then assigned as scout with a thousand cavalrymen Toqolqu Chärbi, the younger brother of Borghochin Noyan of the Arulat clan, to take up the rear while the main body set out to the right. When the Cathaian army saw that the Mongols had turned away from battle and were headed in another direction, they called out, saying, "We are standing here. Come on, let's do battle."

The Mongols paid no attention and kept going. There was nothing the Cathaians could do but move out, abandoning their position, and go in pursuit. For three days the Mongol army proceeded with the Cathaians on their heels, and the Mongols went in fear and trepidation because the Cathaians were so numerous. Then, without warning, the Cathaians struck Toqolqu Chärbi, who was leading the rear guard. Ahead was a canal and mud. Forty Mongols were thrown into the mud and killed. Toqolqu Chärbi joined his troop and sent a report. Tolui Khan ordered them to work *jadamishi*. (*Jadamishi* is a tactic as follows. There are several stones of various types that [458] have the property, when they are taken out and washed in water, of producing immediately—even in the heart of summer—wind, cold, snow, rain, and hail.) Among them was a man from the Qanqli tribe who knew well how to work the stones. As ordered, he began to cast the spell, and the soldiers all put on their rain gear. [M65] For three days and nights they did not get off their horses, and the Mongols made it to villages in the midst of Cathaian territory from which the villagers had fled, abandoning their animals. There they took shelter while the Qanqli worked the *jada* stones in such a way that the rain came behind the Mongols. On the last day it turned to snow and hail, and to it was added a chill wind. The Cathaians were dumbfounded by a cold in summer more severe than anything they had ever experienced in winter.

Tolui Khan ordered each unit of ten thousand to go to a different village and take their horses inside and keep them covered, for it was so cold that it was impossible for the Cathaians to camp in the open with such snow and hail. For three days it was absolutely impossible to move. On the fourth day it was still snowing. When Tolui Khan saw that his troops were rested and well fed, and that they and their animals were unharmed by the cold, while the Cathaians were so cold they were standing head to tail like a flock of sheep, their clothing light and their weapons frozen, he ordered the kettle drums sounded. All his soldiers donned their felt cloaks and mounted. "It is time for battle," he said, "time for a good name. One must be manly." Like lions pouncing on a herd of antelope, [M67] the Mongols attacked the Cathaians and killed most of them, although some escaped into the mountains, where they perished. Both of the generals mentioned above got away with five thousand men by throwing themselves into the river, from which few emerged alive. For the derisive boasts they had made and the heinous thoughts they had voiced, some Cathaian captives were sodomized.

With such a victory in hand, Tolui Khan sent messengers to bear the good news to the Qa'an as he set out in triumph. The Qara Müran [Yellow River], which comes

from the mountains of Kashmir and Tibet and provides a border between Cathay and Nankiyas, cannot be crossed at any time, but it was necessary for him to cross, so he sent Chaghan Buqa of the Uru'ut clan to look for a way across. **[459]** As it happened, there had been massive flooding that year, and a great deal of rock and gravel had been washed down, collecting at various places along the river and causing it to overflow onto the plains in branches a league in width and breadth.

Chaghan Buqa located the qa'an. When Tolui Khan had become separated, the qa'an had heard that the enemy had overcome Tolui, who was far away from the main contingent of the army, and this caused the qa'an much concern. When he received the news of Tolui's victory and safety, he rejoiced. [M69] Since such an unexpected great victory had been achieved, he stationed Toqolqu Chärbi and some other commanders there with a troop to deal once and for all with the Altan Khan and conquer all Cathaian territory. They returned successful under good auspices, and Tolui requested permission to go forward, but he died unexpectedly.

It is reported that the qa'an had fallen ill several days prior to that and was at death's door. Tolui Khan went to his sick bed, where the shamans, as was their custom, were reciting incantations and washing his sores with water from a wooden bowl. Out of the great love he had for his brother Tolui took the bowl and said in supplication, "O eternal God, you know that if there is sin, I have sinned more, for I have deprived so many people of life and taken their women and children captive and caused them to weep. If you are taking the Qa'an away on account of beauty and skill, I am better looking and more skilled. Leave him and take me instead." Having said this in supplication, he drank the water with which they had been washing his sores. Ögödäi Qa'an regained his health, and Tolui requested permission to depart. Several days later he fell ill and passed away. [M71] The story is well known. Tolui Khan's wife Sorqaghtani Beki used to say, "The person who was my beloved and my darling sacrificed himself for Ögödäi Qa'an."

The Qa'an summered in Cathay in Altankada and then, decamping, he returned victorious and triumphant to his capital in [Moghai Yil, the Year of the Serpent].

Doqolqu Chärbi does battle with the Cathaian forces and is defeated; the Qa'an sends reinforcements; the Nankiyas come to his assistance, and he annihilates the Altan Khan and achieves total victory over Cathay.

After a time the Cathaian forces gathered and did battle with Doqolqu Chärbi. He was defeated and, pulling far back in rout, he sent a message to the qa'an asking for assistance. [M73] The qa'an said, "From the time of Genghis Khan on, battle has been done so many times with the armies of Cathay, and we have continually defeated them and taken most of their territory. Now that they have struck our troops, it is a sign of their impending doom, like a lamp that flickers and burns brightest just before going out." He ordered auxiliary troops sent to Doqolqu Chärbi.

Since there was an ancient enmity between the rulers of Machin (which the Mongols call Nankiyas) and the rulers of Cathay, who were of the Jürchid race, the Qa'an ordered the Nankiyas also to go to assist from one direction while the Mongols went from the other in order to lay siege together to the city of Namging. As commanded, they took a large army to Namging, the perimeter of which is said to be forty leagues. It had three rampart walls, and two sides were on the Yellow River. The Mongols and Nankiyas together laid siege, many catapults and ladders were placed against the

walls, and miners got busy boring into the foundations of the ramparts. [M75]

It was abundantly clear to the commanders of Cathay that the city would be taken, and they fretted, saying, "Our ruler is weak of heart. If we tell him the truth, he will die of fright, and we will be totally undone. It is best to keep it secret."

As usual, the ruler and his wives and concubines besported themselves in his palaces and pleasure pavilions. When the wives and concubines realized that the city was going to be taken, they began to weep. The Altan Khan asked the reason, and he was told of the state of the city. Refusing to believe it, he went out onto a rampart wall and saw for himself. Convinced, he thought of flight. Getting into a boat with his wives, he departed the city via a large irrigation canal diverted from the Yellow River and went to another province. **[461]**

When the Mongols and Nankiyas discovered this, they sent soldiers out after him, and they besieged the other city, from which he also escaped by boat and gone to yet another. Similarly they pursued him and laid siege. Since his route of escape was far and blocked, the Mongols and Nankiyas hurled fire into the city. The Altan Khan realized that they would take it, so he said to his generals and wives, "After such a long time of honorable rule, I don't want to fall captive to the Mongols and die with a bad name." [M77] He dressed one of his quiver bearers in his clothes, sat him on the throne, went out, and hanged himself. He was buried.

In some accounts it is stated that he put on a patched cloak in the guise of a wandering dervish and disappeared, and in the history of Cathay it is said that when fire was pitched into the city he was burned up, but neither of these is correct, for it has been ascertained that he hanged himself and died.

Two days later the Mongols took the city and killed the one who had been seated in the Altan Khan's place. The Nankiyas troops entered the city, and when the Mongols learned that the one they had killed was not the Altan Khan, they demanded him. First it was reported that he had been burned, but the Mongols did not believe it and demanded his head. When the Nankiyas troops realized what had happened, although they were enemies of the Altan Khan, they joined in preventing his body from being exhumed and his head turned over, and together with the Cathaians they offered the excuse that he had been burned. The Mongols demanded his head as proof, but the Cathaians figured that if they gave them a different head, the Mongols would never know the difference. In the end they gave them a man's arm. The Mongols were angry at the Nankiyas over this affair, but they did not want to quarrel with them at that juncture. [M79]

In short, Toqolqu Chärbi and the army conquered the entirety of the realm of Cathay in the manner described. This victory occurred in Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Jumada I 631 [February 1234]. Also during that same year he took innumerable *turqaqs* [day guards] and *gäzigtäns* [bodyguards] out of Solanqa [Korea] and sent them to the Qa'an with Ong Su[n] at their head.[1]

Now that a detailed six-year history of the Qa'an has been written from the beginning of Hükär Yil, the Year of the Buffalo that began in Rabi' I 626 [January 1229], through the end of Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Jumada I 631 [February 1234], **[462]** we will begin a summary history of the khaqans, caliphs, maliks, sultans, and atabegs of kingdoms east and west, and of those who governed autonomously in some territories on behalf of the Qa'an. After-

[1]This "Ong Sun" is Wang Chun (Sun) 1224–1283, the Duke of Yongnyong. See Ledyard, "Mongol Campaigns," 14.

wards we shall return to the history of the Qa'an, God willing.

A summary history of the emperors of Cathay and Machin, caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran, Syria, Egypt, &c., and amirs who governed some territories who were contemporary with the Qa'an from the beginning of Hükär Yil, the Year of the Buffalo that began in Rabi' I 626 [January 1229] through the end of Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Jumada I 631 [February 1234], with the addition of one extra year, Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat corresponding to 625 [1228], the year of Genghis Khan's death and the Qa'an's accession to the throne.

History of the emperors of Cathay during this period.

Shou-hsü.[1] [This Shou-hsü was the last of the emperors of Cathay. He was killed in Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Jumada I 631, as was explained in the previous section, and the realm of Cathay came completely under Mongol control.]

History of the emperors of Machin during this period.

Li Tsung,[2] [who reigned for] forty-one years, seven years [of which were in this period].

History of the caliphs, sultans, maliks, atabegs, and Mongol amirs in some realms during this period. [463, M83]

History of the caliphs.

The caliph of the House of Abbas in power in Baghdad was al-Nasir-li-dini'llah. He died at the beginning of 627 [began November 20, 1229] and was succeeded by his son, Zahir. He died in 628, and al-Mustansir-bi'llah was raised to the caliphate.

History of the sultans.

Sultan Jalaluddin was in power in Persia and Azerbaijan. At the beginning of 625 [1227] he withdrew from Isfahan and went to Tabriz, whence he set out for Georgia. Afraid that he would take over by force, the sultan of Anatolia and the maliks of Syria, Armenia, and that area all rose up to repel him. They all gathered in one place with their Georgian, Armenian, Alan, Sarir, Lagzi, Qipchaq, Svan, Abkhaz, and Chanet soldiers. Distressed by the multitude of the foe's horsemen, the sultan camped near them in Mindor and took counsel with Yulduzchi the vizier and the grandees of the realm.

"It would be best," said Yulduzchi, "since the number of our men is not a hundredth of theirs, for us to pass through Mindor and deprive them of water and firewood until they are weakened by hunger and thirst and their horses are lean. [M85] Then we can enter the battlefield with good tactics."

The sultan was infuriated by this and threw an ink pot at the vizier's head, saying, "They are a flock of sheep. Does a lion complain that there are too many sheep in a flock?" For his insidious suggestion Yulduzchi was fined over fifty thousand dinars. "No matter how difficult it may be," said the sultan, "we must fight trusting in God."

The next day they arrayed their ranks. In the midst of his soldiers, the sultan looked to the enemy hosts like a mountain amidst a plain. In order to study them the sultan went up on a hill and saw Qipchaq banners with twenty thousand men. He sent Qoshqar with a loaf of bread and a bit of salt to remind the Qipchaqs of the past debts they owed him. The Qipchaqs immediately

[1] Shou-hsü (守緒) = Ai Tsung (哀宗) of the Chin, ruled 1224–34. See note to text p. 388 above.
[2] Li Tsung (理宗) of the Southern Sung, ruled 1224–64.

turned their reins and retired to a corner of the field.

Then the Georgian soldiers came forward. To them he sent a message, saying, **[464]** "You arrived today. You must be tired. For the present let the warriors of both side skirmish, and we will watch from the sidelines." The Georgians were pleased, and that day both sides parried and feigned until evening. Finally one of the gallant *aznaurs* [knights] came forward, and the sultan

Charged forth from the army like a lion and came valiantly before Hujir.

With a throng of onlookers on all sides, the sultan, galloping,

Threw at his belt a lance that broke open his caftan and breastplate.

[M87] The Georgian had three sons, each of whom came forward on foot, one after the other. The sultan annihilated each of them with a single charge. Another *aznaur*, exceedingly terrifying in form, charged into the arena, and since the sultan's horse was exhausted, the *aznaur* almost overcame him, but in an instant the sultan leapt down from his horse and unsaddled him with a blow from his lance that killed him. Seeing the sultan like this, the soldiers attacked and put the entire foe to flight.

The sultan came to Akhlat. The inhabitants closed the gates and refused to listen to reason. The sultan kept the town under siege for two months, by which time the inhabitants were nearly dead from hunger. The sultan ordered a massive attack from all sides, and entry into the city was gained. The sultan took up lodgings in Malik Ashraf's palace, and Ashraf's brother Mujiruddin and his slave Izzuddin Aybak withdrew into the citadel without provisions. Mujiruddin came out first, and the sultan received him with all honor. Then Aybak also came out, and the sultan's treasury was filled again with Malik Ashraf's possessions. Because he had vanquished the Georgians and taken Akhlat, his fame and renown spread abroad, and the kings of Egypt and Syria followed the caliph of Baghdad in sending emissaries with gifts and presents to his court. Once again his prospects were on the rise.

From there he went to Khartbirt [Harput], where he fell ill. While he was in that state, the sultan of Erzerum was showered with all sorts of favors because he had assisted the sultan's soldiers with provisions and fodder during the siege of Akhlat. [M89] "Ala'uddin of Anatolia has made peace again with the kings of Aleppo and Damascus," he said, **[465]** "and they are going to attack the sultan in unison. They are busy gathering soldiers, and they constantly threaten me, telling me that if I hadn't assisted the sultan at the gates of Akhlat with provisions, he wouldn't have been able to remain there." As soon as the sultan heard this, he mounted, his illness notwithstanding. When he reached the plains of Mush, he came across six thousand men who were going to help the allies, and he wiped them out in one fell swoop. Several days later the armies were near each other, and the sultan of Anatolia, Malik Ashraf, and the other rulers joined forces. With implements and provisions beyond reckoning, they drew up their ranks on top of a hill with the naphtha-throwers and crossbowmen standing in front with ox-hide shields, and the cavalry and infantry behind.

When it was time for battle, the sultan wanted to get out of his litter and mount a horse, but he was too ill to hold the reins, and his horse turned around and went to the rear. His attendants said he should be allowed to rest for a while, and therefore his personal banner was carried back. Believing this signaled a retreat, the left and right wings took flight, while the foe, thinking the sultan was pulling a ruse to draw them out onto the plain, sent heralds through the troops telling them not to budge. Sultan

Ala'uddin of Anatolia was so overwhelmed by fear that he was unable to control his mount, and Malik Ashraf had to have hobbles placed on his animal's legs. When the sultan's soldiers scattered in rout in all directions, the sultan was forced to go to Akhlat, where he summoned those he had stationed to guard the town, and then departed for Khoy. Malik Ashraf's brother Mujiruddin was sent back with all honors. [M91] Taqiuddin was given permission to depart to intercede on his behalf with the Caliph al-Mustansir-bi'llah. Husamuddin Qaymari fled, and his wife, Malik Ashraf's daughter, was sent back in purdah with every show of respect. Izzuddin Aybak was imprisoned in the Dizmar fortress, and there he died.

While all this was happening, news arrived that Chormaqan Noyan had crossed the Oxus with a large force and was headed for the sultan. The sultan assigned the vizier Shamsuddin Yulduzchi to guard the fortress of Kiran[1] and turned his wife over to him while he himself went to Tabriz. Although he was not on good terms with the caliph or the maliks and sultans of Anatolia and Syria, he sent a representative to each of them to inform them of the advent of the Mongols. **[466]** The message was as follows: "The Tatar are extremely numerous, more than ever before. The soldiers of this area are in fear and trembling of them. If you do not assist me with numbers and matériel, then I, who am like a bulwark, will leave, and it will be impossible for you to stand against them, and the consequences will be upon yourselves, your children, and all Muslims. Each of you assist me with a troop and a banner so that when the news of our unity reaches them, they will be somewhat discomfited, [M93] and our soldiers will take heart. If you do not take this seriously, then you shall see what you shall see."

Let each of you think of a way to preserve his life, and exert your wisdom in this endeavor to the utmost.

However, the mighty fortune of Genghis Khan and his offspring cast disunity into their midst, and the sultan's hopes were dashed. Without warning news arrived that the Mongol army had reached Saraw.[2] The sultan set out for Bishkin.[3] One night the roof of the house in which he was staying caved in. He did not consider this an ill omen but bore it sturdily. The next day he set out for Mughan. After he had camped there five days, the Mongol army approached. The sultan abandoned his paraphernalia and went into the mountains of Qaban. When the Mongols found the sultan's camp empty, they turned their reins and left.

The sultan stayed in Urmia and Ushnuviya during the winter of 628 [1230–31]. The vizier Sharafulmulk was falsely accused of having coveted the sultan's wife and treasury during his absence when communications had been cut. Because of this, when the sultan reached that area, the vizier was too afraid to come out of the fortress and asked for a safe-conduct. At his request the sultan sent Buqu Khan[4] to escort him out. "I raised Yulduzchi from the depths of abasement to the zenith of glory," the sultan said, "and this is how he repays me!" He handed him over to the castellan and ordered his goods plundered. The vizier died in that prison. The sultan went to Diyarbekir. [M95]

When the Mongol army came to Chormaqan, he chastised them, saying, "Why did you turn back and not pursue the sul-

[1]The modern Kilan, north of the Araxes.

[2]The modern Sarab, between Tabriz and Ardebil.

[3]The modern Mishkin near Ahar.

[4]Here, and in the next several paragraphs below, the name occurs as Buqu Khan in JT_{BI}; in JT_{AZ} it is Qubu Khan everywhere; in JT_K it is Buqa Khan here and Buqu Khan everywhere else.

tan in all earnestness? When a foe like this is weak, how can he be given a respite?" In pursuit he dispatched Amir Naimas and a group of amirs with a huge contingent of soldiers. **[467]**

The sultan had sent Buqu Khan back as a *yäzäk* [forward detachment] to reconnoiter the Mongols. When he reached Tabriz, he was informed that news had come from Persia saying that they had dispersed and there was no trace of them there. Without verifying the report, Buqu Khan returned and gave the sultan the news that the Mongols had pulled out. With the receipt of this good news, the sultan and all his officers and soldiers rejoiced and celebrated, spending two or three days indulging in prideful self-congratulations. At midnight the Mongols attacked them, and the sultan was asleep, drunk as could be. Informed of their arrival, Orkhan went to the sultan's bed, but no matter how much he called to him, he wouldn't wake up, so he threw cold water on him until he came to and saw what was happening. As he started to flee, he told Orkhan not to move his standard and to fight long enough to allow him to get a head start. Orkhan sat patiently for a moment, and then he too took flight. The Mongols, thinking he was the sultan, lit out after him, but when they realized their mistake, they returned and killed everyone they saw. [M97]

The sultan was traveling alone and in all haste. There is a disagreement over how he met his end. Some say he was hiding under a tree in the mountains one night when a band of Kurds came upon him and slit his belly open in order to get his horse and clothing. They donned his garments and weapons and went into a town, where some of the sultan's elite, recognizing the clothing and weapons, seized the Kurds. When the lord of Amid was apprised of this, he put them to death. The sultan's body was brought to Amid and buried there, and a dome was raised over his grave. Others report that of his own volition he gave them his weapons and garments and, taking their rough clothing, set out to wander in the guise of a Sufi. In either case, his rule came to an end.

As for Sultan Ghiyasuddin, in 624 [1227], when the Mongols were being battled at the gates of Isfahan, he abandoned the right wing with which his brother had entrusted him and set out for Khuzistan via Luristan. The Caliph Nasir sent him a writ of governance, so he turned back from there. When Sultan Jalaluddin was with the Armenians and Georgians, he went to Alamut. Ala'uddin welcomed him with all honors, **[468, M99]** and after a time he departed for Khuzistan again. To announce his state, he sent an emissary to Baraq Hajib in Kirman, and once again they made an alliance, and it was decided that Baraq would come out as far as the Abarquh desert to meet him. The sultan set out with his mother for Kirman, and Baraq went out to the above-mentioned place to greet him with nearly forty thousand horsemen.

Baraq was polite as usual for two or three days, but since the sultan had no more than five hundred horsemen, Baraq took it into his head to ask for the sultan's mother. He came one day and, sitting down on the same carpet as the sultan, began to address him as "son" and assign places of high-ranking dignitaries to all his amirs. A message was sent offering marriage to the sultan's mother. Since the sultan realized that he was in no position to do anything about it, he complied. The sultan's mother first objected and refused, but in the end she gave in and allowed herself to be affianced. After much insistence she took a group of servants wearing chain mail under their tunics and let the marriage be consummated.

A few days after they reached the city of Guvashir, the seat of Kirman, two of Baraq's relatives came to the sultan and said,

"You shouldn't trust Baraq, for he is treacherous and deceptive. We have found a way. If we get rid of him, you be sultan and we'll be your slaves. It would be best." The sultan's pure nature did not allow him to contemplate breaking an oath, but since that family's fortune was on the wane, [M101] one of his relatives secretly carried a report of these words to Baraq, who immediately had an investigation of his relatives and Ghiyasuddin carried out. The report was confirmed, and in the prince's very presence he ordered his relatives hacked limb from limb, and the prince was held in the fortress. After that, he sent orders for him to be throttled with a bow string. The prince cried out, "Didn't we swear we wouldn't kill each other? Why is he breaking his oath for no reason?" When his mother heard his voice she cried out, but both were strangled. His soldiers were also all killed in this manner.

Baraq sent Sultan Ghiyasuddin's head to the Qa'an with a message, saying, "You have two enemies, Jalaluddin and Ghiyasuddin. I am sending you the head of one of them." Thus was the history of the Khwarazm-shahs.

In Anatolia was Sultan Ala'uddin, whose history during this period was included in that of Jalaluddin. **[469]**

In Mosul was Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu'.

History of the Maliks and Atabegs.

In Mazanderan was ___.

In Diyarbekir was Malik Muzaffaruddin, the lord of Arbela and other cities, [M103] except for Mosul and vicinity.

In Syria were the sons of Malik Adil b. Ayyub, Malik Mu'azzam and Malik Ashraf. Something of Malik Ashraf's history has already been included in the history of Sultan Jalaluddin.

In Egypt, Malik Kamil b. Malik Adil Sayfuddin Abubakr was dominant.

In Fars was Atabeg Muzaffaruddin Sa'd b. Zangi, who died in the year ___ in Bayza. Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Yazdi, his vizier and administrator, kept his death secret and sent his ring to the Qal'a-i-Saped to have Sa'd's son Atabeg Abubakr released from prison and sent to him. Then, flinging open the door of the pavilion, he said to the amirs and soldiers, "The Atabeg commands that his successor be Abubakr." The amirs threw their belts over their necks, and he became atabeg.

In Kirman, Baraq Hajib was supreme. His history has already been given in the course of the history of Sultan Ghiyasuddin.

In Seistan was Malik Shamsuddin. [M105]

History of the Mongol amirs who were governors of provinces

In Khurasan, Chin Temür of the Qarakhitai had been appointed to the governorship of that land and also of Mazanderan. This came about as follows. When Khwarazm was conquered, Toshi Khan[1] stationed him as a *shahna* in Khwarazm, and during the Qa'an's reign, when Chormaqan was sent to Iran, the Qa'an ordered the leaders and *basqaq*s of provinces to go on campaigns themselves and assist Chormaqan. Chin Temür set out from Khwarazm as ordered via Shahristana. **[470]** From every direction came an amir on behalf of a prince, and Chormaqan assigned an amir on behalf of every prince to Chin Temür, as follows: on behalf of the Qa'an was Külbolad, Nosal on behalf of Batu, Qizil Buqa on behalf of Chaghatai, and Yegä on behalf of Sorqaghtani Beki and the princes.

Since Chormaqan had neglected to take care of Khurasan, rebels and riffraff were causing trouble in the provinces at every instant. [M107] Qaracha and Yaghan Sonqur, two of Sultan Jalaluddin's amirs, were making raids in Nishapur and that area,

[1] "Toshi (or Töshi) Khan" is the variant of Jochi Khan's name used by Juvayni.

killing the *shahnas* Chormaqan had stationed over the provinces and seizing those who dared speak of submission to the Mongols. When Chormaqan dispatched Külbolad and Chin Temür to deal with Qaracha in the Nishapur and Tus area, Külbolad returned after defeating Qaracha. When the news of trouble in Khurasan had reached the Qa'an, he had ordered Tayir Bahadur to take a troop from Badghis to repel Qaracha and flood their homes and dwellings. He had set out as ordered, but along the way he heard that Qaracha had been defeated by Külbolad and taken refuge in the citadel of Seistan. Tayir Bahadur laid siege and spent two years drilling mines until he took it. Then he sent an emissary from Seistan to Chin Temür, saying, "The administration of Khurasan has been assigned to me. Withdraw your control."

"The report of rebellion by the people of Khurasan was false," replied Chin Temür. "Why should so much territory and so many subjects be destroyed on account of Qaracha's crime? [M109] I am sending an emissary to the Qa'an's court to report the situation. I will proceed however I am ordered."

Tayir Bahadur pulled out, infuriated. Chormaqan also sent an envoy to get Chin Temür and the amirs to return and to turn over the administration of Khurasan and Mazanderan to Tayir Bahadur.

Chin Temür now assigned Külbolad, one of the Qa'an's elite, and the amirs of Khurasan and Mazanderan to go to the Qa'an's court. Around the same time, Malik Baha'uddin of Su'luk came out of his fortress on condition that he be sent to the Qa'an, and Chin Temür pulled out of Mazanderan. Most of the wardens of fortresses in Khurasan surrendered when they heard about Malik Baha'uddin. When he came before Chin Temür he was received with all honor. From Mazanderan, Ispahbad Nusratuddin of Kabudjama was selected, and together the two of them, escorted by Külbolad, set out for court in the year 630 [1232–33]. Since no amir from that area had gone to court before, **[471]** the Qa'an was overjoyed by their arrival and ordered banquets given at which they were amply rewarded. [M111] Chin Temür and Külbolad were also shown great favor, and the Qa'an said, "In all this time during which Chormaqan has been gone and conquered such vast territories, he hasn't sent one lord to us. Now Chin Temür, despite the paucity of his numbers and lack of assistance, has performed such a service, and we appreciate it." So saying, he assigned to Chin Temür the governorship of Khurasan and Mazanderan and ordered that Chormaqan and the other amirs not interfere. Külbolad was made a partner to Chin Temür, and the Ispahbad was given lands from the border of Kabudjama to Astarabad. Malik Baha'uddin was made malik over Khurasan, Isfarayin, Juvayn, Bayhaq, Jajarm, Jurbadh, and Arghiyan. Each of them was given a gold *paiza* and two decrees sealed with the red seal.

Thus firmly established by imperial decree, Chin Temür named Sharafuddin as his vizier on account of his long service and experience and made Baha'uddin Muhammad Juvayni chief of his divan. Each of the amirs sent a *bitigchi* to the divan on behalf of a prince. [M113] The divan thus flourished.

Chin Temür was going to send Görgüz back as an envoy to the Qa'an's court, but Külbolad disagreed, saying, "He is an Uyghur. He will do everything he can to advance his own interests. It is unwise to send him." Chin Temür refused to listen. When Görgüz arrived at court and was asked about the affairs of the provinces, he reported as it suited him. The emperor liked his manner of speech and sent him back with all his wishes and requests granted. Chin Temür died around then.

Now that the history of the khaqans, caliphs, sultans, maliks, atabegs, and Mongol amirs who were contemporaries of Ögödäi Qa'an during this six-year period has been written, we will begin with the history of Ögödäi Qa'an after this period, God willing.

The History of Ögödäi Qa'an from the beginning of Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that began in Jumada I 632 [January 1235], [472, M115] through Hükär Yil, the Year of the Ox that began in Sha'ban 638 [February 1241], a period of seven years.

During this period two great *quriltai*s were held, and princes and amirs were sent to Qipchaq and Machin territory and to other places. In every spot magnificent structures, cities, palaces, and the like were constructed. Ögödäi Qa'an died during the last year, the thirteenth from his accession and the fifteenth from Genghis Khan's death.

History of the Qa'an's convocation of a quriltai, and the assignment of princes and amirs to the frontiers of various territories.

When he returned from conquering Cathay in the Year of the Horse, the Qa'an held a *quriltai* in Talan D___.[1] In this Year of the Sheep he wanted to assemble once again all the sons, relatives, and amirs and make them listen again to the *yasa* and ordinances. As commanded, all presented themselves, and he rewarded them all with various shows of favor. For one full month he and his relatives banqueted, [M117] and, as was his custom, he gave away everything in the treasuries.

When they were finished feasting and reveling, they turned to serious matters of state and the military. Since some outlying areas had not been conquered, and rebellions were in progress in others, in order to deal with these matters he was going to assign one of his relatives to each and every corner and set forth himself for the Qipchaq Steppe. However, Möngkä Qa'an, although he was still a youth, made an intelligent observation worthy of an older man on the Qa'an's motion. "We are all sons and brothers," he said, "and we stand ready to obey any order given and are willing to give our lives for anything that is commanded. Let the Qa'an enjoy himself and not be obliged to endure the hardships of travel. Otherwise, what is the benefit of having relatives, officers, and innumerable soldiers?" [473]

All those in attendance applauded these wise words and adopted them. [M119] The Qa'an then decided that the princes Batu, Möngkä Qa'an, and Güyük Khan would set out to conquer the territories of Qipchaq, Rus, Bular, Magyar, Bashghurd, As, Sudaq, and that area with another group of princes and many troops. They got busy making preparations.

Also during that year, in the plain of Asichang, Ögödäi Qa'an assigned his son Köchü and Jochi Qasar's [grand]son Prince Qutuqu to go to Machin, which they call Nankiyas. They departed and captured the towns of Sang Yampu [Hsiang-yang fu] and Karimpu [Chiang-ling fu]. Along the way they plundered the territory of Tibet.

Also during that year Hoqatur was sent with an army to Kashmir and Hindustan. They captured and pillaged a portion of those territories.

Also during that year a *qubjur* was levied on animals at the rate of one head per hundred. The Qa'an ordered that for every ten measures of grain, one should be given to be spent on the poor.

Because there was so much necessary

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[1] Variants: دبسر and ديسر (JT_{AZ}); دبسنك ($JT_{BI\&K}$). Pelliot (*Marco Polo* 1:313) thinks the variants point to an original *Tálán Dabás* for the Mongolian Dalan Daba'as "Seventy Passes."

exchange of envoys between the princes and the court on various matters, [M121] *yams* [relay stations] were established throughout the realm,[1] and they were called *tayan yams*. For the establishment of the *yams*, the following emissaries representing the princes were appointed: on behalf of the Qa'an, Bitigchi Qoridai; on behalf of Chaghatai, Emälägchin Tayichi'utai; on behalf of Batu, Suqu Mulchatai; on behalf of Tolui Khan, Alchiqa went by order of Sorqaghtani Beki. These amirs went and established *tayan yams* throughout the length and breadth of the empire.

The Qa'an sent emissaries to all parts of the empire to announce that no creature should molest any other, and the strong should not use force against or oppress the weak. Thus the people enjoyed ease, and a reputation for justice was spread. **[474, M123]**

The battles fought by the princes and Mongol armies in the Qipchaq Steppe, Bulghar, Rus, Magas, Alan, Magyar, Bular, and Bashghurd, and the conquest of that territory.

The princes who were dispatched to conquer the Qipchaq Steppe were Tolui Khan's eldest son Möngkä Qa'an and his brother Böchök, Ögödäi Qa'an's eldest son Güyük Khan and his brother Qada'an, Chaghatai's sons Büri and Baidar, the Qa'an's brother Kölgän, and Jochi's sons Batu, Orda, Shiban, and Tangqut. The important amirs who were sent were Sübädäi Bahadur and several others. They all set out together in Bechin Yil, the Year of the Monkey that began in Jumada II 633 [February 1236]. [M125] That summer they were on the road, and in the autumn in the vicinity of Bulghar they joined Batu's, Orda's, Shiban's, and Tangqut's *a'urughs*, which had also been assigned.

From there Batu, Shiban, and Boroldai set out with an army on a campaign against the Bular and Bashghurd.[2] In a very short time, and without much difficulty, they had taken it and massacred and pillaged. It was accomplished as follows.

The Bular were a numerous people and belonged to the Christian community. The frontier of their country was contiguous with that of the Franks. When they heard of the approach of Batu and his amirs, they got ready and set forth with 400,000 soldiers of renown. Shiban was in the vanguard with ten thousand horsemen. He sent word that the foe was many times the number of the Mongols and that they were all champion warriors. When the two armies drew up their ranks opposite each other, Batu went up on a hill, as had been Genghis Khan's custom, and pleaded with God for a day and a night. He also ordered the Muslims to pray in earnest.

There was a large river between them, but by night Batu and Boroldai crossed the river and engaged in battle. Batu's brother Shiban moved out on his own and started fighting, [M127] while Amir Boroldai and the whole

[1]The courier relay institution *yam* (< Mongolian *jam* < Chinese 站 *chan [< cham]* 'stage') is well known. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 4:110–18, §1812.

[2]The variants here and in the following paragraphs are برلر (Bular) and پرلر (Polo). If "Bular" is correct, then—even though the spelling is different—it should be the same Bular mentioned several times in the text together with the Bashghurd, and it is the "Byleri" of Carpini (p. 88), i.e. the Black Bulgarians of Bolghar and the Volga below Kazan: "*Inde contra Byleros, id est, contra Bulgariam magnam profecti sunt, & ipsam omninò destruxerunt. Hinc ad Aquilo nem adhuc contra Bastarcos* [Bashghurd], *id est Hungariam magnam processerunt, & illos etiam deuicerunt.*" If پرلر is correct as is in JT_K and JT_{Bl}, it may represent the Poles, but it is fairly unlikely. As Minorsky has pointed out, this section is in the wrong place in the text: Batu's operations against the Carpathians and Hungary took place in 1240 (Minorsky, "Caucasica III," 228).

army made a massive charge in unison. They headed for the Kilar's tent and cut the ropes with their swords, at which the soldiers lost heart and fled in retreat. The Mongols lit out in pursuit of them like lions falling upon their prey, striking and killing **[475]** until they had destroyed most of the soldiers. Thus that area was conquered. This was one of their major feats, for Bular and Bashghurd were two vast territories containing difficult terrain. Nonetheless, they subdued it. However, it rebelled again and has yet to be fully subdued. The kings of that area are called *kilar*.[1]

After that winter, the princes and amirs gathered at the Chaman River, and Amir Sübädäi and the army were sent to the territory of the As [the Alans] and Bulghars. They went to the city of ___[2] and other territories in that area, defeated the armies, and rendered them submissive. The princes of that area, Bayan and Chiqu, came and made presentations to the princes, who rewarded them and then pulled out. Once again they rebelled, [M129] and once again Sübädäi was sent to take them.[3]

After that, the princes held council, and each set out with his troops in a *järgä*, taking the territories in their path in battle.

Möngkä Qa'an went in *järgä* formation to the left along the banks of the river. Bachman was one of the major princes of the area; he was of the Ülirlik tribe of the Qipchaq nation. He and Qachir Ögölä of the As tribe were seized. This came about as follows. Bachman and a group of brigands escaped the sword, and other escapees joined him. Every direction they struck they took something. Day by day the strife he stirred up increased, but he had no fixed residence, and the Mongol army was unable to capture him. By day he hid in the forests along the banks of the Volga. Möngkä Qa'an ordered two hundred boats constructed, and in each were a hundred armed Mongols. He and his brother Böchök formed a *järgä* and proceeded, and in the forests of the Volga they found dung [M131] and other traces of encampments hastily abandoned. They also found there an old woman, from whom they learned that Bachman had moved to an island on which he kept all the plunder he had taken. Since there were no boats available, it was not possible to cross the Volga. Suddenly a wind arose and churned up the water, and through Möngkä's great good fortune dry land appeared between the island and the other side. Möngkä Qa'an ordered the army to drive their horses in. Bachman was seized, and his army was annihilated. In an hour **[476]** they had cast some in the river and killed others. The women and children were taken captive. Taking much wealth and many goods, they pulled out, and the water came back into motion, but the soldiers had all crossed over without a single person being harmed by the water. When Bachman was brought before Möngkä Qa'an, he pleaded to be killed by Möngkä's own hand, but Möngkä motioned for his brother Böchök to cut Bachman in two. Qachir Ögölä, [M133] one of the As amirs, was also killed. That summer they stayed there.

After that, in Taqiqu Yil, the Year of the Rooster corresponding to 634 [1237], Jochi

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[1]See translation p. 21, note 4. "The battle against the Hungarians was won at Mohi, on the right bank of the river Sayó, above its junction with the Tisza, on 11th April, 1241" (Minorsky, "Caucasica III," 228.

[2]Texts have كزنك; variant has كوبك, but neither has been identified.

[3]Minorsky admits that "this paragraph, lacking in Juvayni, presents great difficulties." If the winter in question was 1241, then the river (Chaman? Jaman?) might be the Danube, and "KZNK" may represent Gran and the "other territories" Croatia, through which Qada'an pursued King Béla. Minorsky considers this very unlikely and thinks that this section deals with earlier operations in Qipchaq territory, possibly around 1237.

Khan's sons, Batu, Orda, and Bärkä, [Ögödäi Qa'an's son Qada'an, Chaghatai's grandson Büri, and Genghis Khan's son Kölgän launched a campaign against Buqshi, Burtas, and Irajan.[1] In a short time they took them. In the fall of that year all the prince there held a *quriltai* and set out together to fight the Rus. Batu, Orda, Güyük Khan,][2] and the Qa'an's sons Qada'an, Güyük Khan, and Möngkä Qa'an, along with Kölgän, Qada'an, and Büri laid siege to the city of Ryazan, taking it within three days.[3] After that, they took the town on the Eka also.[4] Kölgän was wounded there and died. A Rus amir named Roman came out with an army, but he was defeated and killed.[5] Together they took the city of Moscow in five days and killed the prince of the city, Avlaitimur [Vladimir].[6]

Laying siege to the town of Yurgi the Great, they took it in eight days.[7] [M135] The people fought hard, but Möngkä Qa'an performed valiantly until he had defeated them. Together they captured the town of ___,[8] the original part of the country of [Vsevolod],[9] in five days. The prince of that country, Yäkä Yürgü,[10] took flight into a forest. They captured him and killed him.

After that, they turned back from there and held a council, deciding that they would proceed *tümän* by *tümän* in *järgä* formation and take and destroy every town, province, and fortress they came to.

Along the way, Batu came to the town of Kozelsk.[11] He besieged it for two months but was unable to take it. Then Qada'an and Büri arrived, and it was taken in three days. They camped in the houses and rested.

After that, in the autumn of Noqai Yil, the Year of the Dog corresponding to 635 [1238], Möngkä Qa'an and Qada'an rode against Circassia. During the winter they killed the king, Buqan by name.

Shiban, Böchök, and Büri rode to the region of the Crimea and took Tabqara of the Qipchaq people. [M137] Bärkä rode to Qipchaq **[477]** and took Arjumal, Qura'umas, and Qiran, the leaders of the Makruti.[12]

In Qaqai Yil, the Year of the Pig corresponding to 636 [1239], Güyük Khan, Möngkä Qa'an, Büri, and Qada'an rode to the city of Magas.[13] They took it that winter after one month and fifteen days of siege. They were still on that campaign when the

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[1]"Buqshi" is to be identified with the Mordvan tribe Moksha, and "Burtas seems to be a general Islamic name for the Mordvans" (Minorsky, "Caucasica III," 229). ارجان (Irajan) is lacking in many MSS, but it is probably a variant of ارزان (Irazan, for Ryazan).

[2]Missing from JT_K; supplied by JT_{AZ}.

[3]Ryazan was defended by Prince Yuri, son of Igor, but it was taken on December 21, 1237.

[4]The Eka is the River Oka, and the town is Kolomna. See Minorsky, "Caucasica III," 229.

[5]He is identified as Yuri's brother Roman, the defender of Kolomna. See Minorsky, "Caucasica III," 229.

[6]The name is spelled اولای تیمور, which is recognizable as a garbled version of Vladimir, the son of the Grand Duke Yuri.

[7]This is the town of Vladimir, Grand Duke Yuri ("Yurgi")'s capital. It fell after a seven-day siege on February 8, 1238.

[8]قیرنقلا in the text. Suzdal was raided simultaneously with Vladimir, but nothing about the graphic form of the word suggests Suzdal. It may be another town in the area, Pereyaslavl (for which Minorsky suggests reading فیرزلار for قیرنقلا). Torzhok was suggested by Pelliot but rejected by Minorsky for being too far graphically from the the word in the text.

[9]For the text's وزیرلار, read وزیولاد (Vzevolad) for Vsevolod III (1176–1212, the father of Grand Duke Yuri), per Minorsky, "Caucasica III," 229.

[10]Yäkä ("great") Yürgü can be identified with the Grand Duke Yuri, who was killed on March 4, 1238 in battle north of the Volga.

[11]For Kozelsk, read, with JT_{AZ}, کسل ایسکه ("Kusal Eska" for Kozelsk) for JT_K's obviously erroneous کیف ماتشکه.

[12]For JT_K's Makrútí, JT_{AZ} has Bagrútí. None of these has been identified.

[13]Magas, the capital of the Alans. See Minorsky, "Caucasia III," 232–37.

Year of the Rat began. During the spring they organized an expeditionary force and gave it to Buqadai, whom they sent to take Temür Qahalqa [the Iron Gates] and that area.

Güyük Khan and Möngkä Qa'an turned back in the autumn of the Year of the Rat [1240] by decree of the Qa'an. In the Year of the Ox, corresponding to 638 [1241], they dismounted in their own *ordus*.[1] [M139]

The buildings commissioned between the time the princes went to the Qipchaq Steppe and the time they returned, and a mention of the way stations and his summer and winter quarters.

The Qa'an spent the period of seven years from the beginning of Qonin Yil, which corresponds to 632 [1235], when he sent the princes to the Qipchaq Steppe, until Hükär Yil, which corresponds to 638 [1241], when Güyük Khan and Möngkä Qa'an returned, in revelry and celebration. He moved merrily back and forth between summer pastures and winter quarters, and he constantly enjoyed all sorts of pleasures with beautiful ladies and comely companions. Most of the time he turned his mind to thoughts of dispensing justice and beneficence, eradicating injustice and tyranny, making the towns and provinces flourish, and building various edifices. He neglected not one iota of the responsibilities incumbent upon a world ruler. [M141]

Since he had previous brought masters of every craft and trade from Cathay, he ordered them to construct in his *yurt* in Qaraqorum, where he was usually in residence, [478] a palace of a magnificence appropriate for such a high-minded monarch. It was constructed. Each side was an arrow shot in length, and in the middle was raised a pavilion of great height. The buildings were decorated as elaborately as possible and ornamented with the skills of painters and artists. It was named Qarshi.[2] He made it his capital and ordered each of his brothers and their sons and all the other princes who were in attendance to build magnificent mansions in the vicinity. They all obeyed the order, and when the construction was completed it looked like a vast assemblage. Then he ordered the master goldsmiths to make of gold and silver for the *sharabkhana* implements of assembly in the shape and form of animals like elephants, lions, horses, et cetera. They were set out in place of *munquraq*s [drinking vessels] and filled with wine and kumiss. In front of every one was placed a basin of silver, and from the openings in the animals wine and kumiss poured into the basins. [M143]

"What city on the face of the earth is more beautiful?" he asked.

"Baghdad," they said.

Then he ordered a magnificent city built on the banks of the Orkhon River, and it was named Qaraqorum. From the provinces of Cathay to that city they established *yam*s [post stations]—other than the *tayan*

[1]Prior to this, the references to *ordus* (in the plural) has been to Genghis Khan's four Great Ordus. Henceforth, reference to a ruler's, or prince's, *ordus* is to the multiple camp establishments maintained for the various wives. Carpini comments in this regard: "*Cumq; Tartarorum vnus habet vxorum multitudinem, vnaquaeq; per se suam habet familiam & stationem. Et vna die Tartarus comedit & bibit & dormit cum vna, altera die cum alia. Vna tamen inter caeteras aior habetur, cum qua frequentius quã cum alijs commoratur. Et licet, vt dictum est, sint multae, nunquam tamen de facili contendunt inter se*" (p. 79); "Whensoeuer a Tartar hath many wiues, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her selfe. And sometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and sometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the rest, with whom hee is oftener conuersant, then with the other. And notwithstanding (as it hath bin said) they are many, yet do they seldome fal out among themselues" (p. 112).

[2]*Qarshi*, the Mongolian for 'palace.'

yams—and called them *narin yams*.[1] There was a *yam* every five leagues, which came to a total of thirty-seven *yams*. At every way station a *hazara* was stationed to provide protection.

He had commanded that every day five hundred carts loaded with foodstuffs and drink should be delivered there from the provinces and placed in the storehouses, from which they could be brought out for use. For *bägni* and *sorma* [beer and ale] large carts that took six oxen to pull were arranged.

He ordered the Muslim craftsmen to construct a pavilion at a one-day's distance from Qaraqorum, in a place that had once belonged to Afrasiab's falconers and was called Kähär Chaghan. [He usually went there] in the spring for falconing. In the summer he was in Örmügätü, where he had had a tent pitched in which everyone could fit, [M145] and it was never taken down. The outside was ornamented with gold studs, and the inside was covered in brocades. It was called Sira Ordu.[2] In the autumn he would be in Kösä Na'ur, a four-day journey from Qaraqorum, and there he would remain for a period of forty days. In the winter he was in Ong Qin, hunting in the Bulangu and Jalingu mountains. After having passed the winter he usually spent the spring in the vicinity of Qaraqorum.

His summer pastures were in the meadows of Örmügätü; his autumn residence was between Kösä Na'ur and Usun Qol, a one-day's distance from Qaraqorum; **[479]** and his winter quarters were at Ong Qin. When he set out for Qaraqorum, he would eat and spent a day in pleasure in a magnificent pavilion he had built two leagues from the city and named Tuzghu Baliq, i.e. Tuzghu City, and the next day all the people would don clothing of one color and from there he would enter Qarshi while slender youths stood in front. He would engage in revelry for a month in Qarshi and open the treasury doors to reward commoner and elite alike with with his indiscriminate liberality. [M147] Every evening he would have archers, crossbowmen, and wrestlers compete and reward those who won.

At his winter quarters in Ong Qin he had ordered a wall built. It was a two-day journey long and was made of wood and clay, and it had gates. He called it a *chihik*. When a hunt was held, soldiers in all directions would be informed, and they would form a circle and head for the wall, driving the prey toward it. From a one-month's distance away, taking all precautions and keeping the circle intact at all times, they drove the prey to the *chihik*, and then the soldiers would form a circle and stand shoulder to shoulder. First Ögödäi Qa'an and his elite would enter the circle, watch for a time, and then hunt. When he was tired, he would go up on a rise inside the circle and the princes and amirs in their turn would enter. Then the commoners and soldiers would have their turn to hunt. Then he would let some of them go for the *uruqlamishi* [round-up], and the *bökä'üls* would divide all the prey [M149] among the princes and amirs so that no one failed to receive a share. They all would perform the ceremony of *tägishmishi* [presentation of gifts], and after nine days of banqueting every clan would return to its home *yurt*.

The Qa'an falls ill and dies.

The Qa'an was inordinately fond of wine and drank too much. Day by day he grew

[1]The *narin* attributive here is Mongolian and means something that belongs or pertains personally to the ruler (Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:513 §380)

[2]Carpini (p. 75) comments: "*Vnde nec ville nec alique ciuitates ibidê reperiuntur, excepta vna, quae Cracurim* [Qaraqorum] *appelatur, & satis bona esse dicitur. Nos quidem illam non vidimus, sed ad dimidiam dietam propre fuimus, cùm apud Syra ordam, quae curia maior Imperatoris eorum est, essemus.*"

so much thinner that his courtiers and well-wishers tried to prevent him from drinking, but it was to no avail. Despite their efforts, he drank even more. Chaghatai assigned an amir as a guardian over him to keep him from drinking more than a certain number of cups a day, **[480, M151]** and since he could not disobey his brother's order he took to drinking from large cups instead of small ones so that the number would remain the same. His guardian also gave him wine and kept him company in order to have himself made an advisor, so his companionship was of no use to the Qa'an.

Ibaqa Beki, Sorqaghtani Beki's sister Genghis Khan had given to Kähätäi Noyan, had a son who was a *ba'urchi*. Every year Ibaqa Beki used to come to court from Cathay, where her *yurt* was, to consult with Sorqaghtani Beki. When she came she always gave a banquet at which she offered a cup to the Qa'an. In the thirteenth year of the Qa'an's reign, she came as usual and, together with her son the *ba'urchi*, offered a cup to Ögödäi Qa'an. That night the Qa'an died in his sleep from overindulgence in wine. The next morning the khatuns and amirs accused Ibaqa and her son of having poisoned the Qa'an with the cup they offered. Elji'idäi Noyan, who was a *kükäldash* and an amir of consequence from the Jalayir tribe, [M153] said, "What nonsense is this? Ibaqa Beki's son is a *ba'urchi* who has always held the cups. The Qa'an always drank too much. Why must we badmouth our Qa'an by saying he was assassinated by others? His time had come, that's all. No one should speak of this nonsense again." Since he was an intelligent man, he realized that the death had been caused by drinking too much. He also knew how serious the end of overindulgence in wine was.

The Qa'an had acceded to the throne in a Hükär Yil, and he died the next Hükär Yil, which corresponded to 638 [1241], the thirteenth year of his reign. In the history written by Khwaja Ala'uddin Sahib-Divan it is said that he died in the Year of the Tiger corresponding to the 5th of Jumada II 639 [December 11, 1241].[1]

[Ögödäi Qa'an's bones and his *ghoruq* are on an extremely high mountain called Boldaq Qasar. It is always covered with snow. At present it is called Yäkä Ündür. From that mountain flow the Yesün Mürän, the Tärkän, and the Usun, which flow into the Irtysh River. From the mountain to the Irtysh is a ten-day journey. [M155] Chapar has his winter quarters in the vicinity of that river.]

Ögödäi Qa'an had a physician named ___ of the "bone" of ___. He versified a chronogram for his death and sent it to a friend in Transoxiana. It is as follows.

In KhLT [639] the Qa'an had more plexus than ever,[2] *and day and night he gave news of those who were passed out. This assisted greatly in the dysfunction of his humors.*[3]

Now that the history of Ögödäi Qa'an has been written from from the beginning of Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep corresponding to 632 [1235], through Hükär Yil, the Year of the Ox corresponding to 638 [1241], a period of seven years, now we will give an abbreviated history of the khaqans of Machin, the caliphs, some of the sultans who were left, the maliks, atabegs of Iran, and some of the Mongol princes and amirs who ruled throughout the realm. **[481, M157]**

History of the khaqans of Machin, the caliphs, and the sultans and maliks who were left.

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[1] "Khwaja Ala'uddin Sahib-Divan's history" is the *Tarikh-i jahangushay (History of the World Conqueror)* by Ala'uddin Ata-Malik al-Juwayni.

[2] The pun is irreproducible in English. The Persian word for plexus, *khilt* (خلط), itself gives the date, 639.

[3] The poem is lacking in JT_K.

History of the emperors of Cathay and Machin during this period.

Li Tsung,[1] [ruled a total of] 41 years, [of which] 7 years [were before this period and] 7 years [were during this period].

History of the caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs during this period.

History of the caliphs.

In Baghdad was al-Mustansir-bi'llah of the House of Abbas. [M159] During these years he began and completed construction of the Mustansiriyya Madrasa.

History of the sultans.

In Mosul was Badruddin Lu'lu'.

In Anatolia was Sultan Ala'uddin.

In Kirman was Ruknuddin Qutlugh Sultan, son of Baraq. His history during this period is as follows. **[482]** In 637 [1239–40] his father Baraq Hajib sent him to the Qa'an's court. Along the way he received news of his father's death, and when he reached his destination, the Qa'an, as was his imperial custom, received him with great warmth and favor. Because he had obeyed the decree that he come to court, he was given the title of Qutlugh Sultan and awarded a *yarligh* [imperial decree] making him ruler of Kirman. The Qa'an also ordered that Ruknuddin's brother Qutbuddin, who had taken charge of affairs after his father's death, should hasten to court and pay homage. When Ruknuddin arrived in Kirman, [M161] he dispatched his brother via Khabis to the Qa'an's court. When he arrived he remained a time in service to Mahmud Yalavach, and Ruknuddin ruled in Kirman.

History of the maliks and atabegs.

In Fars was Atabeg Abubakr b. Sa'd.

History of the princes in the Qipchaq Steppe.

In the autumn of Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that corresponds to 637 [1240], when Güyük Khan and Möngkä Qa'an returned, by order of the Qa'an, from the Qipchaq Steppe, Prince Batu and his brothers Qada'an, Büri, and Böchök mounted on an expedition to the territory of the Rus and the Black Hats.[2] [M163] They took the great city of the Rus, which was called Mankärmän,[3] in nine days. After that they went in *järgä* formation, *tümän* by *tümän*, to all the towns of Vladimir, seizing the fortresses and territories **[483]** that lay along the way. Together they laid siege to the town of Üch-Oghul Avladimür [Vladimir Volynsky] and took it in three days.[4]

In Hükär Yil the Qa'an died, and in the middle month of spring they passed by the ___ mountains headed for Bular and Bashghurd.[5] Taking the right-hand route, Orda and Baidar passed through the territory of the Ila'ut [Poles]. [Boleslaw][6] came out with an army, but they defeated him. Batu did battle with the ruler of the Bashghurd in the direction of Astarilav [?].

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[1] Li Tsung (理宗) of the Southern Sung, ruled 1224–64.

[2] The "Black Hats" (*kulâhsiyâhân* in Persian for the Turkish *qara-qalpaq*) are the Turks the Russians established as their frontier guards on the middle Dnieper. The Russians called them чорные клобуки. See Minorsky, "Caucasia III," 230.

[3] Mankärmän is one of the many names by which Kiev was known.

[4] Minorsky explains the unusual epithet, *Üch-oghul* ('three children'), as referring to Vladimir's two sons Daniel and Vasilkó and his daughter Salome.

[5] The name is garbled beyond all recognition. Whatever it may have been, it refers to the Carpathians. See Minorsky, "Caucasica III," 231.

[6] JT_K, بزرنبام; JT_{BI}, بزرندام. The latter can be emended to بورسلاو for "Boreslav," easily recognizable as Boleslaw of Sandomir, the Polish prince who stood against the Mongols.

Qada'an and Büri rode off in the direction of the Sasan people.[1] After three battles they defeated those people. Böchök went via Qara Ulagh[2] through the mountains and defeated the Vlach peoples. From there, they entered the forests and mountains of ___[3] near Mishlav and struck the foe that was waiting there.

The princes traversed the five routes mentioned, seizing all the territories of the Bashghurd, Magyars, and Saxons and putting their ruler, the Kilar, to flight. That summer they stayed at the Tisa and Tunha Rivers.[4]

Qada'an mounted with an army and took the territories of the Maqut, Oyraq, and Saran.[5] The Kiral, the ruler of those realms, was driven to the edge of the sea, and when he got into a boat in the town of ___,[6] which was on the sea shore, and set sail into the sea, Qada'an turned back and took the Ulaqut [Wallachians]'s two towns Qarqin and Qasla after much fighting. The news of the Qa'an's death still had not reached them.

After that, in the Year of the Tiger [1242], many Qipchaqs came to fight Kötän and Jochi's son Shingqor. They gave battle and defeated the Qipchaqs. In the autumn they turned back once again and passed through the vicinity of the Temür Qahalqa [the Iron Gates, Derbent] and those mountains. They gave Ila'udur an army and dispatched him. [M167] He went and seized the Qipchaq who had fled in that direction. They made the territories of Urungqut and Badach submit and brought their emissaries. That year the campaign was finished in that vicinity.

At the beginning of Taulai Yil, the Year of the Hare corresponding to 640 [1243], they completed the task of conquering that land and turned back. They summered and wintered along the way, and in Moghai Yil, the Year of the Serpent corresponding to 641 [1244], they reached their *ulus* and dismounted in their *ordus*.

History of the amirs of Khurasan.

When Chin Temür died, an emissary was sent to announce it to the Qa'an. **[484]** Amir Nosal was ordered to replace him in Khurasan and Persia. He was an aged Mongol, more than a hundred years old. As ordered, the amirs and *bitigchis* of the divan moved from Chin Temür's house to Nosal's and occupied themselves with administrative affairs. Sharafuddin Khwarazmi went to Batu's service, and Görgüz came and went as usual.

A conflict flared up between Baha'uddin and Mahmudshah Sabzavari, so [Baha'uddin] went to the Qa'an to report it. The Qa'an said, [M169] "In the absence of adversaries no judgment can be rendered. Let them come together so that an inquiry can be made." When Malik Baha'uddin returned and delivered the order, Nosal and Külbolad did not agree with Görgüz's claims, but Görgüz set out, got the governorship for himself, and returned. Nosal was content with the command of the military until he died in the year 637 [1239–40]. Taking the *bitigchis* and the revenue agents, Görgüz administered fiscal affairs, put the

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[1]The "Sasan people" are the Saxons of Transylvania.

[2]"Qara Ulagh" should represent Moldavia.

[3]The same name as above.

[4]The Tisa is, of course, the Tisa (Tisza) River, and the "Tunha" is the Danube (Dunav); the confluence of the two is north-northwest of Belgrade.

[5]$JT_{K\&BI}$ ماقوت ("Maqut," for which Strakosch-Grassmann, *Einfall*, 166 suggests Makhov on the Sava); JT_{AZ} تاقوت (Taqut). $JT_{K\&BI}$ اویرق (Oyraq?); JT_{AZ} اربرق (Arbaraq?). $JT_{K\&BI}$ سران (Saran?); JT_{AZ} سراف (Sraf?). None identified, but سراف may represent the Serbs.

[6]The name is given in the text as ملیکین, which is not recognizable as anything known. Minorsky states that it is probably Split, but there is no resemblance between the names. King Béla departed from Trau in March 1242. See Strakosch-Grassmann, *Einfall*, 168.

affairs of Khurasan and Mazanderan in order, and made a census. He fixed the assessments, made a good foundation for the workshops, and created the best administration of justice and equity possible.

Sharafuddin returned from Batu, and since he and certain others had lost their authority through Görgüz's presence, they persuaded Chin Temür's eldest son, Edigü Temür, to ask for his father's post. He sent Tonquz to the Qa'an's court to report the confusion in Khurasan. A group of those opposed to the Qa'an's vizier Chinqai took advantage of an opportunity to convey Edigü Temür's report. An order was given for Amir Arghun Aqa, Qor Buqa, and Shamsuddin Kamargar to go and make an investigation. When Görgüz found out, [M171] he set out for the Qa'an's court. He met the others in Fanakat and refused to turn back merely on their say-so. Tonquz set upon him and broke his teeth. Görgüz sent his blood-stained nightshirt with Temür to the Qa'an's court and was forced to turn back. When he reached Khurasan, Külbolad and Edigü Temür assembled and drove the *bitigchis* from Görgüz's house to their houses with sticks and clubs. An investigation into matters was launched, and Görgüz kept coming up with excuses until Temür returned forty-five days later, bearing a decree to the effect that all the amirs and maliks should present themselves and that no investigation should be conducted there. When the Qa'an had been shown Görgüz's bloody shirt, he had flown into a rage and sent a message to Görgüz saying that he should present himself at court. Görgüz mounted at once with a group of trusted officials. **[485]** Külbolad and Edigü Temür also set out with a group of informants.

In Bukhara, Sayin Malikshah gave them a banquet. When Külbolad went out to relieve himself, a group of *fida'is* who were trailing him stabbed and killed him. [M173] When they reached the court they first pitched the tent Chin Temür had provided. The Qa'an was inside enjoying a banquet, but when he went out to relieve himself a gust of wind arose and collapsed the tent, injuring a concubine. The Qa'an ordered the tent torn to shreds and carried away as plunder. On account of this, Edigü Temür lost face.

A week later, the tent Görgüz had brought was pitched, and revels were held. One of the gifts was a belt studded with jaundice stones. As a pleasantry, the Qa'an put it on, and the slight discomfort he was experiencing from overeating was dispelled. This was taken as a good omen, and Görgüz's prospects began to look up.

For three months an investigation into their affairs was held, but no conclusion was reached. Finally the Qa'an undertook the examination himself, and Edigü Temür and his followers were convicted. "Since you are connected to Batu," the Qa'an said, "I will send your case to him. Batu commands you." The Qa'an's vizier Chinqai said, "Batu's superior is the Qa'an. What dog is this that his case needs a council of padishahs? The Qa'an commands him." [M175] The Qa'an pardoned him, made peace among them, and sent them all back in Görgüz's company. "It is Genghis Khan's great Yasa that lying informants be killed," he told them. "You should all be killed, but because you have come such a long way, and your wives and children are expecting you, I will pardon you. Henceforth do not do such things. Say to Görgüz, 'If you continue to live with them on the basis of vengefulness, you too will be at fault.' "

It was ordered that Görgüz should command all the territory from the Oxus River that Chormaqan's army had subdued. Heralds were sent ahead to Khurasan while he went to visit Batu's brother Tangqut. From there he went via Khwarazm to Khurasan. In Jumada II 637 [January 1240], he dis-

mounted at his own quarters, summoned the amirs and nobles, and read them the orders. He sent his son to Persia, Arran, and Azerbaijan, where, after much debate with Chormaqan, he took control of those territories in accordance with the decree and fixed the amount of tribute. **[486]**

Görgüz chose the city of Tus as his residence, and there he began construction of many buildings. [M177] He arrested and imprisoned Sharafuddin Khwarazmi and gave the vizierate to Asiluddin Rughdi. He sent Temür to the Qa'an's court to inform him of Sharafuddin's situation, and he himself went on Temür's heels. While on his return journey, he encountered one of Chaghatai's amirs named Käjävü on a bridge in Transoxiana. An exchange of words ensued. The amir said, "You wait and see if I don't report you!"

"To whom are you going to report me?" countered Görgüz.

Chaghatai had died not long before, and the amir went weeping before Chaghatai's wife and told her what Görgüz had said. The khatun sent a message to the Qa'an, saying, "Just because Chaghatai is dead, can a commoner like Görgüz speak so boldly?" The Qa'an ordered Görgüz arrested and his mouth stuffed with dirt until he died. In the meantime Görgüz had come to Khurasan. The khatun's envoys brought Külbolad's son the decree that said he should seize Görgüz and turn him over to them. Görgüz escaped, however, and went into the Tus fortress. After three days of battle they got him out, tied him up in chains, [M179] and turned him over to the envoys, who took him away and killed him by stuffing dirt into his mouth.

Part Three of the history of Ögödäi Qa'an. His good character, his sayings, decrees, and orders, and events that occurred during his reign not included in the above two parts but learned from miscellaneous books and persons.

The Qa'an was known for his good character, nobility, and good customs. He constantly rewarded and honored all classes of mankind, and friendliness and generosity were so dominant in his nature [M181] that not for the batting of an eyelash was he negligent of propagating justice and clemency. Sometimes his ministers and courtiers tried to undo his excesses, but he would always say, "It is known to all on this earth that the world is not faithful to any creature. Wisdom necessitates that a man keep himself alive through the eternality of a good name." **[487]**

An eternal memory is reckoned by the wise to be a second life. Such a treasury is enough for you, like good works that last forever.

Whenever the manners and customs of past rulers and kings were mentioned, when it came to talk of treasures, he would always say, "Those who have striven for such things were deprived of their fair share of wisdom, for no difference can be imagined between buried treasure and dust. Both are equally beneficial, and when one's appointed time of death arrives they give no benefit, and it is not possible to come back from the other world. We want to place our treasures in the corners of hearts, and everything that is on hand and ready, or that will come, we want to give to the deprived and the needy so that we may store up a good name."

As examples of the overall content of his deeds and words several anecdotes will now be given in detail, but they are but one out of a thousand and only a few of many. [M183]

It is the custom of the Mongols that during the day in spring and summer no one sits in water, washes his hands in a brook, carries water in gold or silver vessels, or spreads washed clothes in open spaces, for they

claim that these things cause an increase in thunder and lightning, of which they are deathly afraid.

One day the Qa'an was out hunting with Chaghatai. Along the way they saw a Muslim sitting in water making his ablutions.

Chaghatai, who was quite exacting in his application of the Yasa, wanted to kill the Muslim, but the Qa'an said, "It is late, and we are weary. Let them hold him tonight, and tomorrow he can be tried and executed." Turning the man over to Danishmand the chamberlain, the Qa'an secretly ordered a bar of silver thrown where the man had been making his ablutions. Then he sent word for the man to be told that during the trial he should say, "I am a man of limited means. I had a little capital that had fallen into the water. I went in to get it out."

The next day during the inquisition he pled his excuse, and when men were sent there, they found the bar in the water. [M185]

"Who would dare to transgress the Great Yasa?" said the Qa'an, "However, this wretch has sacrificed himself for the sake of this paltry thing out of helplessness and poverty." He pardoned him [488] and ordered him given ten more bars from the treasury, and he was made to pledge that henceforth he would not dare to do such a thing.

For this reason the valiant of the world made themselves slaves to his good character, for the soul is better than abundant treasure.

✿

At the beginning of his reign the Qa'an ordered that no sheep or other edible animal should be slaughtered by having a knife drawn across its throat but rather, as was customary among the Mongols, the breast should be slit.

One day a Muslim bought a sheep, took it home, shut the gates tight, and in the inner part of the house slaughtered it in the Muslim fashion. By chance, a Qipchaq had seen him in the market, followed him home, and gone up on the roof. As soon as the man drew the knife across the sheep's throat, he rushed down, tied the man up, and took him to the Qa'an's court. [M187]

The Qa'an sent deputies out to investigate. When they reported what had happened, he said, "This poor man has obeyed our order, while this Turk has broken it by going up on his roof."

He let the Muslim go, and the Qipchaq was executed.

✿

Players had come from Cathay, and they were performing amazing plays from behind a screen. One of them had types representing every nation. During the play an old man with white hair and a turban was tied behind a horse and being dragged along.

"What is this a representation of?" asked the Qa'an. They told him it was a Muslim rebel because that was how the soldiers exiled such people from cities. The Qa'an ordered the show stopped and had brought from the treasury fine textiles and jewel-studded garments from Baghdad and Bukhara and Arabian horses and other valuable items like jewels, gold, silver, etc. that are found in these areas. Then he had Cathaian wares brought and placed them opposite to show the inestimable difference between the two sorts of goods.

"The poorest Tajik Muslim has several Cathaian slaves standing in attendance," he said, "but not one of the greatest generals of Cathay has a Muslim captive. This can only be due to divine wisdom, [M189] for it is aware of the worth and rank of every nation in the world, and Genghis Khan's blessed Yasa is also in agreement, for the blood money for a Muslim is forty bars of gold while that of a Cathaian is one donkey. With such clear proofs how can the people of Islam be subjected to ridicule? [489]

You should be made to pay for your act, but this time I will spare your lives. Go from our court, and henceforth do not perform such things."

❁

One of the maliks of Iran sent an ambassador to the Qa'an to enter into fealty. Among the gifts he had sent was a polished ruby that had come to his ancestors by inheritance. It had the blessed name of the Apostle of God carved above, and below were the names of the sender's ancestors.

The Qa'an ordered the engravers to leave the name of the Apostle for good luck, to erase the other names, and to carve the Qa'an's name beneath the Apostle's. Then he sent it back.

❁

A Persian speaker who did not accept the religion of Islam came to the Qa'an, knelt, and said, "I dreamed of Genghis Khan, and he said, [M191] 'Tell my son to kill many Muslims, for they are an evil people.' "

The Qa'an reflected a moment and then asked, "Did he speak to you through an interpreter, or did he say this to you himself?"

"He spoke directly to me," he answered.

"Do you know Mongolian?" asked the Qa'an.

"No," he said.

"Then you are obviously lying," said the Qa'an, "for I know for certain that Genghis Khan knew no language other than Mongolian."

Then he ordered the man to be killed.

❁

There was a poor man who had no way of earning a living and knew no trade. He sharpened a few pieces of iron into things like awls, mounted them on sticks, and waited on the roadside for the Qa'an to pass. The Qa'an spied him from afar and sent someone to investigate.

"I am a poor man with few possessions and a large family," he said. "I have brought these awls to offer." The officer reported the man's condition, but the awls were so miserable and bad that he didn't show them.

"Bring me what he has brought," the Qa'an said. Then, taking the awls in his hand, he said, "Even things like these are useful. The herdsmen use them to stitch their kumiss sacks." And he rewarded the man with a bar of silver for each awl, which wasn't worth a barleycorn. [M193]

❁

There was a pathetic old man who came to the Qa'an and asked him to give him two hundred bars of gold to trade with on the emperor's behalf. The Qa'an said they should be given.

"This man **[490]** is in his twilight years," the courtiers said. "He has no residence, children, or slaves. No one knows anything about him."

"He has been hoping and looking for such an opportunity his whole life," said the Qa'an. "To turn him away from our court in disappointment is not a high-minded thing to do and unworthy of the emperorship God has granted us. Give him immediately what he asks for. He should not meet his death not having attained his desire."

In accordance with the command, the bars were turned over to him, but before he could pick them all up he gave up the ghost.

❁

Someone petitioned for five hundred bars of gold to be given him from the treasury to form the basis of a commercial enterprise.

"Give them to him," said the Qa'an.

"But this man has no credentials," said the courtiers, "no property or money. Furthermore, he is in debt to this amount."

"Give him a thousand bars," said the Qa'an, "so that he can give half to his creditors and use the rest as capital."

❁

A treasure map was found that indicated

that in such-and-such a spot in the vicinity of the area in which the Qa'an's *yurt* was located there was a treasure placed there by Afrasiab. [M195] In the treasure map it was written that there had not been enough animals in the area to carry it away.

"We have no need of the treasure of others," said the Qa'an. "What we have we give away to God's servants and the poor."

❁

An *ortaq* came to court and took away from the treasury a hundred bars of gold to buy commercial goods with. After a time he returned and offered an absurd excuse, saying that the bars were all gone.

"Give him another five hundred bars," said the Qa'an. The man took them and returned the next year, even more bankrupt than the last time, and offered an excuse.

"Give him another like amount," said the Qa'an.

Back he came with an excuse, but this time the *bitigchis* were afraid to relay his words. Finally they said, "So-and-so squanders and eats money in the towns."

"How can he eat bars of gold?" asked the Qa'an.

"He gives them away to the rabble and spends them on food and wine," they said.

"Inasmuch as the bars remain the same," said the Qa'an, "and those who take them from him are our subjects, they remain in our hands. Give him more as you did before, and tell him not to squander them." [M197]

❁

The people of Taianfu, a city in Cathay, petitioned, saying, "We owe eight thousand bars, **[491]** and it will break us because our creditors are demanding payment. If it be commanded that they go easy on us, we will pay the debt gradually and not be driven to desperation."

"To force the creditors to go easy will result in loss to them," said the Qa'an, "while to do nothing will result in distress to the subjects. It would be better for us to pay it from the treasury."

A herald then announced that creditors should bring their promissory notes. The creditors came and took cash from the treasury, but many people showed up claiming to be debtor and claimant and took bars fraudulently, and thus many times what they had stated was taken.

❁

Once on a hunt someone brought the Qa'an three melons. Since he did not have any gold or textiles with him at the time, the Qa'an told Mögä Khatun to give the poor man the pearls she had in her ears.

"This poor man doesn't know what those pearls are worth," said the assembly. "Let him come to court tomorrow and get the gold and textiles he can claim."

"This poor man doesn't have the patience to wait," said the Qa'an. "Anyway, these pearls will come back to us." [M199] And as ordered, they handed the pearls to the poor man, who went away rejoicing and sold them for a pittance.

The buyer thought to himself, "Such valuable pearls are worthy of kings." The next day he took them to the Qa'an, who said, "Didn't I say these pearls would return to us? This way the poor man was not deprived." And, giving them back to Mögä Khatun, he gave the man who had brought them a handsome reward.

❁

A poor man knelt and offered a pair of arrows. When his condition was inquired into, he said, "My trade is arrow making, and I owe seventy bars. If it is ordered that this amount be paid from the treasury, I'll bring ten thousand arrows a year as payment."

"This poor fellow must be in a dreadful fix to accept to make so many arrows for that many bars," said the Qa'an. "Give him a hundred bars in cash so that he can put his affairs in order." They were immediately

turned over to him, but he was unable to carry them away. The Qa'an laughed and ordered a pair of oxen and a cart to be given to him. He loaded them and departed.

❁

One day, when he had laid the foundations of Qaraqorum, he went into the treasury and saw nearly a hundred thousand bars. [M201]

"What benefit do we derive from all these stores?" he asked. **[492]** "They have to be constantly guarded. Have it announced that everybody who wants a bar should come and take one."

The people of the city, high and low, rich and poor alike, all rushed to the treasury, and everyone got an abundant share.

❁

Since it was too cold in the vicinity of Qaraqorum for there to have been much agriculture, it was introduced during the Qa'an's reign. Somebody planted turnips and raised a few, which he brought to the Qa'an. The Qa'an ordered the number of leaves counted. There were a hundred, so he ordered the man to be given a hundred bars.

If the heart and hand are sea and mine,
they are the heart and hand of the king.

❁

He had built a pavilion two leagues outside of Qaraqorum and named it Tuzghu Baligh. Near it someone planted several willow and almond trees. In that area trees do not usually grow because it is so cold, but by chance these flourished. The Qa'an ordered a gold bar given to that man for every tree.

❁

When his generosity and liberality became known in every quarter, [M203] merchants from all over flocked to his court. He would order that all their wares, good and bad, be purchased and full price paid. Usually he would pay for them sight unseen, so the merchants would present a bill for ten items for every one that was actually there. Once all the merchants realized this, they would leave their wares unopened and then come back in two or three days, when the Qa'an would have given them away. Then they would come and name any price they wanted.

He had also ordered that they be paid a premium of ten percent over the total. One day the courtiers said, "There is no necessity for the extra ten percent, for the price of their goods is inflated anyway."

"Merchants deal with the treasury in hopes of a profit," the Qa'an said, "and they have an expense to pay off you *bitigchis*. It's the debt they owe you I'm discharging lest they come away having taken a loss in dealing with us."

❁

Some people brought two elephant tusks from India.

"How much are they asking for them?" the Qa'an asked.

"Five thousand bars," he was told. Without batting an eyelash he ordered it paid. The grandees of the court objected violently, **[493]** saying, "How can so much money be given for such a miserable thing that comes from enemy territory?"

"No one is an enemy to me," he replied. "Give it to them and let them go."

❁

Someone brought him a hat of the sort worn in Iran. [M205] In a drunken state he ordered a voucher written for two hundred bars, but they withheld the red seal, fearing that he might have spoken simply out of drunkenness. The next day his gaze fell upon that person. The officials told him what they had done.

He ordered them to give him three hundred bars. Once again, and for the same reason, they held it in abeyance. Every day he increased the amount until it reached six hundred. Then he summoned the amirs and scribes and asked them, "Is there anything in this world that will last forever?"

"There is not," they all said unanimously.

Turning to Sahib Yalavach, he said, "They are wrong, for a good name and a good memory will last forever." Then he said to the scribes, "You are my real enemies, for you don't want a good name and repute to be left behind by me. Thinking that I was giving money away in drunkenness, you hold payment in abeyance and deprive the person to whom it's due. There is nothing to be done but to make an example of one or two of you in retribution for what you have done."

❁

Before Shiraz submitted, a person from there came and knelt, saying, "I am a family man, and I owe five hundred bars. I have come from Shiraz, having heard of your imperial generosity."

The Qa'an ordered him to be given a thousand bars, [M207] but the officials delayed payment and said, "To give more than he asked for is nothing but squander."

"Having heard of us, this poor man has crossed so many mountains and plains and endured so much heat and cold. His request will not cover his debt and his expenses. If it is not increased, it will be as though he were sent back deprived—and that cannot be. Pay him in full what has been ordered, and let him depart happy."

❁

A poor man came to the Qa'an's court with ten thongs tied to a stick. After offering prayers on the Qa'an's behalf, he said, "I had a little goat, and I used the money from its flesh to cover expenses for my family, but I made its skin into these thongs I have brought for the men-at-arms."

The Qa'an accepted the thongs, took them into his own hands, and said, "This poor man has brought us the best part of the goat." And he signaled for a hundred bars and a thousand head of sheep to be given to him.

"When this is spent," he said, "come back and we'll give you more." **[494]**

❁

It was the Qa'an's habit to go hunting for three months of the year during the winter. Every day of the other nine months, when he had finished his meal, he would sit on a chair outside the court with piles and stacks of all the various sorts of goods and wares to be found in the world, which he would give away to Mongols and Muslims. It often happened that he would tell burly men to take as much as they could carry. [M209]

One day one of them carried off a huge stack. Along the way a piece of clothing fell, and the man came back to pick it up.

"Why would anyone take so much trouble for a piece of clothing?" the Qa'an asked, and he motioned for the man to take away once more as much as he could.

❁

Someone brought him two hundred whips made of red willow wood. In that area they use that kind of wood for kindling, but he ordered the man given two hundred bars.

❁

Someone brought him two hundred bone arrow heads. He gave him a like number of bars.

❁

Once, when he was riding through Qaraqorum, he noticed a shop full of jujubes, and he developed a craving for them. When he dismounted he ordered Danishmand the chamberlain to buy a bar's worth of jujubes from the shop. He went, got a tray full of jujubes, and gave a quarter bar, which was many times the price of the jujubes.

When he brought them, the Qa'an said, [M211] "One bar was a small price for so many jujubes."

Danishmand took out the rest of the bar and said, "What I gave was more than the price."

The Qa'an rebuked him and said, "When in his whole life has that man had a customer like us?" And he ordered the rest of

the bar and ten more given to him.

❁

The Qa'an ordered a hundred bars given to a poor man.

"The Qa'an thinks a hundred bars is like a hundred dirhems," the officials said, and they spread the amount on the road in front of him.

"What is this?" he asked.

"They are the bars the poor man will be given," they replied.

"It certainly looks small and paltry," said the Qa'an. "Give him twice as much!"

❁

Someone sold the Qa'an's amirs and wives something for a hundred bars.

"Give it to him in cash," said the Qa'an.

The next day he saw a poor man standing at the gate of his palace, and he thought it was the merchant. "Why haven't you given him his money yet?" he asked. Immediately the hundred bars were taken to him and he was told, "This is the price of your wares." [M213]

"I haven't sold any wares," said the poor man. Back they came and said, **[495]** "It's not the same person."

"Now that you've taken the bars out of the treasury," said the Qa'an, "you can't put them back. It was slated for this man. Give them all to him."

❁

One day he saw an Indian woman carrying a child on her shoulders. The Qa'an ordered that she be given five bars. The man charged with giving the bars withheld one and gave her four. The woman objected.

"What is she saying?" asked the Qa'an.

"The woman has children and she was praying for them," came the reply.

"She has children?" asked the Qa'an.

"Yes," they said.

The Qa'an went into the treasury and cried out to the woman, saying, "Take away however much you can of any fabrics you want."

She took enough brocades to form the capital of a wealthy man.

❁

One day a bird keeper brought a falcon, saying, "It's sick and needs to be be treated with chicken meat." The Qa'an said, "Give him a bar to buy a chicken with." The treasurer gave the bar to the moneychanger to convert into chits good for several chickens. Then, when the Qa'an asked the treasurer about the bird keeper, [M215] he told him how clever he had been.

The Qa'an got angry and said, "I have placed in your hands all the wealth of the world, which cannot even be counted. Is that not enough for you? That bird keeper didn't want a chicken. It was just an excuse to ask for something for himself. Every creature that comes before us, be they *ortaq*s who say, 'We'll take bars and make a profit on them,' or people who bring wares, or people of every sort who come to this court, I don't know whether they are laying traps or whether they'll take something, but I want them to enjoy ease and prosperity on account of us and have a share in our good fortune." Then he ordered several bars given to the bird keeper.

❁

There was a bow maker who made really bad bows. He had become so notorious in Qaraqorum that nobody would buy a bow from him. One day he tied twenty bows on the end of a stick and stood by the gate to the court. When the Qa'an came out and saw him, he ordered his people to inquire into the man's condition.

"I am a bow maker," he said, "but nobody buys my bows, and I have become very poor. I have brought these twenty bows for His Majesty."

The Qa'an ordered the bows taken and twenty bars of gold given to the man. **[496, M217]**

❁

The Qa'an had been brought a very valu-

able, jewel-studded belt as a rare and precious gift. He put it on, but there was a loose stud on one end. It was sent to a goldsmith to tighten the stud.

The goldsmith sold the belt, and every time it was demanded of him, he made excuses. Finally he was put under guard and confessed that he had lost it. He was bound and brought to court. When the truth was told, the Qa'an said, "Although he has committed a serious crime, to have perpetrated such a thing shows that he was in great poverty and need. Give him a hundred fifty bars so that he can straighten out his affairs, and henceforth let him not have the audacity to do such a thing."

❁

Someone brought the Qa'an a goblet from Aleppo. The courtiers took it away while he was absent and then told him about it.

"The man who brought it must have gone to a lot of trouble to get such a rare novelty here," he said. "Give him two hundred bars."

The man was sitting at the gate, wondering whether his words had been conveyed to the Qa'an or not, when all of a sudden he was given the good news and the bars were handed to him.

That same day a mention was made of Abyssinian servants. The Qa'an asked the man if he could obtain some.

"That is my métier," he said. [M219] The Qa'an ordered another two hundred bars to be given him. A travel decree was penned, but he never returned.

❁

There was a man in Qaraqorum who was extremely poor. He fashioned a cup from a mountain goat's horn and sat on the roadside. When the Qa'an passed by, he jumped up and offered it.

The Qa'an took it and ordered that he be given fifty bars. One of the scribes repeated the number.

"How many times do I have to tell you not to question my gifts?" said the Qa'an. "Do not withhold my money from those who ask for it. Instead, give him a hundred bars."

❁

A Muslim had borrowed four bars of silver from an Uyghur amir and was then unable to repay it. He was arrested, and during the hearing he was given the choice either of renouncing the Muhammedan religion and becoming an idolator or of being stripped naked in the marketplace and receiving a hundred lashes. He asked for a respite of three days.

He went to the Qa'an's court and told him of his situation. The Qa'an ordered the man's creditors to be summoned, and he convicted them of coercing the Muslim. **[497]** The Uyghur's wife and home were given to the Muslim, [M221] and the Uyghur was stripped naked in the marketplace and given a hundred lashes. The Muslim was awarded a hundred bars.

❁

There was an Alid from Chargh in Bukhara who was known as Alavi Charghi. He had taken bars from the treasury on commercial speculation. When it came time for repayment, he said, "I have paid it with interest." The receipt was demanded as proof.

"I gave it to the Qa'an," he said.

He was brought to court, and the Qa'an said, "I don't know you. Where and in whose presence did you turn it over?"

"You were alone," he said.

The Qa'an reflected for a moment and then said, "It is abundantly clear what he is up to. However, if an investigation is made, people will say the Qa'an has gone back on his word and made an investigation." Then he added, "Leave him alone, but do not accept any of the wares he has brought to the treasury to sell."

That day a large group of merchants had come, and their wares were being purchased. The Qa'an gave all of them extra

payment. All of a sudden he said, "Where is that sayyid?" He was brought in.

"Aren't you sorry your goods aren't being taken?" he asked. The Alid begged and pleaded.

"What is the price of your goods?" he asked.

"Thirty bars," he replied.

The Qa'an ordered them to give him a hundred.

❁

One day one of the Qa'an's female relatives entered and eyed the raiments, pearls, [M223] and jewels of his wives. He said to Yalavach, "Bring all the pearls that are on hand." Twelve trays full, which had been purchased for eighty thousand dinars, were produced. Then he ordered all the pearls dumped in her lap.

"Have you had enough pearls?" he asked. "How long will you gaze upon others?"

❁

Someone brought him a pomegranate as a gift. He ordered the seeds counted and divided up among those present. He gave the man one bar for every seed.

❁

From a place called Qara Tash in the region of Tangqut a Muslim brought him an edible walnut and then asked for permission to return home. He granted permission and gave him a bar of gold.

❁

On a banquet day when all the day guards were in a drunken stupor, somebody stole a golden goblet from the *ordu*. They searched for it high and low, but it was not to be found. The Qa'an ordered it heralded that **[498]** if whoever had taken it would return it, [M225] his life would be spared and he would be granted anything he asked for.

The next day the thief brought the goblet. "For what reason did you commit such an audacious act?" he was asked.

"To give a warning to the emperor of the world," he replied, "so that he wouldn't trust the day guards.

"We spare his life," said the Qa'an, "because he is so bold and courageous." He also awarded him five hundred bars and many horses and garments, made him an officer over several thousand soldiers, and sent him to Cathay.

❁

One year when the wheat had sprouted, a hailstorm came and wiped it out. In fear of shortages a maund of flour was not to be had in Qaraqorum for a dinar. The Qa'an ordered the following heralded: "Let those who have planted wheat not allow themselves to fear, for we will make up from the treasury any loss they may incur. Let them water their crops once more. If there is no harvest, they may take full compensation from the storehouses."

Thus they did, and that year there was such a harvest that it had no end.

❁

The Qa'an loved to watch wrestling. At first there were Mongol, Qipchaq, and Cathaian wrestlers. [M227] Then he was told about wrestlers from Khurasan and Persia. He sent an envoy to Chormaqan to tell him to send wrestlers. The champion wrestlers Pila and Muhammadshah, along with thirty others, were given horses and provisions and dispatched from Hamadan. When they reached the Qa'an's court he was highly pleased by Pila's build and physique and the proportion of his limbs.

Amir Elji'idäi of the Jalayir tribe was present and said, "What a shame for the expense of horses and provisions to have been wasted on them."

"You bring your wrestlers for a match with them," said the Qa'an. "If they win, we'll give you five hundred bars. If they lose, you give us five hundred horses."

If was agreed, and that night the Qa'an summoned Pila, gave him a goblet and told him to make merry. Pila placed his forehead

on the ground and said, "It is hoped through the fortune of the lord and master of the world that this affair will turn out as he wishes."

Elji'idäi brought a man from his division called Orghana Bögä, and at dawn the next day all assembled.

"The rules are that they have to grab each other's legs," said Elji'idäi, and they started wrestling. Orghana pinned Pila. [M229]

"Hold me with all the strength you have," said Pila, "and don't let go." Then he made a movement, **[499]** spun Orghana around like a top, and threw him to the ground so hard that the cracking of his bones could be heard by all. The Qa'an jumped up like a lion and said to Pila, "Hold your opponent tight!"

Then to Elji'idäi he said, "Was he worth the horses and provisions or not?" And Elji'idäi was forced to concede the five hundred horses. In addition to honors and other awards, Pila was given five hundred bars.

Then he said to Muhammadshah, "Will you wrestle with Pila?"

"I will," he said.

"You are fellow townsmen and kinfolk," the Qa'an said.

After a time he gave Pila a beautiful girl, but, as he was accustomed in order to preserve his strength, he did not touch her. She was mystified and went to the court. As a joke, the Qa'an asked, "How did you find the Tajik? Have you had a full share of his pleasuring?" (Among the Mongols it is a standing joke that Tajiks have huge members.) [M231]

"I haven't had any pleasure from him yet," she said, "because we are apart."

The Qa'an summoned Pila and discussed the situation with him.

"Since I have acquired a reputation as a wrestler at the Qa'an's court," he replied, "and no one has beaten me, if I get into that sort of thing, my strength will be sapped, but I mustn't lose my standing at court."

"It was my intention that you should have children," said the Qa'an. "Henceforth I exempt you from having to wrestle."

✿

In the province of Anatolia was a man in bad straits who made his living as a jester. When the Qa'an's reputation for liberality spread throughout the world, this man got the idea of going there. However, he had neither the provisions for a journey nor a mount. His friends took up a collection and bought him a donkey, on which he set out.

Three years later he came back and saw one of his friends in the marketplace. He got off his mount, greeted him, and took him to his quarters, where he offered him all sorts of food and drink. There were gold and silver vessels and plates, Chinese slaves standing in attendance, and many horses and camels tied in the stable. He conversed warmly with his friend, but the friend couldn't place him. After three days he asked who he was.

"I am the jester who departed with one donkey," he replied. [M233] When the man inquired further, he said, "I went on that same donkey as a beggar before the Qa'an. I had a bit of dried fruit with me. I sat down on a hill by which he would pass. From afar his gaze fell upon me. **[500]** He sent someone to find out who I was. 'I have come from Anatolia because of the Qa'an's reputation for generosity and liberality,' I replied. 'I started out with nothing but destitution in order for his felicitous glance to fall upon me and for my lucky star to rise.' They presented to the Qa'an the plate of fruit along with my petition. He put a few pieces of fruit into a bowl. When he saw the courtiers' veiled disapproval, he said to them, 'He has come a long way. Before getting here he must have visited many shrines and sacred sites and seen many holy men. This is an opportunity to gain some blessing from such a person. I took the fruit to

take to my children. You can divide up the rest.' So saying, he rode off.

"When he dismounted in the *ordu*, he asked Danishmand the chamberlain where the dervish was staying.

" 'I don't know,' said Danishmand.

" 'What kind of Muslim are you,' he asked, 'that you don't know anything about a dervish who has come to our court from a far-away place? Go yourself and find him, put him in a nice place, and see to his every need.'

"Now I had settled in the Grand Bazaar, and they were running around looking for me left and right. Finally one of them found me and took me to his house. [M235] The next day the Qa'an was out riding and saw several carts loaded with bars of gold being taken to the treasury. There were seven hundred bars. To Danishmand the chamberlain he said, 'Summon that person.' When I came before him, he gave me all those bars and promised me even more. Thus, from the straits of poverty I fell into the luxury of wealth."

❁

A man came from Baghdad and sat by the roadside. When the Qa'an was passing by, he asked who he was.

"I am a poor old man," he said. "I have ten daughters, but I am too poor to get them married."

"Why doesn't the caliph give you something to help you get your daughters married?" he asked.

"Every time I ask the caliph for alms he gives me ten dinars in gold," he replied, "but that doesn't last a week."

The Qa'an ordered that he be given a thousand bars of silver.

"How can I carry so many bars?" he asked. The Qa'an ordered that he be given a horse and other necessities.

"The road is long, and there are many tribes and brigands along the way," said the man. "How am I to get these bars back home?"

The Qa'an gave him ten Mongols as escorts to take him and the money safely back to his homeland, but the man died along the way. When the Qa'an was informed he said, [M237] "Let them take the bars to Baghdad and deliver them to the man's house, and let them say, 'The Padishah has sent these as alms in order to get the girls married.' " **[501]**

❁

A female relative of the Qa'an's was being married, and for her dowry he ordered a chest of pearls it took eight men to carry. It was brought to him, but he was in the midst of revelry when it arrived. He ordered the chest opened, and it contained matchless pearls, each of which weighed from one mithcal to two *dang*s. He gave them all away to those present.

"These were brought as a dowry for the girl, as you ordered," he was told.

"Then give her another chest exactly like this one," he said.

❁

The Atabeg of Fars sent his brother Tahamtan to the Qa'an's court with gifts and presents. Among the gifts were two strings of extremely fine pearls. When they were presented he realized how valuable pearls were in the eyes of the giver. He ordered a long chest full of regal pearls brought, and the emissary and those present were astonished by the sight. [M239] The Qa'an ordered that at the banquet those pearls should be dropped into the wine goblets until they were all distributed to those present.

❁

There was a Mongol named Minghuli Bögä who had a flock of sheep. One night a wolf got in amongst the sheep and killed most of them. The next day the Mongol went to court and reported what had happened to his flock.

"Where will the wolf go?" asked the Qa'an.

By chance, just then some Muslim wrestlers were coming. They had muzzled a live wolf they had captured in the vicinity and brought it in. The Qa'an bought the wolf from them for a thousand bars. Then he said to the Mongol, "You won't gain anything by killing this wolf." And he ordered that he be given a thousand sheep. Then he said, "We will set this wolf free so that he can inform his friends of the situation, and they will leave this area."

When the wolf was turned loose, the dogs at the gate fell upon it and tore it to pieces. The Qa'an was angered by this and ordered vengeance extracted from the dogs for the wolf. Then he went into the *ordu*, sad and pensive, and, turning to the ministers and elite, he said, "The reason I turned the wolf loose was that I had felt a weakness in my constitution. [M241] I thought that if I saved a living creature from death, the eternal God might grant me recovery. **[502]** Just as the wolf did not escape the dogs' clutches neither will I make it through this pass. It is no secret that kings are raised up by divine assistance and they have inspirations so that they may know things."

❁

Now that a few lines have been written about the Qa'an's generosity, liberality, clemency, and forgiving nature, for which the Necessarily Existent singled him out so all may know that in the world there is no characteristic better than the acquisition of a good name, for after many years he is still remembered by the people of the world for his beneficence and justice—

Sa'di, a soul with a good repute never dies.
Dead is he who is not remembered for good

—let us also now record an anecdote about his punishment, awesomeness, and might so that all may be fully informed of both aspects upon which world rule are based. [M243]

Once it was rumored among the Oyirat, one of the Mongol tribes, that their daughters were going to be given in marriage by imperial command to a certain group of people. Out of fear they affianced their daughters amongst themselves and delivered several of them to their husbands. When this was reported to the Qa'an, he ordered an investigation and it was found to be as stated. A decree was issued that all the girls of that tribe above the age of seven be assembled, and those who had been given to husbands that year were to be taken back. Four thousand girls were assembled.

Then he ordered those who were daughters of amirs to be separated, and a command was given for all present to have intercourse with them. Two of the girls died. The rest were put into two rows. Those who were worthy of court were sent to the harem; some he gave to cheetah keepers and falconers; others he gave to various court retainers; and a few he sent to brothels and the emissary hostel. Those who remained he ordered the Mongols and Muslims present to seize, **[503]** while their fathers, brothers, husbands, and relatives stood watching, no one daring to speak.

❁

The Qa'an awarded the entirety of the realm of Cathay to Sahib Mahmud Yalavach. [M245] From Beshbaliq and Qara Khocho in Uyghuristan, Khotan, Kashghar, Almalyk, Qayaliq, Samarkand, and Bukhara as far as the banks of the Oxus went to Mas'ud Beg, Yalavach's son. From Khurasan to the frontier of Anatolia and Diyarbekir he awarded to Amir Görgüz. They gathered the revenue from all these places and sent it to the Qa'an's treasury.

❁

End of the anecdotes on Ögödäi Qa'an son of Genghis Khan. ~

ℭ SECTION FIVE

THE HISTORY OF JOCHI KHAN, SON OF GENGHIS KHAN, CONSISTING OF THREE PARTS.

Part One is on Jochi Khan's family, his wives, sons, and grandsons who have branched off down to today; a picture of him, and a genealogical chart of his sons and grandsons. [B87]

Part Two is the history of his reign, a picture of his throne and his wives, princes, and officers at his enthronement; a mention of his summer pastures and winter quarters; some of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved; the length of his reign.

Part Three is on his character, miscellaneous stories, various pronouncements and good sayings of his not included in the previous two sections, culled from various books and persons.

Part One. The family of Jochi Khan, his wives, sons, and grandsons who have branched off down to today; a picture of him and a genealogical chart of his sons and grandsons.

With the exception of his elder sister Füjin Beki, Jochi Khan was the oldest of Genghis Khan's children. He was born of Genghis Khan's chief wife, Börtä Füjin, the daughter of Däi Noyan of the Qunqirat who was the mother of four sons and five daughters. [505]

In the beginning, before Genghis Khan had achieved the status of world conqueror, his pregnant wife was carried off by a tribe that was then on terms of truce with Ong Khan of the Kerayit, although they had been at enmity prior to that. Because of their status then, they sent Börtä Füjin to Ong Khan. Inasmuch as he had been friends with Genghis Khan's father and called Genghis Khan "son," he held her in honor and respect and gave her status as a daughter-in-law to preserve her from the gaze of strangers and non-intimates. Because she was extremely pure and competent, Ong Khan's amirs asked one another why Ong Khan didn't take Börtä Füjin. "She is like my own daughter-in-law," he replied, "and she is in my safe keeping. To look upon her with treachery would not be chivalrous."

When Genghis Khan learned what had happened, he sent an amir of the Ongqa'ut of the Jalayir, Säbä by name (the grandfather of the Sartaq who served as the *amir-ordu* in Khurasan and Mazanderan during Arghun Khan's childhood by order of Abaqa Khan), to Ong Khan to ask for the return of Börtä Füjin. Ong Khan responded by sending her with Säbä, and along the way home a son was born unexpectedly, for which reason he was named Jochi.[1] Since the road was dangerous and there was no opportunity to make a cradle, Säbä made a bit of dough, wrapped the child in it, and took it on his lap to protect it from harm until he delivered them to Genghis Khan.

When he grew up, Jochi was always in his father's service and helpful in good times and bad. There were, however, constant

[1]See note to text p. 223.

obstinacy, bickering, and disagreements between him and his brothers Chaghatai and Ögödäi. On the other hand, there was always agreement between him and Tolui Khan and his family, who never taunted him but considered him legitimate.[1] During his youth Jochi Khan married Jagambu's daughter, Begtutmish Füjin, the sister of both Genghis Khan's wife Ibaqa Beki and Sorqaghtani Beki, the wife of Tolui Khan. She was Jochi Khan's chief wife, [B90] but aside from her he had many wives and concubines by whom he had many children.

Reliable sources say that he had nearly forty sons and innumerable grandsons; however, because of the vast distances and because no really informed person could be located, **[506]** most of the lines have not been ascertained. Those of his sons and grandsons who are known will now be given in detail.

Jochi Khan's sons and grandsons who have been born down to the present.

Those of Jochi Khan's sons whose names are known number fourteen, as follows: (1) Orda, (2) Batu, (3) Bärkä, (4) Bärkächär, (5) Shiban Khan, (6) Tangqut, (7) Bo'al, (8) Chila'uqun, (9) Shingqor, (10) Chimtai, (11) Muhammad, (12) Udur, (13) Toqa Temür, and (14) Shinggüm.

Jochi Khan's first son, Orda.

He was born of a great lady, Sorqan by name, of the Qunqirat tribe. During his father's lifetime and after his death he was of great importance and influence. Although Jochi Khan's successor was the second son, Batu, in decrees written by Möngkä Qa'an, Orda's name has precedence. Orda gave his consent to Batu's becoming ruler and seated him on his father's throne. Orda commanded half of Jochi Khan's troops, and Batu commanded the other half. He, his troops, and four of his brothers, Udur, Toqa Temür, Shingqor, and Shinggüm, went to the left wing, and until now they are called the Princes of the Left Wing. At present their families are together with Orda's family. **[507]** The *yurt* that belongs to him and to those brothers and their troops is toward the left on the frontier, where his sons and *ulus* live as before. From the beginning none of Orda's offspring who succeeded him ever went before the khans of Batu's family because they were so far away and ruled their *ulus* in autonomy. However, it has been their custom that their ruler and king should recognize Batu's successors and write their names at the top of their decrees. Qonchi's son Nayan, who is the ruler of Orda's *ulus* at present, went to Toqta, the ruler of the Ulus Batu, for a *quriltai* because his cousin Küilük had rebelled against him and he was frightened into going to the frontier of Toqta's territory, as will be described later.

Orda had three main wives, Jükä Khatun of the Qunqirat; Tobaqana, also of the Qunqirat; and the third was also of the Qunqirat—her father's name was Ögä Khan, and he married her after his father's death. He also had many concubines. By these wives he had seven sons: Sartaqtai, Quli, Qurumshi, Qongqiran, Chormaqai, Qutuqui, and Hülägü. These seven sons and their sons and grandsons will now be described one by one.

(1) Orda's first son, Sartaghtai, was born of Jükä Khatun of the Qunqirat. He had four main wives and several concubines. By a wife named Hujan,[2] who was the sister of Qutui Khatun, he had a son named Qonchi.[3] He ruled the Ulus Orda for a very long

[1] This is the only place in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* where the imputation of illegitimacy is expressed.

[2] This name is given as سوحان in JT_K; in JT_{AJ} 116 it is هوجيان; JT_{By} reads Hujan.

[3] This name is one of the most troublesome in the

time, and he was friendly to and supportive of Arghun Khan and then of the Padishah of Islam, and they constantly exchanged ambassadors to reaffirm their sincere friendship. [Qonchi] was very fat and rotund, and day by day he grew fatter. Finally it got so bad that his guards had to watch him day and night lest he fall asleep and die from the rolls of fat around his neck. He was so huge that no horse could carry him, so he travelled in a cart. Finally he fell asleep, and the fat from around his neck came out and he died.

Qonchi had four main wives. **[508]** The first was Toqoluqan of the Qunqirat; the second was Buqulun of the Märkit; the third was Chingtüm of the Qunqirat; and the fourth was Barqujin of the Jajirat, descended from a great amir who was the chief of the *qorchis*.

Qonchi had four sons, Nayan, [Ba]chqirtai, Chaghan Buqa, and Maqudai. [B95] These four sons and their sons and grandsons are as follows.

(i) Qonchi's first son, Nayan,[1] was born of ___ Khatun of the Qunqirat. After his father's death he married three of his stepmothers, Barqujin, Chingtüm, and Altachu, and he had three other wives, (1) Elgän of the Qunqirat, daughter of Tämügä of the line of the emissary Käläs who came here, (2) Qutulun of the Oghuz, daughter of Buqayan Bügübai, and (3) Altachu of the Qunqirat, daughter of the Töräi Bahadur who was a relative of the great princess Bulughan Khatun. Nayan had four sons, Shadi by Elgän daughter of Tämügä, Sati Buqa by Qutulun Khatun, Tägänä by Altachu Khatun, and Salji'utai, whose mother's name is not known.

At present Nayan occupies his father Qonchi's position and commands his father's *ulus*. He is friendly to and supportive of the Padishah of Islam and constantly sends emissaries. Before now Temür Buqa's son Küilük claimed that since his father had ruled the *ulus*, it should have gone to him by inheritance. He gathered a force and took troops from Qaidu and Dua with which he attacked Nayan. Nayan was defeated and went to the frontier of the territory occupied by Batu's successor Toqta. After spending the winter there he went before Toqta at a *quriltai* in the spring and asked him for assistance. Since Toqta was at war with Noqai and on bad terms with the Padishah of Islam, he made excuses and gave him no troops; however, he sent emissaries to Qaidu and Dua to send him Küilük, and he issued a decree that Nayan should command the *ulus* as before. Until the present Nayan has fought anywhere from five to ten battles with Küilük and Qaidu's and Dua's troops. Six times he has ridden to battle himself, and no matter how many envoys Toqta sends to Qaidu's son Chapar and to Dua to send Küilük, **[509]** they do not respond and just make excuses. They think to themselves, "Let us assist Küilük so that he may become ruler of the *ulus* and then unite with us in our dispute with Ghazan

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Jami'u't-tawarikh. Here, and often, it is spelled قوينچى, which seems to reflect Qoyunchi. It is sometimes spelled قولجى and قونجى, which seem to reflect Qolchi and Qonchi (although the *L* in the former spelling may be a simple scribal error for *N*). There is little doubt that the name means shepherd; if it is Mongolian it should be Qonichi (and قوينچى is most likely simply a misdotted version of قونيچى); if it is Turkish it should be either Qoychi or Qoyunchi. Marco Polo calls him "Conci" (for Qonchi): "*Jn tramontana quidem est quidam rex nomine conci qui est tartarus & omnes eius gentes tartare sunt & manutenet rectam legem tartarorum qua multum bestialis est*" (Marco Polo, *Description* 2:119). Pelliot (*Marco Polo* 1:404) thinks that Marco Polo's "Conci" may have actually been Conici for the full Mongolian form, Qonichi; but since the second vowel could easily have been elided early on, we will standardize the name throughout as Qonchi.

[1]Nayan ~ Bayan: both spellings occur frequently. Bayan is a much more common name, but Nayan occurs more frequently in the manuscripts.

Khan."

Last year, which was 702 [1302–3], Nayan sent ambassadors to the Padishah of Islam headed by Käläs of the Qunqirat, who was an amir during Qonchi's time, and Tuq Temür of the Besüt. These two, and other liege men too, were received by the Padishah of Islam in Baghdad around the beginning of Jumada II last year [February 1303], and they presented falcons and a letter, the contents of which were as follows. "It is begged that you always send emissaries with good news and wait until the commanders mount in any direction ordered and perform valiantly. We this year have mounted against Chapar, and Toqta is at one with us, having promised to send troops." And [Toqta] did send twenty thousand to join the qa'an's forces at Däräsü inasmuch as at the frontier of their territory the qa'an's territory is near, indeed formerly they were contiguous. In the last several years Qaidu, imagining that they might possibly join the qa'an's forces, sent his second son Yangichar and his son Shah along with Tödä Temür (the son of Möngkä Qa'an's son Shirägi) and Ariq Bökä's son Malik Temür to the frontier of Nayan's territory and turned that area over to them so that they might act as a buffer between the qa'an's troops and Nayan's forces and not allow them to join. Küilük came to his assistance on Qaidu's and Dua's behalf with the troops that had deserted Nayan and seized some of Nayan's territory and *ulus*, although Nayan commands most of Orda's *ulus* by succession, but on account of these constant battles his forces have become impoverished, some mounted and some on foot, but they fight nonetheless with a powerful enemy and ask for monetary assistance from here. From Tabriz the Padishah of Islam sent back the emissaries who came to him in Baghdad and dispatched with them gold, clothing, and letters for him and his wives.

(ii) Qonchi's second son, Bachqirtai, was born of Buqulun Khatun of the Märkit. He had a wife named Kökälün of the Kerayit, and he had by her a son named Yäkä. **[510]**

(iii) Qonchi's third son, Chaghan Buqa, was born of Chingdüm Khatun, who has been mentioned. He had a wife named Sartish of the Kerayit, the daughter of Qosh Temür, and by her he had a son named Chiratai.

(iv) Qonchi's fourth son, Maqudai, was born of Barqujin Khatun of the Jajirat. He had no sons.

End of the branch of Orda's first son, Sartaghtai.

(2) Orda's second son, Quli. He is the one who was sent with troops from Orda's *ulus* when Hülägü Khan came to Iran and a prince from every direction was ordered to join him with auxiliary troops. He entered [Iran] from Khwarazm through Dehistan and Mazanderan. He had several major wives: one was Nändikän of the Qunqirat; another was Qadaqan of the ___ tribe; another was Köktäni, and she came here and died in this realm. He had five sons: Tümgän, Tümän, Mingqan, Ayachi, and Musalman. Each of these and their branches will now be mentioned. [B100]

(a) Quli's first son, Tümgän, had three major wives, Bulaghan of the Tatar, the daughter of Soghal Noyan, Boralun Khatun, and ___ of the ___ tribe. Öljäi was a concubine. He had three sons, (i) Charuq, who had a wife named Yau Qorichaq; by her he had two sons, Noqai and Satalmish; (ii) Mubarak, born of the Boralun Khatun mentioned above; he had two sons, El Buqa and Törä Temür; (iii) Küchük, born of the concubine Öljäi. **[511]**

(b) Quli's second son, Tümän, was born of Nändikän Khatun. He had several wives and concubines. His chief wife was

named Boralun of the ___ tribe. He had six sons: (i) Aq Köpäk, who had a son named Boralqi, (ii) Dashman, (iii) Qurtqachi, (iv) Qutlugh Buqa, (v) Qutluq Temür, and (vi) El Temür. The latter five had no sons. The names of the mothers of Aq Köpäk, Dashman, Qurtqachi, and Qutluq Temür are unknown. Qutluq Buqa was born of Boralun.

(c) Quli's third son, Mingqan, was born of ___ Khatun, and he had many wives and concubines, but their names are not known. He had three sons: Khalil, Bashmaq, and Olqutu. When Quli came to this land, Mingqan and all three of his sons came with him.

(d) Quli's fourth son, Ayachi. His wives' names are not known. He had one son named ___ by Qazan,[1] the daughter of Görgüz's son Qutlugh Buqa. Ayachi came here as a child, and during Abaqa Khan's time he was in Khurasan with Arghun Khan. After being rewarded he and his son were sent back with messages of friendship and advice to his *ulus*.

(e) Quli's fifth son, Musalman, was born of Qadaqan Khatun. He had many wives, one of whom was Orda Tegin of the Naiman. He had four sons: Yaqutu,[2] Khwaja, Yaylaq, and Ilyas, born of Orda Tegin.

End of the branch of Orda's second son, Quli.

(3) Orda's third son, Qurumshi, had no sons, and his wives' names are not known. [512]

(4) Orda's fourth son, Qongqiran, commanded the *ulus* after Orda's death. He had no sons.

(5) Orda's fifth son, Chormaqai, had no sons, and his wives' names are unknown.

(6) Orda's sixth son, Qutuqui. It is not known whether he had sons or not.

(7) Orda's seventh son, Hülägü, had two chief wives, Soluqu Khatun of the ___ tribe and Qoyarchin of the Qipchaq. By them he had two sons, Temür Buqa and Olqutu. His name was Hülä'ü,[3] and he had no sons: the sons attributed to him are Qutuqui's sons. [B105] Thus in registers of genealogy that are trustworthy. God knows best.[4]

(a) Hülägü's first son, Temür Buqa, had four major wives, Kökächin, daughter of Yesün Noyan of the Qungirat; Arghun Tegin of the Arghun tribe, daughter of Qori Qochghar; Qutuchin of the ___ tribe; and Yäbälün[5] of the Qunqirat, sister of Qutui Khatun, Hülägü Khan's wife. Aside from these he had many concubines. By the wives he had six sons, (i) Küilük[6] by Kökächin, (ii) Buqa Temür by Arghun Tegin, (iii) Changqun by Qutuchin, (iv) Toqa Temür by Yäbälün, (v) Saisi, also by Qutuchin, and (vi) Ushanan, also by Kökächin. [513]

(b) Hülägü's second son, Olqutu, was born of Qoyarchin. He had four sons: Üch Qurtqa, Besh Qurtqa, Buqa Temür, and Däräk.

This Hülägü was born of a concubine from the Tangqut nation named Mög Egächi. He had hair so long it reached the ground. He had no sons.

End of the branch of Jochi Khan's first son, Orda.

Jochi Khan's second son, Batu.

He was born of Öki Füjin Khatun, the daughter of Elchi Noyan of the Qunqirat.

[1] Qazan may be the son's name, and the blank may belong to his mother.

[2] Yaqutu ~ Ja'utu, as the variant in JT_{AJ} 117 shows.

[3] I.e. Hülägü ~ Hülä'ü.

[4] The last three sentences seem to be a marginal annotation that has been incorporated into the text. They are omitted in JT_{AJ}.

[5] Or the variant, Bayalun.

[6] The name varies in the texts between كويلك (Küilük, for which Boyle opted) and كوبلك (Köbäläk?).

He was called Sayin Khan [the good khan[1]] and was highly influential and powerful. He ruled the *ulus* and army in Jochi Khan's stead and lived a long life. When Genghis Khan's four sons were all dead, he was the eldest of all the grandsons and was highly respected by them. In *quriltais* no one could go against his word, and all the princes obeyed him. Genghis Khan had earlier ordered Jochi to go with the army, take and bring under control all the lands to the north, from Ibir-Sibir, Bolad, the Qipchaq Steppe, Bashghurd, Rus, and Circassia to the Caspian Straits, which the Mongols call Temür Qahalqa, but Jochi had retired. When Ögödäi Qa'an was enthroned as emperor, he ordered Batu to take over, and he assigned his nephew Mänggü Qa'an, his brother Böchök, and his son Güyük Khan to go with great commanders like Sübätäi Bahadur, the general from the Uriangqat who came to this realm with Jäbä, to join Batu and complete the conquest of the north. In Bechin Yil, the Year of the Monkey that began in Jumada II 633 [February 1236], they set out and conquered most of those territories. In the spring of Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat corresponding to 637 [1240], Güyük Khan and Möngkä Qa'an returned to the qa'an by his order. For some time after that Batu and his brothers and generals continued to conquer those territories, as his offspring still do. **[514]**

Batu had many wives and concubines, and he had four sons, Sartaq, Toqoqan, Äbügän, and Singgüm.

(1) Batu's first son, Sartaq, had no sons.[2]

(2) Batu's second son, Toqoqan, had five sons: Tartu, Möngkä Temür, Tödä Möngkä, Toqiqonqa, and Ügächi.[3] [B110]

(a) Toqoqan's first son, Tartu, had wives and concubines, but their names are not known. He had two sons, Tölä Buqa, whose sons are not known, and Könchäk, who had a son named Boz Buqa.

(b) Toqoqan's second son, Möngkä Temür,[4] had wives and concubines. The names of his three chief wives are Öljäi of the Qunqirat, Sultan Khatun of the Ushin, and Qutuqui Khatun of the ___ tribe. He had ten sons: (i) Alghui by Öljäi, (ii) Abachi, (iii) Tödägän by Sultan Khatun, (iv) Bürlük by Qutuqui Khatun, (v) Toqtai[5] by Öljäitü Khatun, daughter of Möngkä Qa'an's [niece] Kälmish Aqa (Kälmish Aqa was the wife of Salji'udai Gürägän); at present [Toqtai] is the ruler of the Ulus Jochi; he has two wives, Bulaghan and Tükünchä of the Qunqirat, and one son, Nanus; (vi) Sarai Buqa, (vii) Mulaqai, (viii) Qada'an, (ix) Quduqai, and (x) Toghrilcha.

(c) Toqoqan's third son, Tödä Möngkä. His and Möngkä Temür's mother was Köchü Khatun, the sister of Öljäi Khatun **[515]** and daughter of Buqa Temür of the Oyirat. This Tödä Möngkä had two wives, Ariqach of the Qunqirat and Törä Qutlugh of the Alchi Tatar. He had three sons, Or Möngkä by Ariqach, Chechäktü by Törä Qutlugh, and Töbätäi, whose wives' names are not known, but who had two sons, ___ and ___, who had no sons.

(d) Toqoqan's fourth son, Toqiqonqa, had many wives and seven sons, as follows, ___.

(e) Toqoqan's fifth son, Ügächi,[6] had no

[1]A posthuous title, where "good" means "late."

[2]This is blatantly contradicted on p. 525 below, where Ulaghchi is said to be Sartaq's son.

[3]Ügächi is recorded here by JT_{AJ} 121 and JT_{By}. JT_K has Ulaqchi, who was in fact Sartaq's son who was "erased" from the genealogy by Bärkä. Ulaqchi's name makes another ghostly appearance in place of Ügächi below (p. 515) and in JT_{AJ} in place of Singgüm below.

[4]Möngkä Temür ~ Mänggü Temür.

[5]Toqta ~ Toqtai. Both variants of the name occur frequently.

[6]Reading Ügächi here for JT_K's Ulaqchi.

sons.

(3) Batu's third son, Äbügän, had wives and concubines, and he had seven sons: Baraq, Pulad, Tutuch, Daquqa, Ahmad, Sabir, and Donguz.

(4) [Batu's fourth son, Singgüm,] had no sons, and his wives' names are unknown.

End of the section on Jochi Khan's second son, Batu.

Jochi Khan's third son, Bärkä.

He had no sons. His history will come under that of Hülägü Khan and Abaqa Khan and elsewhere.

Jochi Khan's fourth son, Bärkächär.

He had wives and concubines. He had two sons:

(1) Kökächü, who had four sons, Ejil Temür, Yilqichi,[1] Doqda, and Tuq Temür;

(2) Yesü Buqa, who had one son named Sarai Buqa.

Jochi Khan's fifth son, Shiban.

He had wives and concubines, and he had twelve sons: Bainal, **[516, B115]** Bahadur, Qadaq, Balaq[an], Chärig, Märgän, Qurtqa, Ayachi, Sailqan, Bayanchar, Majar, and Qonchi.

(1) Shiban's first son, Bainal, had three sons, (a) Ilaq Temür, (b) Beg Temür, and (c) Yesü Buqa.

(2) Shiban's second son, Bahadur, had two sons: (a) Qutlugh [Buqa], of whom it is not known whether he had sons or not, and (b) Jochi Buqa, who had four sons, Badaqul, Beg Temür, Nanggichar, and Yesü Buqa.

(3) Shiban's third son, Qadaq, had one son named Tölä Buqa, and he had two sons, Mangqutai and Tümän Temür. Tümän Temür had one son named Üchügü.

(4) Shiban's fourth son, Balaq[an], had three sons, (a) Turi, (b) Tügän, and (c) Toqdai, who is also called Murid (Märtäd) Toqta[2] and Tamma Toqta; his winter quarters are near the Terek River toward Derbent. He has long been a *qaravul* [scout] for the army. He has three sons, Baqircha, Küchük, and Charqar.

(5) Shiban's fifth son, Chärig, had one son, Tuq Temür.

(6) Shiban's sixth son, Märgän, had two sons, Buqa Temür and El Buqa.

(7) Shiban's seventh son, Qurtqa, had one son, Kinäs.

(8) Shiban's eighth son, Ayachi, had one son, Üch Qurtqa. **[517]**

(9) Shiban's ninth son, Sailqan, had one son, Qutlugh Temür, who had seven sons: Boraltai, Beg Temür, Boralghi, Otman, Sainaq, Yesü Buqa, and Temürtäi.

(10) Shiban's tenth son, Baya[n]char, had one son, Äbügän Gürägän, who also had one son, Toghanchar.

(11) Shiban's eleventh son, Majar, had one son, Torji. [B120]

(12) Shiban's twelfth son, Qonchi, had no sons.

End of the section on Jochi's son Shiban.

Jochi Khan's sixth son, Tangqut.

He had two sons, Sübügätäi and Toquz. Their sons are as follows.

(1) Sübügätäi had two sons, (a) Majar, who had a son named Kürk Kichik, and (b) Qonchi, who had four sons, Borachar, Küch Temür, Ishtän, and Duratu.

(2) Toquz had three sons, Talumtai, Arslan, and Boralghi.

Jochi Khan's seventh son, Boqal.[3]

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[1]The name occurs as سلقيچي in JT_K; in JT_{AJ} it is يلقچي; JT_{BY} reads Biliqchi. I believe the variants point to an original يلقيچي Yilqichi (herdsman), not an uncommon name.

[2]Texts vary here between مريد (Murid, fairly unlikely) and مرتد (Märtäd, reading uncertain—see note at text p. 942).

[3]The name occurs variously as Boqal ~ Bo'al ~ Bo'ol.

He had two sons, Tatar and Mingqadur.

(1) Boqal's first son, Tatar, had a son named Noqai, who had three sons, Jögä, Tügä, and Büri.[1] **[518]**

(2) Boqal's second son, Mingqadur, had nine sons:

(a) Tutar,[2] who had a son named Kirdi Buqa,

(b) Bügdüz,

(c) Orus, who had two sons, Tödägän and Qutlubai,

(d) Äbügän, who had two sons, Tuquch and Ahmad,

(e) Özbäg, who had no sons,

(f) Sasiq, who had one son, Basar,

(g) Özbäg Qurtqa,

(h) Tuqlucha, and

(i) Elbasmish.[3]

Jochi Khan's eighth son, Chila'uqun.

He had no sons.

Jochi Khan's ninth son, Shingqor.

He had three sons, as follows:

(1) Yesü Buqa, who had five sons: Boralqi, Küilük, Tödägän, Tödächü, and Akhtachi. [B125]

(2) Shirämün had three sons:

(a) Khwarazmi, whose mother was Bora-'uchin of the Tatar,

(b) Jaqutu,[4] whose mother was Qutluqan of the Suldus, and

(c) Bayram, whose mother was Qoldaq, a concubine.

(3) Majar had three sons: Orusaq, Bayan, and Bayqu.

Jochi Khan's tenth son, Chimtai.

He had many wives and concubines. He had two sons, Hindu and Tödä'ür.

(1) Hindu had one son named Yägü. He had three sons, Jalayirtai, Köndälän Mangqutai, and Taqachu. After Chimtai's death, Yägü ruled for two years. After that, Toqta had him executed.

(2) Tödä'ür had two sons, (a) [Majar, who had three sons,[5]] Malik, Khwaja Temür, and Qurtqachuq; and (b) Taryachi, who had no sons. **[519]**

Jochi Khan's eleventh son, Muhammad

He, who was also called Bürä, had no sons.

Jochi Khan's twelfth son, Udur.

He had one son, Qarachar. He had five sons as follows:

(a) Qurtqa, whose mother was Eltutmish of the Tögöläs, or Töläs, clan. He had one son named Sasi.

(b) Qorchi had one son named Ananda.

(c) Abishqa had no sons.

(d) Ämgän also had no sons.

(e) Tükäl also had no sons.

Jochi Khan's thirteenth son, Toqa Temür.

He had four sons, as follows:

(1) Bai Temür had three sons: Toqanchar, Yilqichi, and Kökächü. They had no sons.

(2) Bayan had two sons: Qazan and Dashman, who had no sons.

(3) Ürüng Temür had four sons:

(a) Achiq, who had a son named Bakhtyar, [B130]

(b) Ariqli, who had three sons: Adil, ___,[6] and Anbarchi,

(c) Qiraqu, who had three sons: Negübäi, Käräichä, and Saqrichi, and

(d) Saricha, who had one son, Könchäk.

(4) Ked[7] Temür had two sons: Qara Khwaja and Abai. **[520]**

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[1] بورى (Böri) in JT_K; Torai in JT_{By}.

[2] قوقار in JT_K; توقار in JT_{RKA}; Tutar in JT_{By}. Elsewhere (text pp. 725, 731) it is توتار (Tutar).

[3] Reading ايلباسميش (Elbashmish) for the text's الياشميش.

[4] Jaqutu ~ Ja'utu. See text p. 629 below.

[5] Taken from JT_{AJ} 128; missing in JT_K.

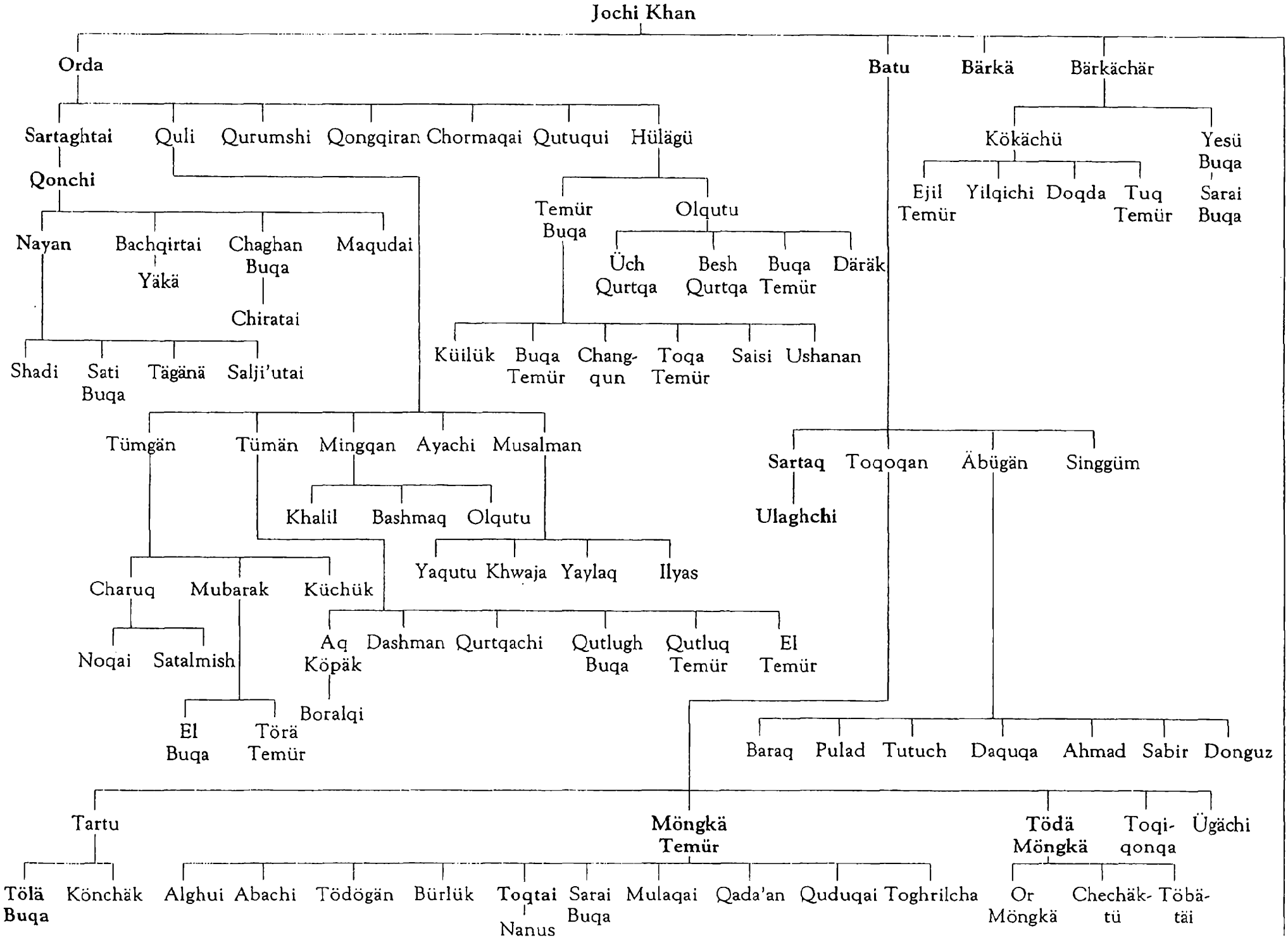
[6] JT_K has سقبوچى; JT_{AJ} 128 has سقوجى; JT_{By} 116 has Shibaghuchi as a son of "Qaraqïr" (= our Qiraqu) and Saqrïchï as a son of Arïqlï.

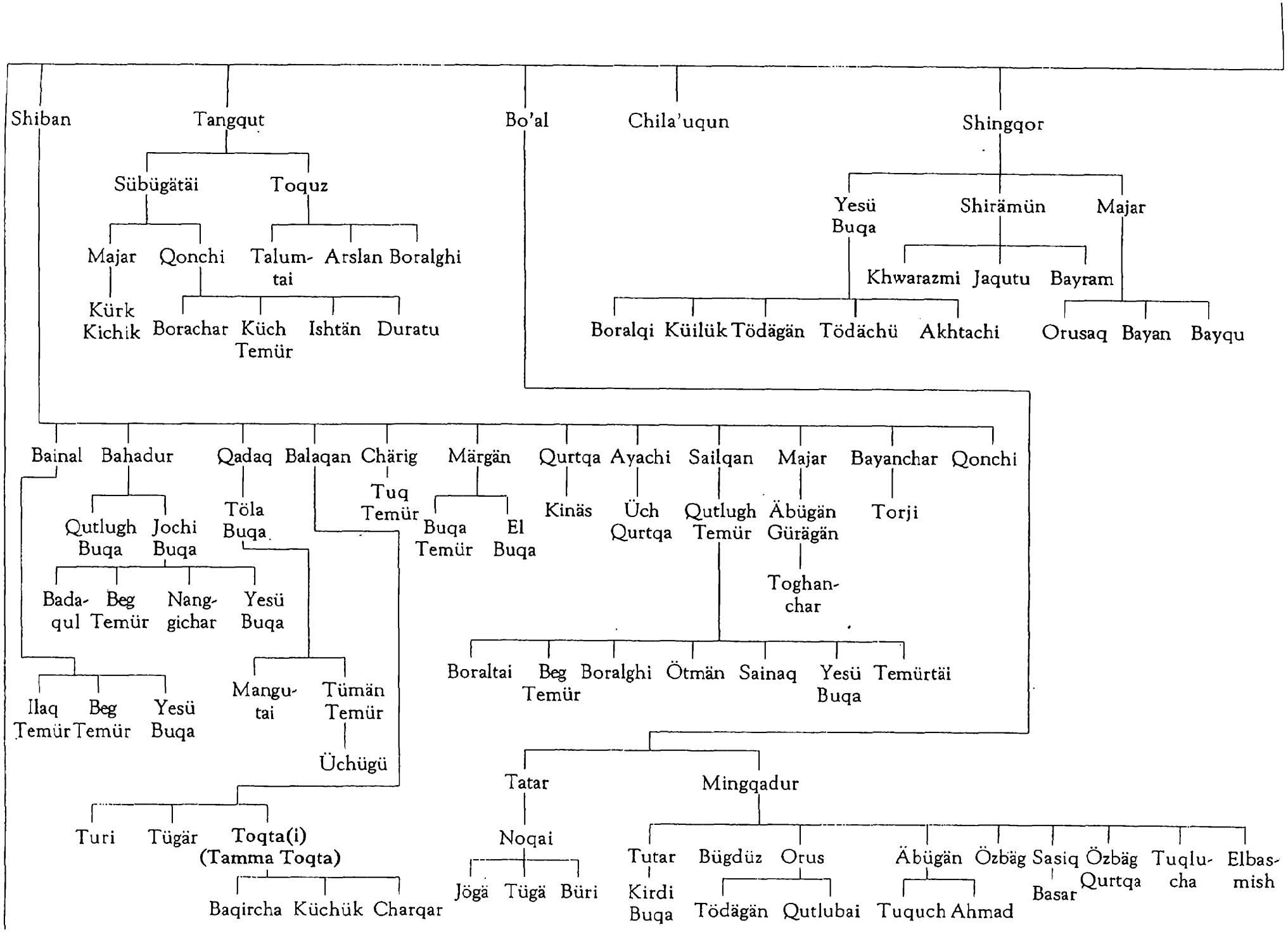
[7] Reading كيد (Ked) for JT_K's كير.

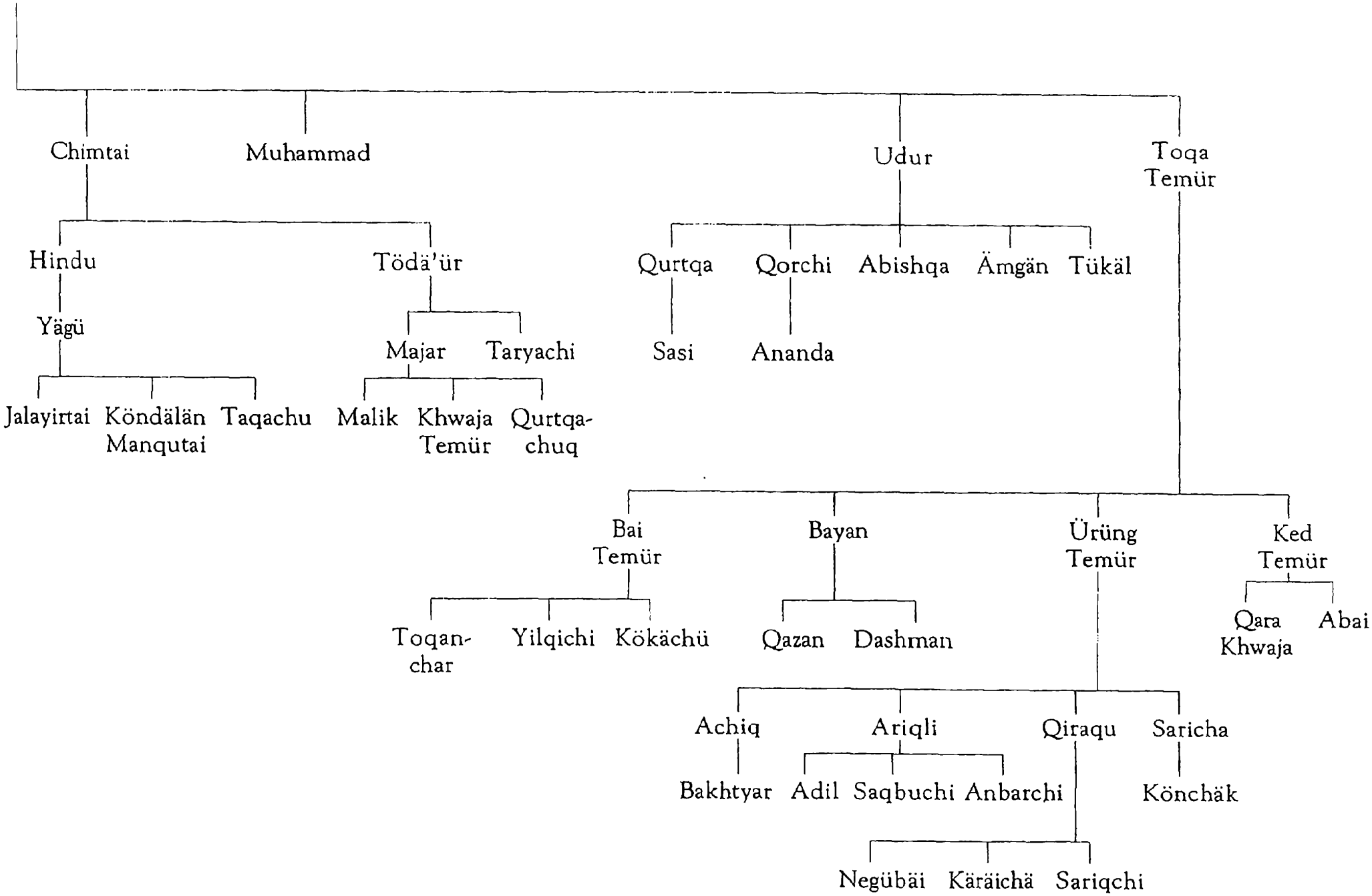
Jochi Khan's fourteenth son, Shinggüm.

He had no sons.

Jochi Khan's sons who have been related by trustworthy sources are these fourteen whose names and those of their sons and grandsons have been recorded. A genealogical chart follows. ~ **[521]**


Jochi Khan
Orda
Batu
Bärkä
Bärkächär
Sartaghtai
Quli
Qurumshi
Qongqiran
Chormaqai
Qutuqui
Hülägü
Kökächü
Yesü Buqa
Qonchi
Ejil Temür
Yilqichi
Doqda
Tuq Temür
Sarai Buqa
Temür Buqa
Olqutu
Nayan
Bachqirtai
Chaghan Buqa
Maqudai
Üch Qurtqa
Besh Qurtqa
Buqa Temür
Däräk
Yäkä
Chiratai
Küilük
Buqa Temür
Chang-qun
Toqa Temür
Saisi
Ushanan
Shadi
Sati Buqa
Tägänä
Salji'utai
Tümgän
Tümän
Mingqan
Ayachi
Musalman
Sartaq
Toqoqan
Äbügän
Singgüm
Khalil
Bashmaq
Olqutu
Ulaghchi
Yaqutu
Khwaja
Yaylaq
Ilyas
Charuq
Mubarak
Küchük
Noqai
Satalmish
Aq Köpäk
Dashman
Qurtqachi
Qutlugh Buqa
Qutluq Temür
El Temür
Boralqi
El Buqa
Törä Temür
Baraq
Pulad
Tutuch
Daquqa
Ahmad
Sabir
Donguz
Tartu
Möngkä Temür
Tödä Möngkä
Toqi-qonqa
Ügächi
Tölä Buqa
Könchäk
Alghui
Abachi
Tödögän
Bürlük
Toqtai
Sarai Buqa
Mulaqai
Qada'an
Quduqai
Toghrilcha
Or Möngkä
Chechäk-tü
Töbä-täi
Nanus


Shiban
Tangqut
Bo'al
Chila'uqun
Shingqor
Sübügätäi
Toquz
Majar
Qonchi
Talum-tai
Arslan
Boralghi
Kürk
Kichik
Borachar
Küch Temür
Ishtän
Duratu
Yesü Buqa
Shirämün
Majar
Khwarazmi
Jaqutu
Bayram
Boralqi
Küilük
Tödägän
Tödächü
Akhtachi
Orusaq
Bayan
Bayqu
Bainal
Bahadur
Qadaq
Balaqan
Chärig
Märgän
Qurtqa
Ayachi
Sailqan
Majar
Bayanchar
Qonchi
Qutlugh Buqa
Jochi Buqa
Töla Buqa
Tuq Temür
Buqa Temür
El Buqa
Kinäs
Üch Qurtqa
Qutlugh Temür
Äbügän Gürägän
Torji
Toghan-char
Bada-qul
Beg Temür
Nang-gichar
Yesü Buqa
Ilaq Temür
Beg Temür
Yesü Buqa
Mangu-tai
Tümän Temür
Üchügü
Boraltai
Beg Temür
Boralghi
Ötmän
Sainaq
Yesü Buqa
Temürtäi
Tatar
Mingqadur
Turi
Tügär
Toqta(i) (Tamma Toqta)
Baqircha
Küchük
Charqar
Noqai
Jögä
Tügä
Büri
Tutar
Kirdi Buqa
Bügdüz
Orus
Tödägän
Qutlubai
Äbügän
Tuquch
Özbäg
Ahmad
Sasiq
Basar
Özbäg Qurtqa
Tuqlu-cha
Elbas-mish


Chimtai
Muhammad
Udur
Toqa Temür
Hindu
Tödä'ür
Qurtqa
Qorchi
Abishqa
Ämgän
Tükäl
Yägü
Majar
Taryachi
Sasi
Ananda
Jalayirtai
Köndälän Manqutai
Taqachu
Malik
Khwaja Temür
Qurtqa-chuq
Bai Temür
Bayan
Ürüng Temür
Ked Temür
Toqan-char
Yilqichi
Kökächü
Qazan
Dashman
Qara Khwaja
Abai
Achiq
Ariqli
Qiraqu
Saricha
Bakhtyar
Adil
Saqbuchi
Anbarchi
Könchäk
Negübäi
Käräichä
Sariqchi

Part Two of the history of Jochi Khan. The history of his reign, a picture of his throne and his wives, princes, and officers at his enthronement; a mention of his summer pastures and winter quarters; some of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved; the length of his reign.

Genghis Khan, having bestowed upon Jochi Khan all the territory and peoples in the area of the Irtysh River and the Altai mountains, along with the summer and winter pastures of that area, issued a command that he conquer and bring into subjugation the Qipchaq Steppe and the realms in that direction. His *yurt* was in the vicinity of the Irtysh, and there was the location of his throne, which was shaped as follows.[1]

A summary account of Jochi Khan.

Since Jochi Khan predeceased his father, the stories that pertain to him separately cannot be given in a separate section, and therefore a summary account of his history that was included in the section on Genghis Khan will be written here, and his illness and death will be reported.

At Genghis Khan's order, Jochi Khan was continually mounted on expeditions, and he conquered many lands and territories. When Genghis Khan set out on campaign for Tajik lands and reached the area of Otrar, he assigned Jochi Khan to conquer Otrar and stationed him there. As has been said in the history of Genghis Khan, Jochi took Otrar, [522] destroyed the fortress, and returned, conquering the territories that lay on his path until he rejoined his father in the vicinity of Samarkand.

Once again Genghis Khan sent him out, this time with his brothers Chaghatai and Ögödäi, to conquer Khwarazm. Because of his inability to agree with Chaghatai, the conquest was not possible. Genghis Khan ordered Ögödäi to lead the assault. He cleverly made peace between his two brothers, and together they took Khwarazm. Chaghatai and Ögödäi set out to rejoin their father in the fortress at Taligan, and Jochi left Khwarazm and headed for the Irtysh, where his *aghruq* was, to rejoin his camps. Prior to that, Genghis Khan had ordered Jochi to conquer the northern territories like Bular, Bashghurd, Rus, Circassia, the Qipchaq Steppe, and other areas. When he excused himself from that labor and returned to his own tents, Genghis Khan was extremely angry and said, "I will subject him to the Yasa without seeing what was in his mind."

Jochi was afflicted with an illness, and therefore, when his father returned from the lands of the Tajiks and settled in his homeland, he was unable to attend him. He sent several loads of prey and apologized. Several times thereafter Genghis Khan ordered him to present himself, but he was too ill to come and sent apologies. After that, someone from the Mangqut tribe was passing by Jochi's *yurts*, among which Jochi was moving and proceeding, although ill. Coming to a mountain that was his hunting preserve, Jochi sent his amirs out to hunt even though he himself was too weak to participate. When the passer-by saw the assemblage hunting, he thought it was Jochi, and when he came to Genghis Khan and was asked about Jochi's illness, he reported, "I know nothing of his illness, but at such-and-such a mountain he was busy hunting." At these words the flames of Genghis Khan's wrath blazed, for he imagined that Jochi had rebelled and was disregarding his father's orders. "Jochi has gone mad," he

[1] The picture that presumedly was planned—or perhaps executed in some manuscripts—is missing from all known texts.

said, "to do such things." He ordered the army to mount and proceed in the direction of Jochi, with Chaghatai and Ögödäi in the lead while he himself followed behind. Just at this time news of Jochi's death arrived, and Genghis Khan was sorely grief-stricken. **[523]** When the matter was investigated, the report was proven false and it was established that Jochi had been ill at the time and not on the hunting field. The man was summoned to be executed, but he couldn't be located.

Trustworthy emissaries who have come at various times from his *ulus* have reported that Jochi's death occurred between his thirtieth and fortieth years, and this is in consonance with analogy, for some say that he died at the age of twenty, but that is an obvious error. After his death and that of Genghis Khan, when the Qa'an mounted the throne, in accordance with Genghis Khan's order that had previously been issued concerning Jochi Khan, his offspring were granted the lands conquered, and those princes, with the help of one another, became occupied with that.

The history of Jochi Khan's offspring after his death; the accession of each of them as his successors; the battles they have fought and the conquests they have achieved at every time; and other events that have transpired.

The accession of Batu as his father's successor, and the history of his reign.

When Jochi Khan died, his second son, Batu, succeeded him on the throne of his *ulus*, and his brothers all obeyed him. During Ögödäi Qa'an's reign, as has already been mentioned and explained, he and his brothers were nominated, along with other princes, by prior command, to conquer the northern territories. They all gathered around him, mounted together, and, as has been mentioned, took most of those areas.

After the return of the princes Möngkä Qa'an and Güyük Khan, he and his brothers, as has also mentioned at the end of the section on him, occupied themselves with conquering the remaining territories. In the first part of the year 637 [1239], when Ögödäi Qa'an died, Batu was already suffering from flaccidity because of old age, and when he was summoned to a *quriltai*, he excused himself on that account. Because of his absence, however, he being the eldest of all, the matter of the qa'anate was undecided for nearly three years, during which time the eldest of Ögödäi Qa'an's wives, Töräganä Khatun, ruled. **[524]** It was during that time that disturbances and chaos befell both the periphery and the center of the empire.

The Qa'an had made his grandson Shirämün his designated heir, but Töräganä Khatun and some of the amirs withheld their consent, saying that Güyük Khan was older. In order to enthrone him they summoned Batu once again, and although he had been insulted several times by them and was fearful of disastrous consequences from past actions, he nonetheless set forth and proceeded slowly. Before he and the other brethren arrived, however, they went ahead on their own and enthroned Güyük Khan. Since Güyük Khan suffered from chronic illnesses, he took his troops and set out for the Imil-Qojin area, claiming that the climate in the old *yurt* his father had given him agreed with him. When Batu got near there, his fear increased.

Sorqaghtani Beki, Tolui Khan's chief wife, sent him a secret message because of the special friendship that had been maintained between Jochi Khan and Tolui Khan from Genghis Khan's time on. [B135] In the message she said, "Güyük Khan's coming to that area is not devoid of deceit." Therefore Batu's trepidation increased and he waited for Güyük Khan's arrival with guarded precaution. When Güyük reached the vicinity

of Samarqand,[1] he died of his illnesses in a place that is a one-week journey from Beshbaliq—and that was in the year 64[5] [1248]. Once again the emperor's throne remained vacant for a time, and Töräqänä Khatun ruled.

When news of [Batu's] illness was spread, Sorqaghtani Beki had sent her son Möngkä Qa'an to him. Batu was overjoyed by his arrival, and since he noticed signs of majesty and cultivation in him, and also since he had been insulted by Ögödäi Qa'an's sons, he said, "Möngkä is Tolui Khan's eldest son, and Tolui Khan was Genghis Khan's youngest son, who commanded his ancient *yurt* and home. This son is exceptionally competent, skilled, and able to rule. While he lives, how can another become emperor? Particularly when Ögödäi Qa'an's sons went against their father's order by refusing to enthrone Shirämün. They also broke the ancient Yasa and Yosun, for, without consulting their brethren, they put to death Genghis Khan's guiltless daughter, the one he loved the most of all his children and whose husband he called Cha'ur Sächän.[2] For this reason the emperorship should not go to them."

So saying, he himself raised Möngkä to the emperorship and had all his brothers, kinsmen, and amirs render him obeisance. He also sent his brother Bärkä and his son Sartaq, who was his designated heir, [525] along with three *tümän*s of troops to escort Möngkä back to the Onon-Kerulen region, Genghis Khan's original *yurt*, and seat him upon the throne, where they would deal with the plots and machinations of Ögödäi Qa'an's sons, who had contemplated treachery.

In short, the transfer of the emperorship to the House of Tolui Khan and the giving of right where it was due were on account of Sorqaghtani Beki's cleverness and Batu's friendly assistance. After that, until the end of his life—and even after his death, during the time of Sartaq and Ulaghchi and during most of Bärkä's time—there was unanimity and friendship between Tolui Khan's and Batu's progeny.

It was during Batu's lifetime that Möngkä Qa'an dispatched his third brother, Hülägü Khan, with troops to Iran, and on the part of every prince two out of every ten were appointed to go with Hülägü Khan and help him. Orda sent his eldest son, Quli, with a *tümän* of soldiers via Khwarazm and Dehistan, and Batu sent Shiban's son Balaqan and Tutar, the son of Mingqadur, the son of Jochi Khan's seventh son, Bo'al, via the Qipchaq Straits. They came and assisted Hülägü Khan's troops and fought valiantly.

Batu died in 650 [1252–53] in Sarai on the banks of the Volga at the age of forty-eight. Möngkä Qa'an welcomed his son Sartaq, settled the throne and realm upon him, and gave him permission to withdraw. Along the way home he too died, so Möngkä Qa'an sent emissaries to console his wives, sons, and brothers. He enthroned Batu's grandson Ulaghchi and rewarded everyone with shows of favor. Ulaghchi also died shortly thereafter, leaving the throne and realm to others.

Bärkä rules the Ulus Jochi, and what happened during that time.

When Batu passed away and his son Sartaq and then Sartaq's son Ulaghchi who succeeded him also died, Batu's younger brother Bärkä succeeded. His command became effective throughout the *ulus* in the year 652 [1254], and he continued to tread the path of friendship and amity with Tolui

[1] Not the city Samarkand, but another place, the name of which derives from Qum Sangar, or Sangar Qum. It was located "somewhere along the upper course of the Uruungu, probably at the point where it ceases to flow from North to South and makes a sharp turn to the West" (JT_{By}, 121, note 95).

[2] See text p. 225.

Khan's progeny. [526]

In the year 654 [1256] Balaqan, who was in this land, plotted treachery against Hülägü Khan and practiced sorcery.[1] An *ayghaq* [informant] came forward, and he was put on trial. He confessed, and therefore Hülägü Khan, in order that no insult be engendered, sent him in the company of Amir Su'unchaq to Bärkä. When they arrived and his guilt was proven, Bärkä sent him back to Hülägü with this message, "He is guilty. Do with him as you will." Hülägü Khan had him executed.

Shortly thereafter Tutar and Quli also died. An accusation was made that they had been poisoned, and this caused an estrangement between Bärkä and Hülägü. Bärkä rebelled against Hülägü and, as will be mentioned in the section on Hülägü, they did battle in Shawwal 660 [August 1262]. The troops that had come to this land with Quli and Tutar mostly took flight, some going to Khurasan and seizing the mountains of Ghazna and Bini-i-Gav as far as Multan and Lahore, the frontier of Hindustan. Their main commander was Negüdär. Ötägü China and some of Hülägü Khan's amirs went out in pursuit of them, while others went home via Derbent. The feud between Bärkä and Hülägü lasted throughout their lives. Bärkä's commander-in-chief was Noqai, the son of Tatar and grandson of Prince Boqal. He was exceptionally brave and heroic in battle. When Hülägü Khan died in his winter quarters in Jaqatu in 663 [1264] and his son Abaqa Khan assumed the throne in his stead, the enmity between Bärkä and him continued uninterrupted.

In the year 663 [1264] Bärkä returned from battle with Abaqa Khan in the Shirvan area, and after passing through Derbent he died near the Terek River in 664 [1265–66]. [B140]

[1]See text p. 725 (Balaqan ~ Balagha). The account there is at some variance with the version given here.

Möngkä Temür, son of Batu's second son, Toqoqan, assumes the rule of his ulus.

When Bärkä died, Möngkä Temür was enthroned. He too was in conflict with Abaqa Khan for a time, and they fought several battles in which Abaqa Khan gained the upper hand. [527] In the end, they were forced to sue for peace in 66_, as will be narrated in the section on Abaqa Khan.[2] From that time on, he ceased hostilities until the reign of Arghun Khan, when in Ramadan of 687 [October 1288] he came once again with a large army under the command of Tamma Toqtai.[3] Arghun Khan had set out from his winter quarters in Arran for his summer pastures, but he turned back when he heard the news of their arrival and sent his officers out in the vanguard with troops. Battle was fought, and many of the leaders of the armies were killed, while those who remained took flight.

From that time until the present, which is the blessed time of the Padishah of Islam, they have not engaged in hostilities and have perforce chosen peaceful co-existence over conflict. Outwardly they claim friendship and amity and constantly sent ambassadors bearing gifts and news to the Padishah of Islam.

The accession of Tödä Möngkä, Möngkä Temür's brother; his dethronement by Tölä Buqa and Könchäk and their joint rule; Toqta flees from them and then kills them by guile with Noqai's assistance.

After Möngkä Temür had ruled for sixteen years and died in the year 681 [1282–83], Tödä Möngkä, Toqoqan's third son, as-

[2]According to the narrative on text p. 748f., the date should be 667. Möngkä Temür ~ Mänggü Temür.

[3]See text p. 813.

sumed the throne that same year and ruled for a time. After him, Möngkä Temür's sons Alghui and Toghril[cha] and the sons of Toqoqan's eldest son Tartu, Tölä Buqa and Könchäk, deposed him, claiming he was insane, and ruled jointly for five years. Möngkä Temür's son Toqta was the son of Öljäi[tü] Khatun and thus a grandson of Kälmish Aqa Khatun. When they recognized signs of bravery and manliness in him, they conspired to assassinate him. He, however, learned of it, escaped from them, and took refuge with Yilqichi, a [grand]son of Bärkächär's.

To Noqai, who had been Batu's and Bärkä's commander-in-chief, **[528]** he sent a message, saying, "My cousins are attempting to kill me. You are the elder, so I take refuge with you to keep them from harming me. As long as I am alive I am subject to my elder brother's command and will never do anything to earn your displeasure." When Noqai learned of the affair, his zeal was stirred and he set out from the territory of the Rus, the Vlachs,[1] and the ___,[2] which he had conquered and made his *yurt*, feigning illness. He crossed the Uzi [Dnieper] River, and, placating every *hazara* and amir he came across, he said, "Old age has set in, and I have abandoned conflict, fighting, and disputes. I have neither intention of contending with anyone nor thought of doing battle. However, we have been commanded by Genghis Khan that if anyone in his *ulus* or *urugh* goes astray and upsets the *ulus*, we must investigate and make them content to agree."

The troops and soldiers, listening to his advice and realizing that he was genuinely concerned on their behalf, all swore allegiance to him. When he was near the camp of the above-mentioned princes, he made himself appear ill by swallowing clots of blood which he coughed up. Then he began his ingratiating dissimulation, although in secret he had sent a message to Toqta, saying, "You must be ready. When you are informed, come with what troops you have on hand."

Tölä Buqa's mother, having heard that Noqai was weak and in ill health and that he was coughing up blood, charged her sons, saying, "Go as fast as possible and meet that weak old man who is about to depart this life for the hereafter. If you do not, your mother's milk will be forbidden to you." Abandoning all precaution, they acted upon their mother's words and went to visit the sick Noqai, who spoke to them as an advisor, saying, "My sons, I served your fathers and am due debts of gratitude from long ago and from more recently. Therefore you must listen to me, for I have no ulterior motive. Let me turn your hostility into true agreement. Your best course of action lies in peace. Hold a *quriltai* so that I may make peace among you." All the while he was coughing up congealed blood.

While keeping the princes off guard with this smooth talk, he sent word to Toqta, who arrived without warning with several *hazaras*, [B145] seized the princes, and killed them on the spot.

Noqai pulled out at once, crossed the Volga, and headed for his home *yurt*. God only knows the truth. **[529]**

Toqta assumes the rule of his ulus; hostilities break out between him and Noqai; they do battle, and Noqai is killed.

After Toqta had killed the above-mentioned princes with Noqai's assistance and consol-

[1] Reading اولاخ for JT_K's ارتاح. However it may have been pronounced, Ulakh or Avlakh, it is the Vlachs. On the pronunciation of their name, William of Rubruck (p. 175) says, "*& iuxta Pascatir* [Bashghurd] *sunt Ilac, quod idem est quod Blac: sed B. nesciunt Tartari sonare.*"

[2] In the text, كهرت. Boyle speculates that this word may be a corruption of لهرت (Lahut, the Mongolian plural of Lah), the Poles. See JT_{By}, p. 125, note 114.

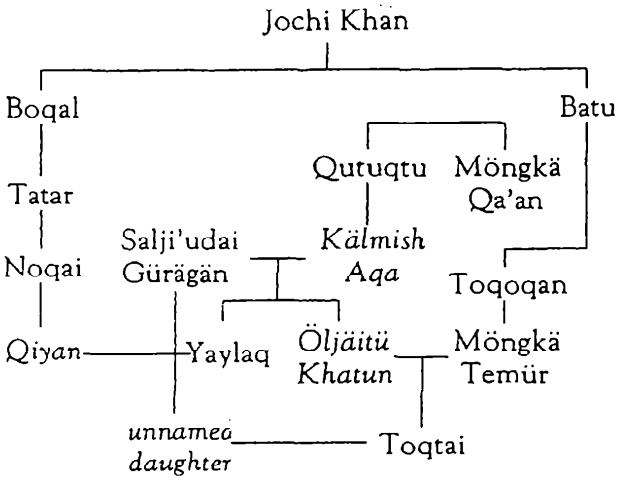
idated his position in autonomy on Jochi's throne, he sent one emissary after another to Noqai to summon him with promises of good things to come. Noqai refused to respond.

Toqta's father-in-law, Salji'udai Gürägän of the Qunqirat, who was married to Kälmish Aqa Khatun, had requested Noqai's daughter Qiyan in marriage to his son Yaylaq, who had been born of that lady.[1] Noqai had agreed. Sometime after the marriage rites were completed, Qiyan Khatun became a Muslim, and since Yaylaq was an Uyghur, they could not get along and constantly fought over religion and beliefs. When Qiyan was subjected to contempt, she sent a message to her father, mother, and brothers. Noqai was highly insulted and sent an emissary to Toqta with a message, saying, "All the world knows how much trouble I went to, making myself known for faithlessness and breach of promise, in order to obtain Sayin Khan's throne for you through treachery. Now Salji'udai Gürägän rules on that throne! If my son Toqta wishes the father-son relationship to continue between us, let him send Salji'udai Gürägän back to his own *yurt* near Khwarazm." Toqta refused to comply, and once again Noqai sent an emissary asking that Salji'udai be sent. Toqta said, "He is like a father to me, a nurturer and an officer. How can I give him into the hands of an enemy?" And he refused to turn him over.

Noqai had a wife who was extremely intelligent, Chübäi by name, and she used to come and go on embassies to Toqta. She had three sons, Jögä the eldest, Tügä the middle, and Büri the youngest. They seduced several of Toqta's *hazaras* into submitting to them and then sent them across the Volga, where they began committing violence against Toqta's territory and inflicting their own absolute rule. Offended, Toqta summoned the *hazaras*. Noqai refused to comply and said, "I will send them when you send Salji'udai, his son Yaylaq, and Tamma Toqta to me." For this reason the fire of discord and enmity broke out between the two sides. **[530]** Toqta assembled his troops, and in 698 [1298–99] he arrayed nearly thirty *tümäns* of soldiers on the banks of the Dnieper. Since that winter the Dnieper had not frozen, he was unable to cross, but neither could Noqai budge from his place. In the spring Toqta pulled out and camped for the summer on the banks of the Don.

The next year Noqai crossed the Don with his sons and wives and started his trickery once again by saying, "I am going for a *quriltai* in order to make it up with you." Since he realized that Toqta's troops were dispersed and that he had only a few with him, he hastened as fast as possible. As soon as news of his arrival was received in Toqta's camp, he assembled his soldiers, and they clashed in ___[2] on the banks of the Don. Toqta was defeated and withdrew in rout to Sarai. Three of Noqai's amirs, Maji, Suban, and Sanqui, deserted him and joined Toqta. Toqta summoned Tamma Toqta, Balagha [Balaqan]'s son who had been guarding Derbent for a time. Once

[1]The following genealogical chart may help to clarify the relationships alluded to here:



[2]In the text, تجساری. Neither the reading nor the location of his place has been identified.

again he mounted a large army and set out for battle with Noqai. Unable to put up a defense, Noqai turned away and crossed the Dnieper, where he sacked the city of Crimea and took many captives. The people then went to Noqai's court and pleaded for the return of the prisoners and captives. Noqai ordered the captives to be sent back, and with that all the soldiers turned against him and sent a message to Toqta saying, "We submit to you as *ilkhan*. If the padishah pardons us, we will seize Noqai and hand him over."

Noqai's sons learned of this message and set out to attack the *hazaras*. The commanders of the *hazaras* sent someone to Tügä, Noqai's second son, saying, "We have all held council on your behalf. If you come to us at once, we will give the rule to you." Tügä went to them, and they immediately imprisoned him. Jögä, the eldest brother, assembled a force and did battle with the great *hazaras*. The *hazaras* were defeated, and a commander was taken prisoner. His head was sent to the other *hazara* that had captured Tügä. The three hundred men who were guarding Tügä united with him, and they fled together by night to Noqai and his sons. When Toqta learned of their desertion, he crossed the Dnieper with sixty *tümäns* of soldiers and camped on the banks of the Tarkar River,[1] where Noqai's *yurt* was. From the other side Noqai arrived with thirty *tümäns* of men in carts and camped on the river bank. Once again he took to feigning illness by lying down in a cart and sending an emissary to Toqta with this message: "I didn't realize the padishah would come himself. [531] The land and army belong to the *ilkhan*, and I am a weak old man. I have spent my entire life in the service of your fathers. [B150] If there has been any offense, the fault lies with my sons. My expectation of the padishah's generosity is such that he will pardon the offense."

In secret he had dispatched Jögä with a large force to cross the Tarkar upstream and then attack Toqta and his forces. Toqta's scouts captured a spy, who told them what was happening. When Toqta learned of his perfidy, he ordered his battle-ready soldiers to mount, and fighting broke out. Noqai and his sons were defeated, and an enormous number of people were killed in the battle. Noqai's sons set out with a thousand horsemen in the direction of the Kilar and Bashghurd. While Noqai was fleeing with seventeen horsemen, one of Toqta's Orus cavalrymen wounded him. "I am Noqai," he said. "Take me to Toqta, for he is the khan." The man seized his reins and was taking him to Toqta, but he gave up the ghost along the way. Toqta returned to Batu's Sarai, which was their capital, and Noqai's sons wandered around. When they achieved no fortune, Tügä, his mother Chübäi, and Büri's mother Yaylaq said to Jögä, "The best thing for us to do would be to cease hostilities and go to Toqta." Jögä was afraid of that plan and killed his brother and stepmother. Then he wandered around with a group of followers, finally taking refuge in a castle, the approach to which was as narrow as Sirat[2] and tight as a miser's heart. What happened to him in the end?

Prior to this, Noqai had initiated friendly relations with Abaqa Khan and Arghun Khan. In the year ___ he sent his wife, Chübäi, with his son Büri and an amir named ___ to Abaqa Khan to request a daughter of his in marriage. He gave his daughter to Büri, and they remained there

[1] In the text, تركر. Not identified; the reading "Tarkar" is only a guess.

[2] A reference to the "Pul-i Sirat," the bridge over hell as "narrow as a strand of hair and sharp as a razor's edge," which souls must cross in order to reach paradise.

for a while before being sent back with honors. When he and Toqta had fought he had constantly sent ambassadors of importance to the Padishah of Islam and asked him for assistance, desirous of becoming attached to this court. The truth is that it was an excellent opportunity, but the Padishah of Islam was too high-minded to comply. Not wanting to take undue advantage of the situation, he said, "At this time treachery and breaking promises are remote from chivalry, and treachery and deceit are considered blameworthy both in Muslim law and in the Yasa. However friendly we may be to Noqai, we will not intervene in his enmities and hostilities, for to take advantage of a situation is a characteristic that is not praiseworthy—particularly for great rulers."

Since Toqta was in fear and apprehension, [532] His Majesty used to send for the emissaries of both sides to allay their suspicions and say, "We will not intervene between you two, and we will not take advantage of the situation. If you would make peace with each other, it would be best." In order to calm their fear and apprehension, he did not go to his winter quarters in Arran and wintered in Baghdad and Diyarbekir instead, just to allay their fears.

Until the present he maintains friendship with both Toqta and with Noqai's sons, and many times he has said, "Let none of my *aqas* or *inis* initiate strife or provoke hostilities with them. We will never start anything that may lead to contention lest the blame for harm to the *ulus* come back to haunt us." One would think the Maker had created his pure essence and luminous soul of sheer goodness and absolute kindness. He is a padishah who is known for his good moral character, justice, and beneficence, and in all corners of the earth he is renowned as a ruler who encourages religion, spreads justice, makes armies, treats his subjects kindly, and is auspicious and good. May God keep him for many years over the people of the world and let him enjoy long life, wealth, kingdom, and rule through the sanctity of the chosen prophet Muhammad and his select family.

Part Three of the section on Jochi Khan. On his character, miscellaneous stories, various pronouncements and good sayings of his not included in the previous two sections, culled from various books and persons.

[Text for this section lacking in all manuscripts.] ~

ℭ SECTION SIX

THE HISTORY OF CHAGHATAI KHAN, SON OF GENGHIS KHAN, IN THREE PARTS

Part One contains his lineage and a list of his wives, sons, and grandsons who have branched off down to the present; a portrait of him and a genealogical chart of him and his sons and grandsons. **[533]**

Part Two is on the history of his reign, a picture of his throne and his wives and princes; a mention of his *ulus* and some of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved; the length of his reign.

Part Three is on his character, miscellaneous stories, various orders and sayings of his that are not found in the previous two sections, having been culled from various books and persons.

Part One. His lineage and a list of his wives, sons, and grandsons who have branched off down to the present; a portrait of him and a genealogical chart of him and his sons and grandsons.

Chaghatai was Genghis Khan's second son. His mother was Genghis Khan's chief wife, the mother of the four sons, Börtä Füjin of the Qunqirat clan, daughter of Däi Noyan, the chief of that clan.

Chaghatai had many wives, but the most important were two. The first was Yesülün Khatun, the mother of all his children; she was the daughter of Qata Noyan the son of Daritai, the brother of the ruler of the Qunqirat. Börtä Füjin, Genghis Khan's chief wife, and Yesülün Khatun's father were first cousins. The second was Tögän Khatun, a sister of the above-mentioned Yesülün Khatun. Chaghatai married her when Yesülün died. [B155]

His sons and grandsons who have branched off down to the present.

Chaghatai had eight sons, as follows: (1) Mochi Yäbä, (2) Mö'ätükän, (3) Bälgäshi, (4) Sarban, (5) Yesü Möngkä, **[534]** (6) Baidar, (7) Qadatai, and (8) Baiju. Each of these eight will now be described in detail.

The first son, Mochi Yäbä.

His mother was a servant girl in Yesülün Khatun's camp. One night she was laying the bedclothes while the khatun was outside. Chaghatai dragged her off and made her pregnant. For this reason Chaghatai did not attach great importance to [Mochi Yäbä], and he was given fewer troops and less territory. He had eleven sons, as follows.

(1) The first son was Negüdär. He is the one who was sent with troops from Chaghatai's *ulus* with Hülägü Khan to Iran and remained here. In Abaqa Khan's time he rebelled and went into the mountains of Georgia, where he wandered about in the forests. Abaqa Khan's officers went in pursuit of him, and Chormaqan's son Shirämün Noyan caught him and took him to Abaqa Khan. His life was spared, and he wandered around alone for a while before he died. He had no sons.

(2) The second son was Ahmad, who

served in Baraq's retinue. When Baraq crossed the river in defeat and his troops dispersed, every unit in a different direction, Ahmad went to Beshbaliq. The wounded Baraq went after him, carried in a litter, dispatching Ta'uldar, a *hazara* amir, in the vanguard. [B160] When he caught up with Ahmad he tried to get him to turn back willingly, but Ahmad refused, and in the end they fought and Ahmad was killed. He had three sons, Umar, Mubarakshah, and Mö'ätü.[1]

(3) The third son was Täkshi, and he had a son named Baidaghan,[2] who had four sons, Toghan, Hulaqutu,[3] Qoriqtai, and Qutluq Temür.

(4) The fourth son was Nomquli.

(5) The fifth son was Bük Buqa.

(6) The sixth son was Tämüdär.

(7) The seventh son was Qotan.

(8) The eighth son was Chächä.

(9) The ninth son was Chichäktü, who had two sons, Shadban and Qushman.[4]

(10) The tenth son was Ishal, and he had two sons, Qan Buqa and Uladai.

(11) The eleventh son was Toghan, who had three sons, Qoriqtai, Bük Buqa, and Nomquli.

Chaghatai's second son, Mö'ätükän.

He was born of Yesülün Khatun. His father loved him more than any of his other sons, [535] and since Genghis Khan also loved him very much, he was usually with him. When Genghis Khan had sent Chaghatai with Jochi and Ögödäi to lay siege to Khwarazm while he was occupied with the siege of the fortress at Bamian, Mö'ätükän was shot from the fortress and killed. Genghis Khan was greatly vexed by this, and when he took the fortress he destroyed it completely, killed all the inhabitants, and renamed it Mau Qorghan ("evil fortress"). When Chaghatai returned he arrived as the fortress was being razed, and Genghis Khan ordered that no one tell him what had happened. For a few days he told him that Mö'ätükän had gone somewhere else. After that he got angry with his sons intentionally on some pretext and said, "You do not listen to what I tell you, and you have spoiled everything I have told you."

Chaghatai knelt and said, "We will do whatever Genghis Khan commands. If we fail, let us die."

"Is what you say true?" Genghis Khan asked again several times. "Will you really do it?"

"If I do not keep my word," replied Chaghatai, "may I die."

"Mö'ätükän is dead," said Genghis Khan, "and you must not cry or bemoan." Chaghatai was consumed by an inner fire, but he forbore as his father had commanded and did not cry. After a time, on the pretext of some necessity, he went out and wept in silence in a corner for a moment. Then, drying his tears, he returned to his father.

Mö'ätükän had four sons, Baiju, Büri, Yesünto'a, and Qara Hülägü. Their branches are as follows.

(1) Mö'ätükän's first son, Baiju, had one son, Tödö'än, who had a son named Böjäi, who had a son named Abdullah.

(2) The second son, Büri, was born as follows. It used to be the custom for the wives of the *ev-oghlans* to gather in the camp for work. One day Mö'ätükän went into the camp and saw a lot of women. He took one who was very beautiful off into a corner and lay with her. When it occurred to him that she might be pregnant, he ordered her kept apart from her husband. [536] As it happened, she had become pregnant. Büri was born of her, and she was returned to her husband. Büri was extremely bold and

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[1] In *MA* (fol. 35b) this name is given as Sughatu.

[2] Reading بایدغان from *MA* 35b for the text's تایدغار.

[3] In *MA* (fol. 35b), اولادای Uladai; JT_{AJ} has اولقوتو; JT_{By} reads Hoqolqu.

[4] The name occurs in *MA* 35b as قوشماق.

courageous, but when he drank too much he cursed. It got so bad that once during Möngkä Qa'an's reign when he was drinking he cursed Batu because of a grudge he harbored toward him. When Batu heard of it he summoned him. Mängäsär Noyan took him at Möngkä Qa'an's order to Batu, and Batu killed him.[1] Büri had five sons.

(a) The first was Abishgha, who had no sons. When Ariq Bökä rebelled against Qubilai Qa'an, Abishgha was in the qa'an's service and was sent in Qara Hülägü's stead to be ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai and to arrest Orghina Khatun. Along the way Ariq Bökä's troops seized him, and there he remained until Möngkä Qa'an's son Asutai, who had been in league with him, had him executed.

(b) The second was Ajiqi, who was in Qubilai Qa'an's retinue and is at present with Temür Qa'an. He has grown extremely old and is the most influential and respected of all the princes there. He has three sons, Örüg, [B165] Örüg Temür, and Ärshil Gürägän,[2] and all of them also have sons who are in attendance there.

(c) The third was Qadaqchi Sächän, who has five sons, (i) Nalighu, who has three sons, Temür, Oradai, and Tümän, (ii) Bughu,[3] who has two sons, Dhu'l-Qarnayn and Ali, (iii) Buqa Temür, who has two sons, Örüg Temür and Öljitäi,[4] and (iv) Buqa.[5]

(d) The fourth was Ahmad, who has two sons, (i) Baba, who has three sons, Habil Temür, Qabil Temür, and Yulduz Temür, and (ii) Sati.

(e) The fifth was Äbügän.

(3) Mö'ätükän's third son, Yesü[n]to'a, had three sons as follows.

(a) The first was Mu'min, and he had two sons, (i) Yäbä, whose son is Bilgä Temür, and (ii) Örüg.[6]

(b) The second was Baraq, who had five sons, Beg Temür, Dua,[7] Toqta, Uladai, and Buzma.

(c) The third was Yasa['u]r,[8] who came

[1]Büri's execution is described by William of Rubruck as follows: "...*Ban [Büri] dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occasione. Ipse non erat in bonis pascuis. Et quadam die dum esset ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus suis. Nonne sum de genere Chingis can sicut Baatus (et ipse erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam super ripam Etiliae, sicut Baatu, vt pascam ibi? Quae verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ipse Baatu scripsit hominibus illius, vt adducerent ei dominum ipsorum vinctum: quod & fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quaesiuit ab eo si dixisset tale verbum: & ipse confessus est, tamen excusauit se, quia ebrius erat: (quia solent condonare ebrijs:) & Baatu respondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput*" (p. 177f.); "...their lord & master Ban [Büri] was put to death vpon the occasion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile pastures. And vpon a certain day being drunken, he spake on this wise vnto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kinred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or nephew vnto Baatu.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse vpon the banke of Etilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himselfe doeth? Which speeches of his were reported vnto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote vnto his seruants to bring their Lorde bound vnto him. And they did so. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And hee confessed that he had. Howbeit, (because it is the Tartars maner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was drunken at the same time. Howe durst thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkennesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off" (p. 226).

[2]Spelled ارشيل in the text; *MA* 29b has ارتنك.

[3]In *MA*, Tuqu.

[4]In *MA*, Öljäi Temür.

[5]The fifth is missing; none in *MA*.

[6]In *MA* 30b, Orus Buqa.

[7]The name occurs in the *Secret History* as Duua. It is variously spelled in transcription (Du'a, Duwa, &c.), but in Persian it is always دوا.

[8]This name is written يسار in *MA* 30b; in JT_{AJ} it is بسار; it probably should be يساور, also sometimes written ييساور (Yisa'ur or Yesa'ur), particularly in early Timurid times when the Yisa'uri clan was of importance. Here we will read the name as Yasa'ur. See text pp. 752–54 and 760–63.

here as an emissary during the year Abaqa Khan had gone to Herat to repel the Qara'unas, and when Ahmad fled from Khurasan, the amirs killed him.

Mu'min was a very heavy drinker. When Baraq was in Qubilai Qa'an's retinue he performed so well that Qubilai Qa'an ordered him to go with Mubarakshah to take charge of the Ulus Chaghatai. When he arrived there **[537]** he fought a number of battles for a while, but then an amir, a *bitigchi* of Mubarakshah's, and some of the soldiers conspired with Baraq to depose Mubarakshah, leaving Baraq as the absolute ruler. The Ulus Chaghatai borders on Qaidu's territory, and Qaidu had usurped part of it. Baraq did battle with Qaidu several times. The first time Qaidu won, and when they began to fight again, Qipchaq, the son of Qadaqan of Ögödäi's line, [B170] made peace between them and made them swear oaths. They therefore became *anda* to each other, and even now their sons call each other *anda*. After that, [Qaidu and Baraq] rebelled against the qa'an and against Abaqa Khan too. [Baraq] seized those attached to them [the qa'an and Abaqa Khan] in that territory and expropriated their property as he unleashed tyranny and injustice on the people. [Baraq] took counsel with Qaidu whether to cross the Oxus and do battle with Abaqa Khan or not. Anxious over his seditiousness and in rebellion against both the qa'an and Abaqa Khan, Qaidu gave his consent in order to get him far away from his own land. With Baraq he sent Qadaqan's son Qipchaq and Chabat, the son of Güyük Khan's son Naqu, both cousins of Qaidu's, with troops. When they crossed the river Qipchaq turned back in a fit of anger, and Chabat did the same. Baraq sent his brothers Mu'min and Yasa'ur and Negübäi Oghul in pursuit of [Qipchaq], telling them they should bring him back if he would come willingly, but if not, they should distract him with talk until Jalayirtai arrived and he could be seized. When they caught up with Qipchaq and he refused to turn back, they wanted to give him wine to keep him distracted, but he realized what they were doing and said, "This is what you intend. Turn back willingly, or I'll seize you and take you with me." Fearing this threat, they turned back, and when they saw Jalayirtai they said, "He has gone too far to be overtaken." He too turned back with them.

When Baraq crossed the Oxus River in defeat and was deserted by most of his relatives and soldiers, he sent Yasa'ur to Qaidu with a message saying, "The *aqa-inis* and men you sent were not faithful, and every one has left on some pretext. This was begun by Qipchaq, and his actions caused the defeat of the army." When Qaidu heard this message he asked Yasa'ur, "When he sent you with Mu'min and Negübäi in pursuit of Qipchaq, had he sent any troops after you or not?" Yasa'ur said no. Qaidu then realized what had happened and said, "A disgraceful defeat came about because your tongue was not straight with your heart. **[538]** Wasn't Jalayirtai coming after you with troops to seize Qipchaq?" Yasa'ur recoiled in fear, and Qaidu seized him and threw him into chains.

Then he took counsel with the amirs and mounted as reinforcement to Baraq so that somehow he might repel him. When he was near the canal news came that those who had gone after Negübäi Oghul and Ahmad had killed them. Baraq sent a messenger asking why his *anda* Qaidu had taken such trouble and telling him to turn back since there was no necessity for reinforcement. [Qaidu] paid no attention and arrived late at night and camped in the environs of Baraq's camp. Baraq died that very night. The next morning, when no one came forth, he sent someone to find out what was going on. It was ascertained that Baraq had died, so Qaidu entered his camp, conducted the

mourning, and sent the body to a mountain for burial.[1]

After Baraq, his cousin Buqa Temür, the son of Qadaqchi, became ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai,[2] and after him the rule was given to Baraq's son Dua, and he is in league with Qaidu and his sons. Before this, when he gradually gathered Chaghatai's troops and Nawroz had rebelled, he went before him and Qaidu, and he knew the roads and conditions in Khurasan well. He enticed them into attacking Khurasan. They raided Israfayin. Because of Nawroz much damage was done to the province, and innocent Muslims were killed, as will be related in the story of the Padishah of Islam. After that, Qutluq Buqa's son Uighurtai fled and went to Dua, and he knew the roads in Mazanderan well. When Baidu proved treacherous to Gaikhatu and the amirs gathered around him and killed him and he sat on the throne, Dua, at Uighurtai's direction when the army was coming from Khurasan in this direction, went across the desert to Mazanderan and took some of the *aghruqs* of the soldiers of the Padishah of Islam who were in that area and turned back. This will be described in the history of the Padishah of Islam.

Together with Qaidu, Dua did battle several times with the qa'an's forces, and they were defeated. The last time both were wounded. Qaidu died of his wound, and Dua was paralyzed. One of Dua's sons is the Qutluq Khwaja to whom was turned over the province of Ghaznin and the Qara'una troops, who have long been attached to them. They summer in the area of Ghor and Gharchistan, and in the winter they are in the province of Ghaznin and that area. [539] They must constantly do battle with the sultan of Delhi, and the Delhi troops have often struck at them. They come into this realm at all times as bandits and highway robbers and cause trouble. Buzma wanted to join the qa'an's service, but Qaidu learned of it and killed him.

(4) Mö'ätükän's fourth son, Qara Hülägü, had a son named Mubarakshah, who had five sons, (i) Öljäi Buqa, who had a son named Qutluqshah, (ii) Boralqi, who had a son named Qutluq, (iii) Horqadai, (iv) Esän Fulad, and (v) Qadaq.

Qara Hülägü was made his father's successor. His wife was Orghina Khatun, who was Mubarakshah's mother. When Qara Hülägü died, Baidar's son Alghu, his cousin, became the ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai at Ariq Bökä's order. He married Orghina Khatun and died not long thereafter. Mubarakshah then succeeded to his father's position, and Baraq came at Qubilai Qa'an's order. When he found Mubarakshah ruling, he said nothing, but gradually he gathered forces and then usurped the rule of the *ulus*. He convicted Mubarakshah of a crime and made him the chief of his leopard keepers. When Baraq went to Khurasan to fight Abaqa Khan, Mubarakshah was with him. He fled and joined Abaqa Khan. This story will be told in detail in the proper place, God willing.

Chaghatai's third son, Bälgäshi.

When Mö'ätükän, Chaghatai's heir, died, Chaghatai wanted to make this son his heir, but he too died, aged thirteen and without issue. After that, he made Mö'ätükän's son Qara Hülägü his heir designate.

Chaghatai's fourth son, Sarban.

He had two sons, Qoshiqai and Negübäi.[3] [B175]

[1]The episode with Baraq is given in greater detail on text pp. 746–65.

[2]Cf. text p. 548 below, where the Buqa Temür who became ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai is said to be Buqa Temür son of Qadatai.

[3]Negübäi (نیکبای ~ نیکپای), also read as "Nikpai."

Chaghatai's fifth son, Yesü Möngkä.

He was such an extremely heavy drinker that they say **[540]** he was never sober long enough to hand a falcon over to the falconers. He had a wife named Naishi who was highly influential and domineering, and she ran things because her husband was constantly drunk. Since she was in league with Güyük Khan, even though Chaghatai's appointed heir was Qara Hülägü, [Güyük] made [Yesü Möngkä] the ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai because Yesü Möngkä was opposed to Möngkä Qa'an. After that, when Möngkä Qa'an became emperor, he ordered Qara Hülägü to take charge of the Ulus Chaghatai and to kill Yesü Möngkä. Qara Hülägü died along the way, so his wife Orghina Khatun had [Yesü Möngkä] killed, and she ruled on her own for ten years. After that, Ariq Bökä gave the *ulus* to Baidar's son Alghu. When Alghu rebelled against Ariq Bökä, Orghina Khatun became his wife, as has already been reported. Yesü Möngkä had no sons.

Chaghatai's sixth son, Baidar.

He was a short man, but he was a very good archer. They say that one day ___ was playing with him and said, "You are short. Come, let's shoot arrows together."

He had a son named Alghu, who had three sons,

(a) Qaban,[1]

(b) Chübäi,[2] who was in the Qa'an's service until he died. He had fifteen sons, whose histories will come later: Toqta, Yasa['u]r, Dögöläs, Ejil Buqa, Nomquli, Boyuntash, Aq Buqa, Sati Qoyatmish, Daud, Gambu Dorji, Chigin Temür, Jirghudai, Mingtash, Könchäk, and Dorji.

(c) The third son was Tuq Temür, who had two sons, Esän Bökä[3] and Aghruqchi.

Chaghatai's seventh son, Qadatai.

His mother was Tögän Khatun. He had five sons, Naya, Buqu, Naliqo'a, Buqa Temür, and Buqa.

Chaghatai's eighth son, Baiju.

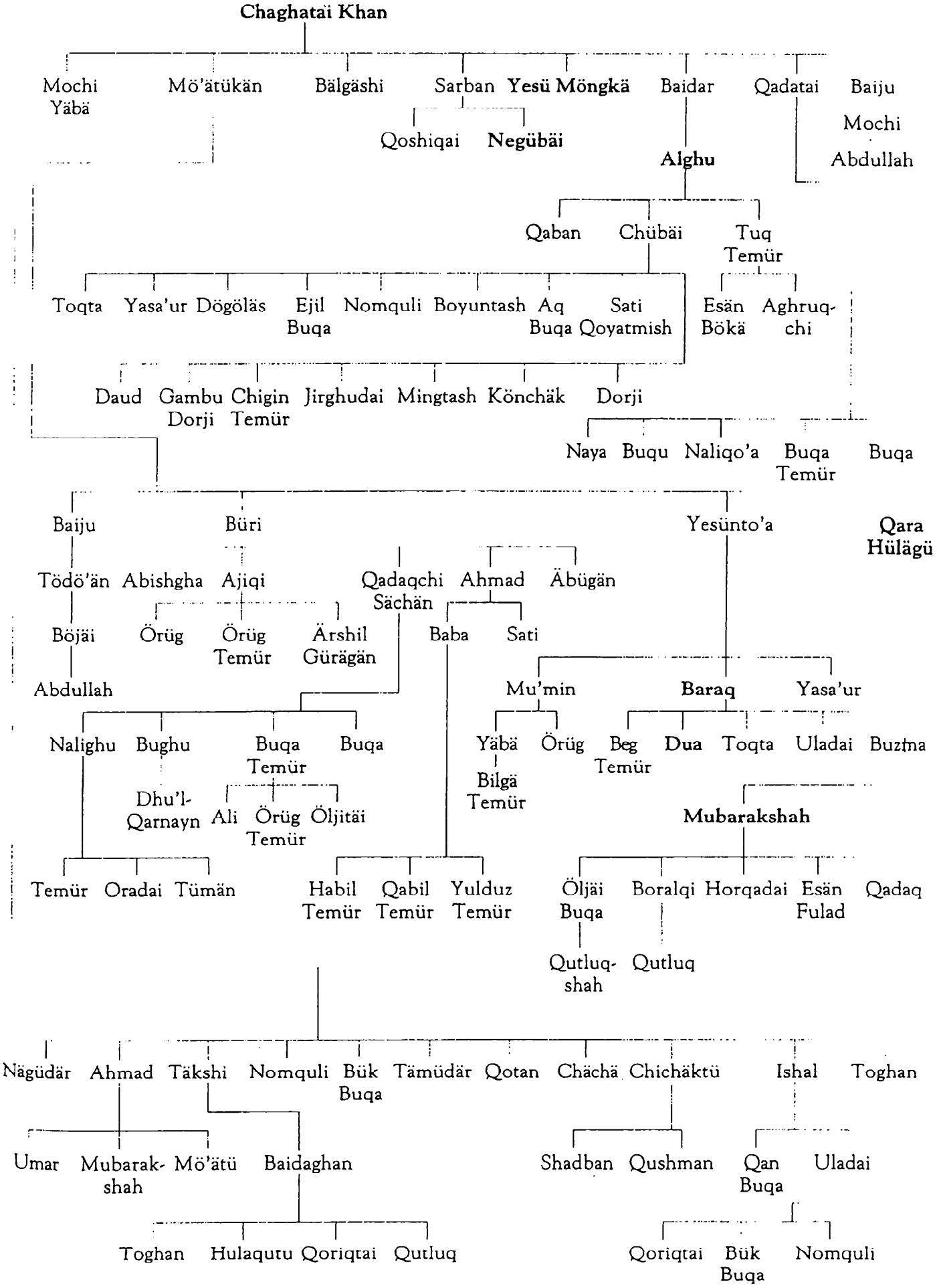
He had a son named Mochi. It was he who commanded the Qara'una troop in the Ghaznin area. He had a son named Abdullah, who was Muslim. When Dua[4] was in the vicinity, he summoned him and replaced him with his son Qutluq Khwaja. **[541]**

[1] Reading, with JT_{AJ} and JT_{BI}, قبان Qaban for JT_K's قیان.

[2] Reading چوبی (Chübäi) for the text's چوری and *MA* (fol 36b)'s جولی.

[3] In *MA* 36b, Esän Buqa.

[4] Reading دوا (Dua) for the text's پدر (which otherwise makes little sense). Qutluq Khwaja is known to be Dua's son (see p. 538 above). See text p. 773 below for a reiteration of this passage.


Chaghatai Khan
Mochi Yäbä
Mö'ätükän
Bälgäshi
Sarban
Yesü Möngkä
Baidar
Qadatai
Baiju
Mochi
Abdullah
Qoshiqai
Negübäi
Alghu
Qaban
Chübäi
Tuq Temür
Toqta
Yasa'ur
Dögöläs
Ejil Buqa
Nomquli
Boyuntash
Aq Buqa
Sati Qoyatmish
Esän Bökä
Aghruq-chi
Daud
Gambu Dorji
Chigin Temür
Jirghudai
Mingtash
Könchäk
Dorji
Naya
Buqu
Naliqo'a
Buqa Temür
Buqa
Baiju
Büri
Yesünto'a
Qara Hülägü
Tödö'än
Abishgha
Ajiqi
Qadaqchi Sächän
Ahmad
Äbügän
Böjäi
Örüg
Örüg Temür
Ärshil Gürägän
Baba
Sati
Abdullah
Mu'min
Baraq
Yasa'ur
Nalighu
Bughu
Buqa Temür
Buqa
Yäbä
Örüg
Beg Temür
Dua
Toqta
Uladai
Buzma
Bilgä Temür
Dhu'l-Qarnayn
Ali
Örüg Temür
Öljitäi
Mubarakshah
Temür
Oradai
Tümän
Habil Temür
Qabil Temür
Yulduz Temür
Öljäi Buqa
Boralqi
Horqadai
Esän Fulad
Qadaq
Qutluq-shah
Qutluq
Nägüdär
Ahmad
Täkshi
Nomquli
Bük Buqa
Tämüdär
Qotan
Chächä
Chichäktü
Ishal
Toghan
Umar
Mubarak-shah
Mö'ätü
Baidaghan
Shadban
Qushman
Qan Buqa
Uladai
Toghan
Hulaqutu
Qoriqtai
Qutluq
Qoriqtai
Bük Buqa
Nomquli

Part Two of the History of Chaghatai Khan. The history of his reign; a picture of his throne and his wives, princes, and amirs as he sits on the throne; a mention of his ulus and some of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved; the length of his reign, and a history of his offspring down to the present.

Chaghatai was a just, competent, and awesome ruler. His father Genghis Khan told his commanders that any who had a desire to know the *yasa* and *yosun* of the kingdom should follow Chaghatai; any who liked possessions and wealth and wanted to follow the path of chivalry and ease should follow Ögödäi; and any who desired courtliness, culture, bravery, and weaponry should join Tolui. When he was dividing the troops, he gave Chaghatai four thousand men, as has already been described in the section on the division of the military. Of the commanders, Qarachar of the Barulas clan and Mögä the father of Yesün Noyan of the Jalayir went to him, and he received the territories and *yurts* from the Altai, the *yurt* of the Naiman nation. As commanded, he rode on campaigns and performed outstanding feats, conquering territories as has already been described.

In the autumn of Qonin Yil, the Year of the Sheep that began in Sha'ban 607 [January 1211], when Genghis Khan mounted for the Cathay campaign, Chaghatai, along with Ögödäi and Tolui, took five cities, Un-Ui [Yün-nei], Tung Cheng [Tung-sheng], Fujiu [Wu-chou], Suqjiu [Shuo-chou], and Nungjiu [Ning-chou].[1] [B180] Thereafter, after having besieged and taken the city of Jojiu [Cho-chou], the three of them were dispatched in the Year of the Monkey to the foot of Mount Khua[i]-lai, and they took all the cities and fortresses from Fujiu [Fu-chou] to Khuai-Meng [Huai and Meng]. From there they went down the Yellow River, turned back, and took and pillaged the cities of Pung Yang Fu [P'ing-yang fu] and Tai Wan Fu [T'ai-yüan fu] and dependencies.[2] The booty from Tai Wan Fu went to Chaghatai.

After that, in the winter of Luy Yil, the Year of the Dragon that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 616 [February 1220], when Genghis Khan set out for the realm of the Tajiks and came to Otrar, **[542]** he sent Chaghatai and his brothers Ögödäi and Tolui to lay siege and conquer it. After that they took Banakat and most of the cities of Turkistan, rejoining their father after the conquest of Samarkand. After that, he sent him, Jochi Khan, and Ögödäi to besiege Khwarazm. Since he and Jochi could not get along, their father ordered Ögödäi to take charge, even though he was younger, and he cleverly made peace between his brothers so that together they could take Khwarazm. Jochi then went to his *aghruq*.

In the summer of Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that corresponds to 619 [1223], they rejoined Genghis Khan at Taligan and did *uljamishi*. Having spent that summer in the vicinity of Taligan, Chaghatai, Ögödäi, and Tolui went with their father in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin to the banks of the Indus, where they defeated the sultan's forces even though the sultan escaped across the river. That summer they remained in that area, conquering various territories. After that they accompanied their father to their original homeland, and in Taqiqu Yil, the Year of the Rooster corresponding to 623 [1225],[3] when Genghis Khan mounted for a campaign to Tangqut, which had rebelled again, he ordered Chaghatai to be in the wing of the army

[1]See above, text p. 322. As before, for the text's نونلك چير, read نونلك جير (Nung-jiu) for 寧州 Ning-chou.

[2]See above, text p. 325.

[3]Text has 624, but it should be 623.

behind the camps. He did as ordered until his brothers Ögödäi and Tolui, who were with their father, returned home, with Genghis Khan's coffin brought after them. Together they conducted the mourning ceremonies, and then they each went to their respective *yurts* and homes.

Since of all the brothers only Chaghatai was friendly with both Ögödäi and Tolui, he made great efforts to have Ögödäi enthroned and kept insisting until they elevated him to the rule in accordance with their father's command. Together with Tolui and the other relatives he bent his knee and made *tägishmishi* offerings. Despite his being the eldest brother, he paid Ögödäi all respect and observed all forms of propriety with him. One instance is as follows.

One day the two were riding fast horses. Dead drunk, one said to the other, "Let's bet on a race." They made a wager and raced. Chaghatai's horse was a little faster and won by a head. That night, when Chaghatai was thinking about it in his tent, he said to himself, "How could it be right for me to make a bet with the emperor? How could I have let my horse pass his? [543] This was an act of great impropriety. If this keeps up, we and the others will become brazen, and it will result in weakening of the kingdom." Before dawn he summoned the amirs and said, "Yesterday I committed an affront by committing such an action. Let us go to Ögödäi, and let him try me for my affront and apply whatever punishment is required by the Yasa." He and the amirs mounted together in a large group and arrived at the *kiriyäs* earlier than usual. When Ögödäi's guards reported that Chaghatai had arrived with a large group, although Ögödäi had complete trust in Chaghatai, he wondered what could have caused such a thing. He therefore sent men to his brother to make inquiry.

"We *aqa-inis* have all spoken together at a *quriltai*," he answered, "and we have given written pledges that Ögödäi is the qa'an and sworn to obey him and not disobey him in anything. Yesterday I ran a race with him on a wager. What right have I to make a wager with the qa'an? I am therefore guilty of an offense, and I admit my guilt. I have come to be judged by the Yasa. Whether the emperor has me killed or beaten, he is the ruler."

Ögödäi was embarrassed by this and held his brother in even greater love and affection. In humility he sent back a message saying, "What words are these? He is my elder brother. What importance do such trifles have?"

[Chaghatai] refused to listen, but in the end he consented that the qa'an should spare his life and he would present nine horses. The *bitigchis* therefore composed documents for all to know that the emperor had spared Chaghatai's life and that Chaghatai had presented gifts in return for the forgiveness of his offense. After that, he came into the *ordu* and reported to all, with the great eloquence he possessed, what had happened. On this account the agreement between the brothers increased, and the other relatives submitted humbly to the qa'an's decrees.

During Ögödäi's reign, the territories that had not been conquered during Genghis Khan's time were all subjugated, and the empire grew stronger under the rule of his family and armies.

Since Chaghatai lived in such harmony with Ögödäi, Ögödäi placed his own son Güyük Khan in Chaghatai's retinue to serve as a guard, and Chaghatai's status reached a magnificence that is beyond description. He ruled over his *ulus* and the army Genghis Khan had given him and was firmly ensconced upon the throne in Beshbaliq. [544] Ögödäi sent emissaries to consult with him on all matters of importance and never took action without his approval.

Chaghatai was always in full agreement and supportive of Ögödäi and kept him informed of everything that happened to him. Whenever there was a matter of great concern he went for a *quriltai*, and all Ögödäi's sons and amirs went out to greet him and escort him into the emperor's presence, where he would present gifts and then go into the inner apartments. For the thirteen years Ögödäi was on the throne Chaghatai was in agreement with and supportive of him. He died in 638 [1241], seven months before Ögödäi.

The status of rule over the Ulus Chaghatai after Chaghatai's death, and his successors' accessions until the present.

After the deaths of the qa'an and of Chaghatai, although Qara Hülägü (the eldest son of Mö'ätükän, who had died of an arrow wound at the fortress of Bamian during Genghis Khan's time) was the designated heir, [B185] Güyük Khan sent Chaghatai's fifth son, Yesü Möngkä, to rule the Ulus Chaghatai because he was opposed to Möngkä Qa'an. Then, when Möngkä Qa'an became emperor, he issued a decree for Qara Hülägü to kill Yesü Möngkä and become the ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai as the heir designate. Before reaching the Ulus Chaghatai, Qara Hülägü died on the road, and his wife, Orghina Khatun, the daughter of Törälchi Gürägän of the Oyirat, had Yesü Möngkä killed in accordance with the decree and took the rule upon herself in her husband's stead.

When Möngkä Qa'an died, Qubilai Qa'an sent Abishgha, the eldest son of Mö'ätükän's second son Büri, to remove Orghina Khatun and become ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai in Qara Hülägü's place. Since at that time there was a dispute between Qubilai Qa'an and Ariq Bökä, Ariq Bökä's troops seized Abishgha on the road and took him to Ariq Bökä. Möngkä Qa'an's son Asutai was ordered to kill him. Alghu, the son of Chaghatai's sixth son Baidar, was with him [Ariq Bökä], and he was issued a decree to become the ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai to protect the borders from Qubilai Qa'an's troops **[545]** and from the forces of the Jochid family and to collect tribute, provisions, and supplies for the army from Turkistan and send them to [Ariq Bökä] so that he would have the means to mount a campaign against Qubilai Qa'an. Alghu delivered the decree and became powerful as ruler. Orghina Khatun went to Ariq Bökä with many complaints of Alghu. She remained there for a long time. After a time Ariq Bökä sent envoys there to take two of every ten animals and to collect money and weapons for the army. The names of those envoys are Äbügä[lün],[1] Boritai Bitigchi, and Shadi. They went and delivered the decree to Alghu, and they began to collect the animals, weapons, and money in the province. When only part had been collected, they dispatched it. In 661 [1263] Alghu arrested them and said, "When the other liege men arrive with their tasks completed, you may go together." Some time later, when they arrived, they made inquiry of the liege men, saying, "Why did you stop?"

"Alghu prevented us," they replied. They then went to the gate of Alghu's *ordu* and sent in a message saying, "We came by decree of Ariq Bökä to collect taxes. What right have you to prevent us?"

Since Alghu had set his sights on the tax money, he flared up in anger at the envoys' words, had them arrested, and threw them into chains. Then he took counsel with his amirs and asked what should be done.

"Council should have been held before they were arrested," they said. "Now that we have made an enemy of Ariq Bökä, we should rebel against him totally and go over

[1]Text here has "Äbügän Kä'ün." Below (p. 625) it is the diminutive Äbügälün.

to Qubilai Qa'an." He then had the envoys killed and seized the money and weapons, which enabled him to be powerful.

Orghina Khatun had returned, and Alghu married her and sat in absolute power on the throne of the Ulus Chaghatai. When the news reached Ariq Bökä, he mounted a campaign against Alghu. Battle was fought, and Ariq Bökä was defeated twice, but the third time Alghu suffered defeat and went to Bukhara and Samarkand. There he obtained money, weapons, and animals from wealthy men and gave them to his soldiers. Ariq Bökä raided his *aghruq*s and, after a year had passed, he pulled out of the area in order to repel the qa'an's forces. The next year, which was 6[6]2 [1264], Alghu died. Since all the amirs and soldiers were under Orghina Khatun's orders, she elevated her son Mubarakshah, the son of Qara Hülägü, to the throne. **[546]** The army, as it was wont to do, pillaged and tyrannized the population. Since Mubarakshah was a Muslim, he did not allow the peasantry to suffer injustice. When Ariq Bökä was forced to go to the qa'an, the troubles in the province subsided.

To the Ulus Chaghatai the qa'an sent Baraq, the son of Mö'ätükän's third son Yesünto'a who had been in his retinue for a while, with a decree making him co-ruler of the ulus along with Mubarakshah. When Baraq arrived and found Mubarakshah and Orghina Khatun firmly in power, he did not show the decree. Mubarakshah asked him why he had come, and he replied, "I have been away from my *ulus* and home for a long time, and my people have dispersed without a leader. I asked for permission and have come to gather my *er-akhta* [cavalry] and join you." Mubarakshah was pleased by this reply, and Baraq comported himself competently with him, all the while gathering soldiers from all nooks and crannies. Then, without warning, a *bitigchi* amir of Mubarakshah's and some of the army conspired with Baraq to depose Mubarakshah, and Baraq became the absolute ruler. Mubarakshah was so demoted that he was made chief of Baraq's leopard keepers.

Since Qaidu and Ariq Bökä were in league and both refused to respond to the qa'an's summons, the qa'an had sent Baraq to deal with Qaidu. To that end, when Baraq had gained enough strength, he set out to attack Qaidu. They fought several battles. The first time Baraq was defeated, and the second time they began to fight, Qipchaq, the son of Ögödäi Qa'an's son Qada'an Oghul who was friendly with Baraq, made a truce between them and had them swear oaths to be *anda* with each other. Secure from this threat, Baraq mounted the throne of the Ulus Chaghatai.

After that, he held a *quriltai* and said to Qaidu, "Our army has grown large, and this territory cannot support it. I will cross the Oxus and and take the province of Khurasan, and my *anda* Qaidu must assist me." Since Qaidu wanted him out of the territory, and since he was also at odds with Abaqa Khan, he agreed to this and assigned Qipchaq Oghul and Chabat, the son of Güyük Khan's son Naqu, [B190] to go with reinforcements to assist Baraq.

Baraq led his army across the Oxus and camped in the vicinity of Merv. When Tü[b]shin, Abaqa Khan's brother, gave battle, a *hazara* amir named Shächäktü heard that Qipchaq had come with Baraq. He fled to them and said, **[547]** "My *cha'ur* [company of a hundred] and I are Qipchaq's." So saying, he led out fine horses to present to his ruler, but Qipchaq said to him, "Take a few horses and present them to Baraq." Shächätü did this. The next day in Baraq's *ordu* Jalayirtai said to Qipchaq, "Has Baraq come with so many thousand soldiers to wield the sword on your behalf?"

"So what?" said he.

"What will be?" he replied. "Although Shächäktü and his company are attached to

you, why has he not come to you for such a long time? Today he has come here under Baraq's good fortune. You took him to yourself, and you took the fine horses that were fit for Baraq and told him to give Baraq the ones that were fit for you."

"Who are you," said Qipchaq, "to interfere between elder and younger brothers?"

"I am Baraq's servant," said Jalayirtai, "not yours that you should ask me who I am!"

"When has a commoner ever answered a question from Genghis Khan's family," said Qipchaq, "that a dog like you should give an impolite response to me?"

"If I am a dog," he said, "I am Baraq's dog, not yours. Have some respect for yourself and go about your own business."

With this, Qipchaq's zeal was ignited, and he said, "If you dare to answer me, I'll cut you in two. Baraq Aqa will say nothing to me on your account."

Jalayirtai reached for his dagger and said, "If you try to kill me, I'll cut your gut to shreds."

Even when things reached this point, Baraq said nothing. Qipchaq realized that he would support Jalayirtai, so in a pique of wounded pride he left Baraq's camp, took counsel with his soldiers, left his own camp below Maruchuq,[1] and fled with his troops across the river. When Baraq found out about it, he sent his brother Yasa'ur and Negübäi Oghul in pursuit, and on their heels he dispatched Jalayirtai with three thousand horsemen (as was described at the end of the section on Baraq). After that, Chabat also took flight with his men and went to Qaidu.

In short, Baraq was defeated, and most of his soldiers were killed by Abaqa Khan's troops, and the few who escaped scattered. The defeated Baraq went to Bukhara, where he fell ill of despair and grief. He set out in a litter to attack Ahmad Oghul, the son of Chaghatai's son Mochi Yäbä, who had refused to help him, and he sent a message to Yasa'ur and another to Qaidu, saying, "Your sons' troops have failed to assist, and therefore our armies have been defeated. My illness notwithstanding, I am setting out in pursuit of them. If my *anda* will send reinforcements, I will capture them and subject them to retribution." As has been said previously, Qaidu seized Yasa'ur **[548]** and put him in chains. Then he and his troops were going ostensibly as reinforcements but actually to deal once and for all with the weakened Baraq. When his men seized and killed Ahmad Oghul, [Baraq] regretted having summoned Qaidu and sent a message saying, "There is no necessity for my *anda* Qaidu to go to any trouble. Let him turn back."

Paying no attention, Qaidu proceeded and camped in a circle around Baraq's camp. As was said in the section on Baraq, Baraq died that night, and the next day Qaidu held mourning and buried him. The amirs and princes who were in his camp came to Qaidu, knelt, and said, "Until now Baraq has been our ruler. Now Qaidu is our *aqa* and ruler. We will fight as he commands." Qaidu rewarded them and distributed to his own troops Baraq's possessions, which he had them carry away as he withdrew to his own *yurt*.

After that, Baraq's eldest son, Beg Temür, and Alghu's sons Chübäi and Qaban rebelled and went to the qa'an. Ögödäi's grandson Chabat and a group of amirs also joined the qa'an, after which Qara Hülägü's son Mubarakshah went to Abaqa Khan, who received him with all honors and put him in charge of Negüdär's troop in the vicinity of Ghaznin.

After Baraq's death the rule of the ulus was given to his cousin Negübäi, the son of Sarban, and he ruled for three years. After that, Qaidu gave it to Buqa Temür, the son of Chaghatai's seventh son Qadatai, and he

[1]The modern Maruchak in western Afghanistan.

ruled for a time.[1] He was afflicted with scall, and all his hair and beard fell out. He died of that disease. After him, Qaidu gave the rule of the ulus to Baraq's son Dua, who is now the ruler, although he is ill. Last year, when he and Qaidu did battle with the qa'an's troops, they were both wounded. Qaidu died of his wound, and Dua is still suffering from his wound, which has resisted treatment.

Stories of Chaghatai's deputies, Vazir and Habash Amid.

Chaghatai had two viziers, Vazir[2] and Habash Amid. Vazir was originally from Cathay and was a servant of a Cathaian physician in Chaghatai's retinue. After the physician's death he became a herdsman for Qosha'un Noyan of the Jalayir nation, one of Chaghatai's amirs. **[549]** One day by chance Chaghatai asked Qosha'un Noyan, who was old and much experienced and knew about former times, about Genghis Khan and which territories he had taken in which years. Since he did not have a ready answer, he went home and asked everyone in his service, who told him what they knew. The Cathaian herdsman heard from outside the tent and responded to the truth or falsehood of each statement in such a way that could be clearly heard by those present, and everyone agreed with what he said. Qosha'un summoned him inside and asked how he knew such things. [B195] He produced a notebook in which he had recorded all the things they were looking for with their dates day by day. Qosha'un rejoiced and took him and the notebook to Chaghatai, and since Chaghatai loved such wisdom, he was pleased and, requesting the Cathaian from Qosha'un, made him a member of his retinue. Within a short time he had become quite bold in service and attained prominence and fame. The qa'an recognized his cleverness, and when he saw how confidential he was with Chaghatai, he named him vizier. He was short and mean looking, but he was extremely brave, quick-witted, clever, eloquent, and had a prodigious appetite for food and drink. His rank was increased until he sat above most of the amirs, and he spoke more boldly than any in Chaghatai's service. One day Chaghatai's wife began to speak during a report, and he shouted at her, "You are a wife. You have no right to speak in this regard." One of Chaghatai's daughters-in-law was also accused of adultery with someone. Without consulting Chaghatai, Vazir killed her. When Chaghatai learned of it, Vazir said, "How can a daughter-in-law be allowed to commit a displeasing act and sully the names of the other women?" Chaghatai approved of his action.

Since it was customary at that time for every word the ruler said to be written down day by day, and since most of what they said was in rhyme and obscure, each of them had one of his confidants to write down what he said. Chaghatai's pronouncements were written by Vazir. The qa'an had an Uyghur deputy named Chinqai. One day the qa'an asked Chaghatai, "Is your vizier better than mine?"

"Of course," he answered, "he is better [than] Chinqai."

One day at a banquet both of them issued statements, and he took them down and then went outside to write them out. Both Chaghatai and the qa'an kept a record so as to make a test **[550]** to see if Vazir could write them or not. Just as Vazir started

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[1] Cf. text p. 538 above, where the Buqa Temür in question is said to be Buqa Temür son of Qadaqchi Sächän son of Büri son of Mö'ätükän. Grousset (*Empire*, 334) calls him "Tuqa Timur" and his predecessor "Nikpai Oghul."

[2] Although Vazir's name is coincidentally spelled in Persian exactly like وزیر *vazīr* ('vizier'), it is actually derived from the Sanskrit वज्र *vajra* ('thunderbolt') via the Mongolian and/or Uyghur *vajir* > *vazir*. See JT_{By} 154, note 43.

writing, Möngkä Qa'an passed by and spoke to him. "Don't distract me," said Vazir, "let me write down what I have heard." When he produced his record, they read it. He had written it down with only a few words in the wrong order. "Chaghatai is right. His vizier is better than mine," the qa'an confessed.

As long as Chaghatai was alive, Vazir was influential in his service. They say that during Ögödäi Qa'an's time Chaghatai wrote a decree giving to someone else a portion of Transoxiana the qa'an had put under Yalavach's control. Yalavach reported this to the qa'an, who repealed the decree and sent a letter to Chaghatai, ordering him to give an answer. In answer Chaghatai wrote, "I did it unknowingly and misguidedly. I have no answer I can write to you, but since the qa'an has commanded me to write, I am emboldened to write this much." The qa'an was pleased by this reply and accepted his excuse. He also gave the region as an appanage to Chaghatai. Afterwards, when Yalavach went to Chaghatai, he called him on the carpet and cursed him. Yalavach said to Vazir, "I have something to say to you in private." When they were seated together, he said, "I am the qa'an's deputy. Chaghatai cannot kill me without consultation. If I complain of you, the qa'an will kill you. If you make reparation to me, well and good; if not, I will not speak on your behalf before the qa'an. If you speak of this to Chaghatai, I will deny it no matter how many times they ask me, and you have no witness." Vazir was therefore compelled to make recompense. There are many stories about Vazir, of which this is but one example. Vazir often said to Chaghatai, "On your account I have left myself no friends. After you no one will have mercy on me." When Chaghatai died, he was executed on charges of having poisoned Chaghatai.

Habash Amid, Chaghatai's *bitigchi*, was a Muslim, originally from Otrar. **[551]** ~

ℭ SECTION SEVEN

THE HISTORY OF GENGHIS KHAN'S SON TOLUI KHAN, IN THREE PARTS

Part One is on his offspring, his wives, and his sons and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, aside from those of his sons who became rulers, to each of whom a separate section is devoted.

Part Two is his history, aside from what has already necessarily been said in the course of the history of his father and brothers; a picture of his throne, wives, princes, and amirs at his enthronement; a mention of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved; the length of his reign.

Part Three is on his conduct and good moral character, with miscellaneous stories, anecdotes, sayings, and good orders he gave, aside from what was included in the previous two sections. These things have been culled from various books and persons.

Part One: His offspring, his wives, and his sons and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, aside from those of his sons who became rulers, to each of whom a separate section is devoted.

Tolui Khan was Genghis Khan's fourth son, the youngest of the four main sons, [552] who were called the "four *külügs*" (stalwarts). His mother was Genghis Khan's chief wife, Börtä Füjin, who gave birth to his three elder brothers. His title was Yäkä Noyan and Ulugh Noyan, [both of which] mean "great commander," and those were the names by which he was known. Genghis Khan called him *nökär* (liege man). He had no peer in bravery, courage, strategy and tactics. His father arranged a marriage for him while he was young with the daughter of Jagambu, the brother of Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit nation. Her name was Sorqaghtani Beki, and she was the eldest and most beloved of Tolui Khan's wives and the mother of his four principal sons, who were like Genghis Khan's four sons in being the mainstays of his realm. [B200] Aside from Sorqaghtani Beki he had many other wives and concubines, and he had ten sons, as follows: Möngkä Qa'an, Jörikä, Qutuqtu, Qubilai Qa'an, Hülägü Khan, Ariq Bökä, Böchök, Mögä, Sögätäi,[1] and Sübügätäi.

Tolui Khan's first son, Möngkä Qa'an.

He was born of Sorqaghtani Beki. Since he was a ruler, a separate section will be devoted to him and his offspring.[2]

Tolui Khan's second son, Jörikä.

He was born of a wife named Saruq Khatun. He died young without offspring.

Tolui Khan's third son, Qutuqtu.[3]

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[1]Reading سوکاتای (Sögätäi) for JT_K's ستوکاتای. JT_{AJ} 132 has یسوکایتای. See Hambis, *Yuan Che*, 89[8].

[2]See text p. 578 below. Möngkä's name occurs throughout the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* both in its Mongolian form, Möngkä ('eternal'), and in its Turkish form, Mängü (or Mänggü, with the doubled 'g' occasionally so indicated in Persian). Carpini and William of Rubruck spell it variously as Mangu and Mengu.

[3]Variously spelled as Qutuqtu ~ Quduqdu ~ Qutughtu.

He was born of Linqum Khatun. He had no sons, but he had a daughter named Kälmish Aqa, who was married to Salji'udai Gürägän of the Qunqirat. He was an amir in service to the ruler of the Ulus Jochi, and he died in 701 [1301–2].

Kälmish Aqa is still alive and living there. Toqta and the other princes hold her in a position of great imiportance. Since she is the offspring of Tolui Khan, she shows constant affection to the Padishah of Islam and continually sends emissaries **[553]** to inform him of events that transpire in that realm. It is due to her that friendship has been maintained and strife and enmity avoided between Toqta and Jochi Khan's other offspring and Tolui Khan's house. When Qubilai Qa'an's son Nomoghan was surprised and seized by his cousins and sent to Möngkä Temür, the ruler of Jochi Khan's *ulus*, Kälmish Aqa exerted herself to have him sent back to his father with honor in the company of some of the princes and great amirs, as has already been described in the history of Jochi. Her husband, Salji'udai Gürägän, was the cause for the hatred and battles fought between Toqta, the ruler of the Ulus Jochi, and Tatar's son Noqai, who commanded the forces of the right wing of that *ulus* and with whose help Toqta became ruler, as has also been described in the section on Jochi.[1] Things finally got so bad that Noqai was killed and his sons were overthrown.

Tolui Khan's fourth son, Qubilai Qa'an.

He was born of Sorqaghtani Beki. Since he became emperor, a separate section will be devoted to him and his sons.[2]

Tolui Khan's fifth son, Hülägü Khan.

He was also born of the chief wife. He was a great and auspicious ruler whose history is as outstanding as that of his grandfather Genghis Khan. To the present his offspring have been and are great rulers in Iran and other realms. The quintessence of that family is the defender of the faith, Ghazan Khan—may God make his rule eternal—for such an emperor of regal outlook and auspicious wake was elevated from among his sons in particular and from among all the princes in general.

May the sun of his fortune shine; may his shadow be perpetual, and may he live forever.

His genealogy will be mentioned separately in the section devoted to him.[3] **[554, B205]**

Tolui Khan's sixth son, Ariq Bökä.

He was also born of the chief wife. Since he disputed with Qubilai over the throne and emperorship, they fought many battles. His history will be subsumed under that of Qubilai, but his sons will be listed here. He had five sons: Yobuqur, Malik Temür, Qutuqa, Tammachi, and Naira'u Buqa.[4]

Tolui Khan's seventh son, Böchök.

He was born of ___ Khatun. He had wives and concubines by whom he had sons. He was his father's successor and was called Säbilgär because he had a hundred sons.[5] His sons are at present with Temür Qa'an, but their names have not yet been ascertained with certainty. Those who are

[1]See above, text pp. 529–32.

[2]See below, section ten, text pp. 611–79.

[3]The section on Ghazan Khan begins on text p. 842.

[4]In JT_{AJ} 133, four of these sons' sons are given: Yobuqur had five, Hulachu, Alti Toqa, Öljäi, Öljä Temür, and Urla (?); Malik Temür had six, Mingqan, Achiq, Yesün To'a, Baharatba, Oyirudai, and Mahmud; Tammachi had two, Bayan and Bajin; and Naira'u Buqa had five, Shishkah, Bayan, Äbügän, Ura Temür, and Qurtuqa.

[5]JT_{AJ} 133 has Sabuksär instead of Säbilgär. Apparently Säbilgär has been confused with his second son below, Ja'utu, whose name derives from *jaghun* ~ *ja'un* 'hundred.'

known are: (1) Sayin Buqa, who had two sons, Dashman and Ila'udar; (2) Ja'utu, who had one son, Törä Temür; (3) Täkshi, whose sons are not known; and (4) Tübshin, who had four sons, Bültachar, Sa'ut, Bäktäi,[1] and Boralqi. [B210]

Tolui Khan's eighth son, Mögä.

He had two sons, Chingtum,[2] and Äbügän.[3]

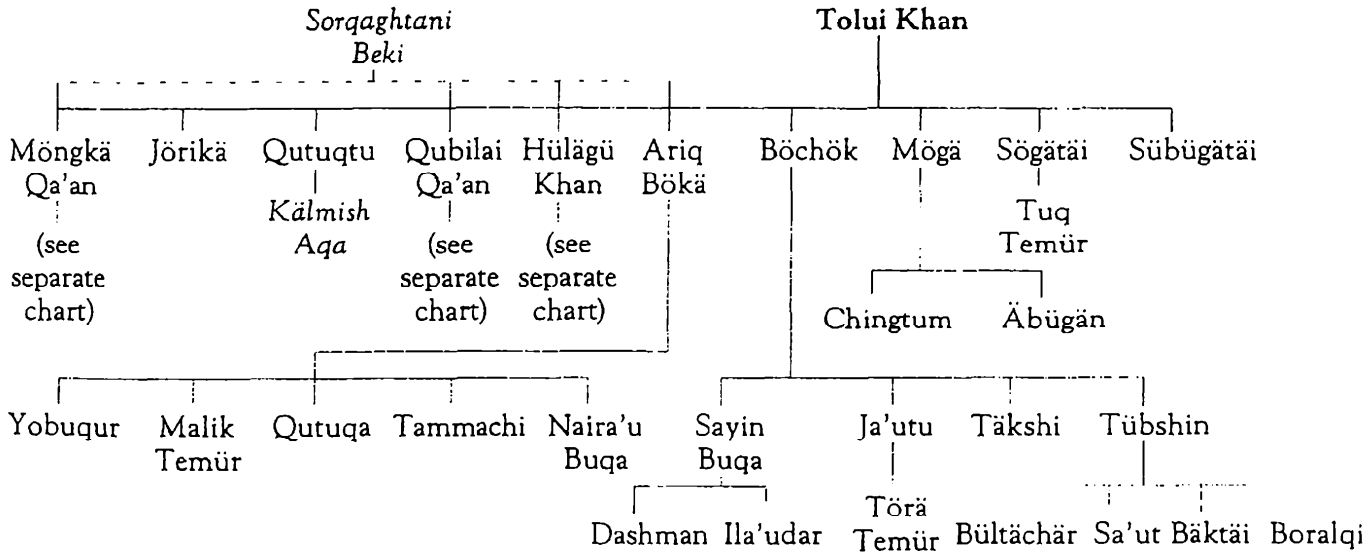
Tolui Khan's ninth son, Sögätäi.

He was born of ___ Khatun. He had a son named Tuq Temür who was very brave and an extremely good archer. In battle he always used to ride a gray horse. "Do not choose horses of a *jerdä* (reddish) or other color because blood won't show up on them to make the foe bolder," he used to say. "I always choose a roan because, just as rouge enhances the beauty of women, **[555]** the beauty of men is enhanced by blood that spills from a wounded rider and horse onto clothing and the horse's body to be seen from afar." Because he was so dauntless, many seditious thoughts entered his mind. When Qubilai sent Nomoghan with the Däräsü troops in the company of the princes to Qaidu, this Tuq Temür was with them and provoked the others to seize Nomoghan, as will be described in the history of Qubilai Qa'an.[4]

Tolui Khan's tenth son, Sübügätäi.

[text missing]

A picture of Tolui Khan and a genealogical chart of his sons are as follows.[5]



Part Two of the history of Tolui Khan. His history, aside from what has already necessarily been said in the course of the history of his father and brothers; a picture of his throne, wives, princes, and amirs at his enthronement; a mention of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved; the length of his reign; stories of Tolui Khan's accompaniment of his father during his lifetime, the battles they fought

[1] JT_K and JT_{AJ} 133 both have بکتای. The name may actually be نکبای Nägübäi (see Hambis, *Yuan Che*, 100[1]).

[2] Chingtum ~ Changtong (see Hambis, *Yuan Che*, 103[1].

[3] JT_{AJ} 133 adds a third, Bolad.

[4] See text p. 633 below.

[5] The picture and chart are missing in all texts. Chart reconstructed from information in the text.

and the cities they conquered.

Most of the time Tolui Khan accompanied his father, and Genghis Khan consulted him on all matters, large and small, and called him *nökär* [liege man]. Genghis Khan's *yurt*, *ordus*, goods, treasuries, *er-akhta* [cavalry corps], officers, and elite troops all came into his possession, for it has been the Mongol and Turkic custom since ancient times for a father during his lifetime to separate his elder sons' possessions, flocks and herds, and followers and send them away. What remains belongs to the youngest son, who is called the *otchigin*, i.e. the son who gains possession of the fire and hearth, **[556]** and indicates that the foundation of the home rests upon him. The Turkish word *ot* basically means fire, and *tegin* means commander, i.e. he is the commander and lord of the fire. Since the word *tegin* cannot be pronounced correctly in the Mongolian dialect, some say *otchigin* and others say *otchi*, but the basic meaning of the word is as has been said.

Genghis Khan entertained the notion of turning over the office of qa'an and the imperial throne to him and making him his designated heir, but he said, "By virtue of your position you will command my *yurt*, *ordu*, army, and treasury. You will be better off and more at leisure. In the end, since much of the army will belong to you, your sons will be more powerful and more magnificent than the other princes." However, since he recognized signs of greatness in [Tolui Khan's sons], it occurred to him that things would turn out such that the office of qa'an and the emperorship would be settled upon them, as actually did happen for all to see.

Inasmuch as the entirety of the armies and right- and left-wing commanders of ten thousand and one thousand were written in detail at the end of Genghis Khan's history, it can be learned from there what he gave to the other sons, what he gave to his brothers, and which they are. All that was not distributed came into Tolui Khan's possession, and those troops and commanders were inherited as they were by his sons, as can be observed—except only a few who involuntarily, on account of *bulqaq*s [disturbances], have fallen in various directions to various princes. The rest are in service either to the Qa'an or to the Padishah of Islam.

Tolui Khan was extremely successful in battle. No prince achieved such conquests as he did. What occurred during his father's lifetime will be given in summary, and a portion of what befell after that will also be introduced.

When Genghis Khan mounted for an expedition to Cathay and arrived at the city of Tayanfu [T'ai-yüan fu], which is extremely large, there was an enormous population with great strength and power, and no one could get near. [B215] Genghis Khan sent Tolui Khan with Alchu Noyan's son Chigü Gürägän of the Qunqirat and an army. They did battle, got up on the walls, and took the city. After that, he laid siege to Jojiu [Cho-chou] and took it. Then he dispatched troops with his elder sons and amirs from the right and left wings, and he himself and Tolui Khan set out with the middle group, the center, conquering and devastating every city and territory along the way as far as ___.[1] **[557]** The spoils of Jeng Din Fu [Chen-ting fu], one of Cathay's great cities the Mongols call Chagha'an Balghasun, were Tolui Khan's. The spoils that Tolui Khan took from that territory went by inheritance and division to his family, and what is in Cathay, the Qipchaq Steppe, and other territories is well marked. Of the

[1] JT_K has here پی جیو, but it probably should be می جیو (密州 Mi-chou), to which Muqali was dispatched as mentioned in the account on text p. 326 above.

possessions in Cathay that were the Qa'an's and then his wives', the portion that was Hülägü Khan's and his children's was ordered to be well guarded and kept until there was an opportunity for it to be sent.

After they returned from the realm of Cathay, Genghis Khan set out for Tajik territory. When he reached Otrar, he left Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi to lay siege and conquer Khwarazm, while Tolui Khan went with his father to take Bukhara. From there they proceeded to Samarkand, which they subdued along with all its surrounding territory. From there they went to Nakhshab and Termez, and then from the Temür Qahalqa (Iron Gates) in the Badakhshan vicinity he sent Tolui Khan to conquer Khurasan. Over the three months of that winter he took Merv, Maruchuq, Sarakhs, Nishapur, and all that area, and then in the spring he turned back from Nishapur at Genghis Khan's command. Along the way he took Quhistan, that entire area, and Herat. He rejoined Genghis Khan in Taligan just as he had conquered and was destroying the fortress there. That same summer he and his brothers Chaghatai and Ögödäi went with their father in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin as far as the banks of the Indus. They vanquished the sultan's soldiers, who crossed the river in rout. They turned back there and launched a campaign against Tangqut. Chaghatai was left with a contingent to guard the rear of the *ordus*, and Ögödäi and Tolui both remained with their father until he fell ill. As was mentioned in the previous section, Genghis Khan sat privately with his two sons, advised them, and sent them back to their own homes and lands. It was on that campaign that he died. **[558]**

The history of Tolui Khan after his father's death, when he consolidated his position in the home yurt on his father's throne, which went to him by right; his agreement with his brothers; the battles he fought and the victories he achieved; and his end.

Genghis Khan died not long after Tolui Khan returned home at his father's order from Tangqut territory with his brother Ögödäi, who had been designated his father's heir. After his coffin was brought to the *ordus* and mourning was held, the other brothers and princes departed for their own *yurts*, and Tolui Khan mounted the imperial throne in the home *yurt*, where Genghis Khan's throne and his great *ordus* were.

As for his agreement with his brothers and his battles and victories after his father's death, Tolui Khan so served and respected his brothers and *aqa-ini* that all were grateful to him. Most of the time he was in attendance upon Ögödäi Qa'an, and he played an important role in his enthronement as qa'an. When Ögödäi Qa'an set out toward Namging to attack the Altan Khan in Cathay on the banks of the Qara Mürän [Yellow River], he sent Tolui Khan in a different direction. He emerged via Tibet and passed through the Cathaian province the inhabitants of which are called Hula'an Tägäläns, meaning Red Jackets. Because the Qa'an's route was longer, Tolui Khan meandered at a leisurely pace until the next year, when there were no supplies left. Things got so bad they had to eat human flesh, carrion, and dry grass. Having formed a *järgä*, he proceeded through the plains until he reached a place called Tungqal Qahalqa, and there he came opposite the Altan Khan's great army. As has been explained in the section on the Qa'an, [B220] Tolui Khan played an important role **[559]** in defeating through good tactics such a powerful army, which was many times their own in numbers. He discovered a crossing over the Yellow River, which had never suffered crossing before, got across, and joined his brother, victorious and triumphant.

The Qa'an was overjoyed at his arrival and commended his brother, for whom he hosted banquets and revelries.

As for his end and the cause of his illness and death, after returning from the battle mentioned above, Tolui Khan went to his brother Ögödäi. Since he had been on that expedition for a time, as the Qa'an turned back, he stationed Toqolqu Chärbi with a large army to finish off the Altan Khan. Tolui remained with the Qa'an. By chance the Qa'an fell ill, and according to custom the shamans gathered and were working their shamanism by chanting spells over his illness and washing it with water. Just then Tolui Khan came in, turned his face to heaven in supplication, and said, "O great eternal God, if you are afflicting him because of sin, my sins are more than his, for I have killed more men in battle, pillaged more women and children, and carried off more mothers and fathers into captivity. If you want to take your servant to your court because of physical beauty, attractiveness, power, and skill, I am more worthy. Take me instead of Ögödäi and cure him of this illness. Place his illness upon me." Having said this with the greatest of supplication, he took the bowl of water in which the shamans had been washing the Qa'an's illness and drank it. Through divine power, the Qa'an got better, and Tolui Khan asked for permission to go to his family. Along the way he fell ill and died in Moghai Yil, the Year of the Snake corresponding to 630 [1233].

May God cause the cream of his offspring, the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan, the best ruler in the world, to enjoy long life and let him enjoy his expansive kingdom for all eternity, through the sanctity of the Prophet and his pure house. **[560]**

The history of Tolui Khan's wife, Sorqaghtani Beki, and his sons after his death, and how they attained the office of emperor through the efforts of their capable and intelligent mother.

After Tolui Khan's death, his sons and their mother were with Ögödäi Qa'an, who held them in positions of great respect and honor and granted their requests instantly. One day Sorqaghtani Beki requested one of the *ortaq*s from the Qa'an's court. The Qa'an refused, and Sorqaghtani Beki wept and said, "For whom did that person who was my beloved sacrifice himself? For whose sake did he die?" The man relayed these words to the Qa'an, who said, "Sorqaghtani Beki is right." He apologized and granted her request.

Sorqaghtani Beki was extremely intelligent and clever. She outshone all women in the world, and she possessed chastity and purity to the fullest degree. She was so competent that when her sons were orphaned of their father as children, she exerted herself to raise and educate them and teach them skills and manners. She never allowed even an iota of disagreement to come between them, and she made certain that their wives loved each other too. With good tactics and skill she maintained and kept together all the sons, grandsons, great commanders, and soldiers left to them by Genghis Khan and Tolui Khan, and since they realized how highly intelligent and clever she was, they never disobeyed her command in any way. It was just as when Genghis Khan was orphaned of his father when he was a child and his mother Ö'älün Ekä maintained him and all the soldiers—even often mounting herself and riding on campaigns and keeping them in order—until Genghis Khan was grown and ready for world command. It was through his mother's efforts that he was able to achieve great things. So too did Sorqaghtani Beki strive to educate her sons in that same fashion. However, it has been said that in one regard she was even more patient than

Genghis Khan's mother, for when Genghis Khan understood from her hints that his mother was inclined to take a husband, **[561]** he gave her to Münglig Echigä, whereas when Ögödäi Qa'an summoned Sorqaghtani Beki through an emissary to give her to his son Güyük Khan, when the Qa'an's *yarligh* was delivered, she replied, "How can one change the decree of a *yarligh*? Nonetheless, I had thought I would raise my sons to manhood and do my best that they be educated and not part from or detest one another so that, perhaps, something might come of their unity." When she did not give her consent to be married to Güyük Khan and rejected the offer with such an apology, no doubt remained as to whether or not she had any inclination to get married. For this reason she has been preferred to Genghis Khan's mother, Ö'älün Ekä.

During Ögödäi Qa'an's reign, and after Tolui Khan's death, the Qa'an gave to his son Kötän, of his own accord and without consultation with his *aqa-ini*, two *hazaras* of Suldus from the troops that belonged to Tolui Khan and his sons. When the commanders of ten thousand and one thousand who were attached to Yäkä Noyan were apprised of this, they went together to Sorqaghtani Beki, Möngkä Qa'an, and their *aqa-ini* and said, "The two *hazaras* of Suldus troops belong to us by virtue of Genghis Khan's *yarligh*. Now they are being given to Kötän. How can we allow Genghis Khan's order to be changed? We will petition the Qa'an."

"What you say is right," Sorqaghtani Beki replied, "but with the wealth we have inherited and acquired, we lack nothing and are not in need of anything. Both the soldiers and we belong to the Qa'an. Whatever he orders is law, and we will obey." When Sorqaghtani Beki said this, the officers fell silent, and everyone who heard what she had said approved of it. Without doubt, through the intelligence and competence she possessed she made her sons' rank surpass that of their cousins and got them to the rank of emperor. The principal reason her sons attained the emperorship was as follows. [B225]

When Ögödäi Qa'an died, Törägänä Khatun would not let Shirämün become emperor even though he had been designated the heir. Instead, she took it upon herself to rule. When she enthroned her eldest son, Güyük Khan, Batu, who was the eldest of them all, did not attend, excusing himself on account of the gout. Güyük Khan was offended by this and started contemplating treachery against Batu. Then, claiming that the climate in Imil was good for his illness, **[562]** Güyük decided to go there. When Sorqaghtani Beki learned of his plans, she sent a secret message to apprise Batu. Soon thereafter Güyük died, and Ögödäi Qa'an's sons and people wanted to elevate Shirämün to the throne. First they summoned Batu, but he said, "I have the gout. If they come to me, that will be all right." Törägänä Khatun and Ögödäi Qa'an's family considered this absurd and said, "Genghis Khan's capital is here. Why should we go there?" Batu, however, was aged and the eldest and greatest of all the princes, and thus the choice of ruler was with him.

To her eldest son, Möngkä, Sorqaghtani Beki said, "Since the others will not go to Batu, and he is the eldest of all and ill, you go visit him in his sickness." As ordered by his mother, he went there, and Batu, in gratitude and because of older obligations too, became a supporter of his and raised him to the qa'anate. As has been mentioned, Sorqaghtani Beki was clever not to have raised an objection with Kötän over the matter of the Suldus troops but to remain on friendly terms with him, for when Ögödäi Qa'an's family disputed the qa'anate with Möngkä and were plotting against him,

Kötän allied himself with Möngkä and helped him. When Kötän died, Möngkä Qa'an left the troops that had been with Kötän in Tangqut as they were with his sons and always showed them honor and respect. Even at the present they remain as they were and now belong to Öljäitü Qa'an. This will all be explained in the section on Möngkä Qa'an, God willing. ~

ℭ SECTION EIGHT

THE HISTORY OF GÜYÜK KHAN, SON OF ÖGÖDÄI QA'AN, SON OF GENGHIS KHAN, IN THREE PARTS

Part One is on him, his wives, and the branches of his sons and grandsons down to the present. Since his genealogical chart was drawn in the section on his father, it has been omitted here. [563]

Part Two is on the dates and history of his reign, a picture of his throne, wives, princes, and amirs during his enthronement; a mention of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved; a preface to his accession.

Part Three is on his conduct and character, the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons.

Part One. On Güyük Khan, his wives, and the branches of his sons and grandsons down to the present. (His genealogical chart was included in the section on his father.)

Güyük Khan was Ögödäi Qa'an's eldest son, and he was born of Ögödäi's chief wife, Törägänä Khatun. He had many wives and concubines, but the chief of them all was Oghul Qaimish. [B230]

Güyük Khan had three sons. The eldest was Khwaja Oghul, and the second was Naqu. They were both born of Oghul Qaimish. Naqu had a son named Chabat. When Baraq crossed the river to fight Abaqa Khan, Qaidu sent this Chabat with a thousand horsemen attached personally to him in Baraq's company as reinforcements, but he got angry with Baraq and turned back. When he reached Bukhara, Baraq's son Beg Temür tried to seize him. He escaped with nine horsemen and took the desert road to Qaidu, where he fell ill of fear and died.

The third son was named Hoqu, and he was born of a concubine. He had a son named Tügmä, and this Tügmä had a son also named Tügmä. At present he is in dispute with Qaidu's son Chapar over the kingship and does not obey his orders.

It is not known whether Khwaja Oghul had sons or not. Their genealogical chart was given in the section on Ögödäi Qa'an. [564]

Part Two of the history of Güyük Khan, on the dates and history of his reign, a picture of his throne, wives, princes, and amirs during his enthronement; a mention of the

battles he fought and the victories he achieved; events leading to his accession.

When Ögödäi Qa'an passed away, his eldest son, Güyük Khan, had not yet returned from the Qipchaq campaign. Mögä Khatun also died shortly afterwards, and Törägänä Khatun, the mother of the elder sons, through shrewd tricks and on her own, without consulting the *aqa-ini*s, seized control of the kingdom and won over the hearts of her relatives and the commanders by giving various gifts and presents until all were inclined to her side and came under her control. Chinqai and the Qa'an's other ministers and advisors remained in their posts as before, as did the governors of various provinces. Since she had been offended by certain persons during the Qa'an's reign and harbored a desire for revenge in her heart, when she became the absolute ruler she wanted to pay back each and every one of them. She had a chamberlain named Fatima who had been brought from Mashhad in Tus when Khurasan was conquered. This woman was extremely shrewd and clever, and she had the khatun's fullest trust and was privy to her secrets. The officials used her as a means to get things done. On this chamberlain's advice, officers and ministers who had served in exalted posts during the Qa'an's reign were dismissed, and in their place were put ignorant men. They tried to have Chinqai, the Qa'an's chief vizier, arrested, but he learned of their plot and fled to Kötän and sought his protection. Fatima harbored an old grudge against Mahmud Yalavach, whom the Qa'an had made chief of the administration, and when she found an opportunity she nominated a man named Abdul-Rahman to take his place and sent Oqal Qorchi as an envoy to arrest Yalavach and bring him in along with his liege men. When the envoys arrived, Yalavach came out cheerfully and showed them all honor and respect. He kept them occupied with hospitality for two days, during which time he kept saying, "Today let's drink. We can hear the contents of the decree tomorrow morning." **[565]** All along he was secretly making preparations for escape, instructing his liege men what to do when Oqal Qorchi ordered them to be seized and bound. "Cry out against me," he said, "and say, 'We are informants on Yalavach. For what crime are you arresting us? We have been hoping for just such a day.' " On the third night Yalavach plied the envoys with wine and got them drunk. Having put them to bed, he and several horsemen fled to Kötän, thus escaping the harm that would have been done to him.

Having taken refuge with Kötän, both Yalavach and Chinqai were showered with favors by him. The next day, when Oqal Qorchi was informed of Yalavach's escape, he released Yalavach's liege men from bondage and set out after Yalavach. When he came before Kötän, he delivered Kötän's mother's decree that Yalavach be arrested and brought in, and on his heels came another envoy for the same purpose. Kötän replied, "Tell my mother, 'The kite that takes refuge in a bramble patch from the talons of the hawk is safe from his enemy's might.' Since they have sought refuge with us, to send them back would be unchivalrous. In the near future a *quriltai* will be held, and I will bring them there with me. In the presence of my relatives and the amirs an investigation into their crimes can be undertaken, and they can be punished accordingly." [B235] Envoys were sent several more times, but each time Kötän gave the same excuse. When Amir Mas'ud Beg, the governor of Turkistan and Transoxiana, saw what was going on, he figured it was not in his best interests to remain where he was, so he hastened to Batu's court.

Qara [Hülägü] Oghul, some of Chaghatai's

wives, Orghina Khatun, and some others had sent Qurtuqai Elchi and Amir Arghun Aqa to arrest Görgüz in Khurasan. When Amir Arghun brought Görgüz in for execution, he was appointed to Khurasan in Görgüz's stead.

During this interregnum and *bulqaq* [disturbance], everyone was sending envoys and emissaries in every direction; rumors were flying; everyone on every front was using any and every pretext to gain protection and to keep what protection they had—save only Sorqaghtani Beki and her sons, who remained constant on the path of the Yasaq and did not swerve one iota from the great Yosun.

Törägänä Khatun sent envoys east and west to summon all the princes, Chaghatai's sons, commanders of the right and left wings, sultans, maliks, grandees, and *sadrs* to a *quriltai*. **[566]** During all this, since the field was still empty and Güyük Khan had not yet arrived, Genghis Khan's brother Otchigin Noyan wanted to seize the throne himself by force. With this thought in mind, he set out for the Qa'an's *ordu* with a large and well-equipped army. With this, the whole of the soldiery and the *ulus* rose up in alarm. Törägänä Khatun sent an envoy, saying, "We are your daughter-in-law, and we rely upon you for help. Why are you coming with soldiers, weapons, and equipment? The entire *ulus* and army are upset." She sent back Otchigin's own son, Orutai,[1] an attendant at the Qa'an's court, along with Mängli Oghul, grandson of ___, with the clans and followers they possessed. Otchigin repented of his plan and offered an apology on the pretext that there had been a death and he was coming to offer condolences. Just then news arrived that Güyük Khan had descended in his *ordu* on the banks of the Imil. Otchigin's regret increased, and he returned to his *yurt*.

In short, for nearly three years the emperor's throne remained under Törägänä Khatun's command, and not only was her word law throughout the realm but she also managed to antagonize all the officials, and no *quriltai* could be held because the attendance of the princes could not be gained. When Güyük Khan came to his mother he made no effort to attend to affairs of state, and Törägänä Khatun continued to rule until she had the office of emperor confirmed upon her son, two or three months after which she died.

Now an Alid from Samarkand named Shera who was Qadaq's cupbearer accused Fatima of having bewitched Kötän to make him fall ill. When Kötän's illness got worse, he sent envoys to his brother Güyük Khan to say that Fatima had caused him to be ill, and if anything happened, retribution should be taken on her. Immediately afterwards news of Kötän's death arrived. Chinqai was reinstated, and he reminded the qa'an of the contents of Kötän's message. When Güyük Khan mounted the throne, the first inquisition held was that of Fatima. After she was given the bastinado and tortured, she confessed. Her bodily orifices sewn closed, she was wrapped in felt and thrown into the river. Her retainers were also put to death.

After Güyük Khan's death, Ali Khwaja of Imil made the same accusation of the aforementioned Shera, saying, "He is bewitching Khwaja Oghul." Shera was imprisoned, and, faced with impossible demands, he despaired of his life. He too was detained until he confessed to a crime he had not committed and was thrown into the river, **[567]** and his women and children were put to the sword.

After the emperor's throne was graced by the auspicious accession of Möngkä Qa'an and Bürilgitäi was made governor of Beshbaliq, Khwaja [Oghul] was brought, and he

[1] JT_K has اورباتی; اورتای in other MSS; Wo-lu-t'ai in the *Yüan Shih*. Boyle reads Orutai.

sent a messenger to summon Ali Khwaja, who had become one of his elite. He was accused of the same crime, and Möngkä Qa'an ordered him beaten left and right until all his limbs were crushed. He died of this painful torture, and his wives and children were reduced to the ignominy of slavery.

When you have done evil, sit not secure from afflictions, for retribution is necessary by the law of nature.

This has been a short account of Törägänä Khatun and her chamberlain. Now we will begin the history of the reign of Güyük Khan, God willing. [B240]

Güyük Khan accedes to the khan's throne.

During his lifetime Ögödäi Qa'an had selected his third son, Köchü, a son of Törägänä Khatun's, as his designated heir; however, he died while the Qa'an was still alive. Since the Qa'an had loved him the most of all, he commanded that his heir and successor should be Köchü's eldest son, Shirämün, a very intelligent young man with great prospects who had been raised at the Qa'an's court. During the very year in which he would die, the Qa'an dispatched messengers to summon Güyük, who turned back in obedience to the summons. Before he arrived, however, the Qa'an passed away, and father and son were not able to see each other again. When Güyük was informed of this, he hastened to the Imil, and then he proceeded to his father's *ordu*. With his arrival the hopes of the greedy were dashed.

Envoys had been sent out in all directions to summon the princes, commanders, [568] sultans, maliks, and scribes, and each and every one set forth in response to the invitation. At the beginning of spring in the Year of the Horse that began in Rabi' II 643,[1] the princes and commanders of the right and left wings arrived, each with his followers and retainers, and they assembled in Kökä Na'ur—all except Batu, who had been offended by something and excused himself on the pretext of weakness of constitution and suffering from the gout.

The first to arrive were Sorqaghtani Beki and her sons, bedecked with the trappings of luxury and finery; from the east came Otchigin with eighty of his offspring; Elji'itäi and the other uncles and cousins came; from Chaghatai's *ordu* came Qara Hülägü, Yesü Möngkä, Büri, Baidar, Yesün Toqa, and other sons, grandsons, and nephews of Chaghatai; from Jochi's *ordu* Batu sent his brothers Orda, Shiban, Bärkä, Bärkächär, Tangqut, and Toqta Temür; the noyans and great amirs who were attached to every party came escorting their princes. From Cathay came officers and officials; from Turkistan and Transoxiana came Amir Mas'ud Beg accompanied by the dignitaries of that region; from Khurasan came Amir Arghun accompanied by the amirs and important people of that land and those of Persia, Luristan, Azerbaijan, and Shirvan; from Anatolia came Sultan Ruknuddin; from Georgia came the two Davids; from Aleppo came the brother of the ruler; from Mosul came Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu's ambassador; from Baghdad came the chief cadi Fakhruddin. There were also emissaries from the Franks, from Fars, from Kirman, from Ala'uddin the lord of Alamut, and from the governors of Quhistan, Shihabuddin and Shamsuddin. This assemblage came, all with baggage and gifts appropriate to such a court, and for them nearly two thousand tents had been prepared. There were so many people in the vicinity of the *ordu* that there was no place to stay, and food and drink escalated in price and

[1] The Year of the Horse is 1246, but that year began in Ramadan 643, not Rabi' II.

became scarce.

The princes and amirs discussed the emperorship, saying, "Since Kötän, whom Genghis Khan appointed to be emperor after the Qa'an, is rather sickly, Törägänä Khatun favors Güyük, and the Qa'an's designated heir Shirämün has not yet reached his majority, it would be best for us to install Güyük Khan, the Qa'an's eldest son." Now Güyük, who was known for his authoritarianism, was favored by Törägänä Khatun, and most of the commanders were in agreement with her. After discussion they agreed to enthrone Güyük.

As was customary, he refused **[569]** and offered the job to every prince, using his illness and weak constitution as an excuse. After the commanders insisted, he said, "I will accept on condition that henceforth the emperorship remain among my offspring." All agreed to this and gave *möchälgäs* [written pledges], saying, "So long as there remains of your progeny a piece of flesh a dog wouldn't take if it were wrapped in fat and a cow wouldn't accept if it were wrapped in grass, we will give the khanate to no other." Then a shaman's pole was erected, [B245] the princes doffed their hats, loosened their belts, and sat him on the khan's throne.

In Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Rabi' II 643,[1] in accordance with custom all took goblets and spent a week banqueting. When they were finished, he gave much money to the khatuns, princes, and troop commanders. After that, he began to administer the kingdom. First came the trial of Fatima Khatun. Second they took up the adventure of Otchigin and made a minute inquiry into that. Since the investigation was extremely sensitive, no one was allowed to attend the proceedings, with only Möngkä Qa'an and Orda making the investigation, and no one else allowed entry. After the inquisition a group of officers put him to death.

Qara [Hülägü] Oghul was Chaghatai's successor, and Yesü Möngkä, Chaghtai's own son, was not allowed a say. Because of Güyük Khan's friendship with Yesü Möngkä, he said, "While the son is alive, how can the grandson be the heir?" And thus he awarded Chaghatai's place to Yesü Möngkä and strengthened his hand therein.

Since after the Qa'an's death every one of the princes had taken unbridled actions, writing vouchers against the empire and handing any- and everybody *paizas*, an investigation of this was held. Since it was outside the Yosun and Yasaq, they were humiliated and hung their heads in shame. Every *paiza* and *yarligh* was taken back and placed before the one who had issued it: **Read thy book; thine own soul will be a sufficient accountant against thee, this day.**[2]

Sorqaghtani Beki and her sons remained unashamed and held their heads high in

[1]See note immediately above. According to Carpini, who was present, the ceremony took place on the feast of St. Bartholomew (August 24, 1246, which would be 9 Rabi' II 644): "wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4. leagues vnto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a riuers side, betweene certaine mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda. For there was Cuyne [Güyük] to be placed in the throne Emperiall, vpon the day of the Assumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the same time, as is aboue said, the matter was deferred.... Wee abode there vnto the feast of Saint Bartholomew, what time there was assembled an huge multitude standing with their faces towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they vsed inchantments, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to some other, woulde not kneele vpon the grounde with them. And hauing done so a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our selues, for wee were none of his subjects" (p. 137).

[2]Kor. 17:14.

pride, for they were not charged with any infraction of the Yasa. Güyük Khan even praised them as worthy examples, while he ridiculed the others. He reconfirmed all the statutes of his father and said, "Every *yarligh* that contains the Qa'an's red seal shall be renewed without review."

After that, he assigned soldiers in all directions and sent them off. **[570]** He sent Sübädäi Bahadur and Chaghan Noyan with large armies to Cathay and Manzi. He sent Eljigitäi with an army to the west and ordered him to take two out of every ten Tajik soldiers in Iran and, beginning with the Heretics, subdue all areas in rebellion. Güyük himself was determined to follow after him. Although he turned all those soldiers and peoples over to Eljigitäi generally, in particular he awarded him the administration of Anatolia, Georgia, Mosul, Aleppo, and Diyarbekir without anyone else's interference and also with the provision that the governors of those areas forward the tribute from those areas to him.

Abdul-Rahman, whom Töräganä Khatun had sent to Cathay as governor, was executed, and the realm of Cathay was given to Sahib Yalavach. Turkistan and Transoxiana were turned over to Amir Mas'ud Beg, and Khurasan, Persia, Azerbaijan, Shirvan, Lur, Kirman, Georgia, and parts of Hindustan were entrusted to Amir Arghun Aqa. The amirs and maliks who were attached to each of these were all awarded *yarlighs* and *paizas*, and administrative affairs were entrusted to them. He gave the sultanate of Anatolia to Sultan Ruknuddin and deposed his brother. He made David, the son of Qiz Malik,[1] subordinate to the other David. To Baghdad he sent via an emissary threats and dire promises to the caliph on account of a complaint Chormaqan's son Shirämün had made against them, and he also ordered a reply written in the harshest of terms to a letter the emissaries from Alamut had brought. He favored Chinqai and gave him the post of vizier. Then all the officials and dignitaries of the surrounding realms returned home.

The end of Güyük Khan's reign; his extraordinary generosity; his setting forth for the Imil; and his passing away in the vicinity of Samarqand.

Since Qadaq, who belonged to the Christian nation, had served as *atabeg* to Güyük Khan from his childhood on, Güyük's nature had been imprinted with that stamp. Afterwards Chinqai had also helped in that regard, so for these reasons he always favored priests and Christians. When this became known, priests from Syria, Anatolia, As, and Rus set out for his court. With Qadaq and Chinqai in attendance, he was not a little inimical to the religion of Islam, while the Christians enjoyed great prosperity under him, **[571]** and no Muslim dared raise a voice against them.

Since Güyük Khan wanted his own reputation for generosity to surpass his father's, he was extreme in his liberality. He ordered that the goods brought by merchants from all over should be valued as they had been in his father's time and their bills paid. Once their bills amounted to 70,000 bars, for which vouchers had been written against provinces. As the wares piled up in mountainous heaps that couldn't be carried, [B250] the ministers reported the condition to him. "It's such a bother to guard all that stuff," he said, "and nobody derives any benefit from it. Distribute it to the soldiers and courtiers." For days they distributed things and sent them to all the subject peoples, and still there was a lot left, so he ordered them to let it be plundered.

That year he wintered there, and when the

[1] "Qiz Malik" means simply 'girl queen'; the reference is to Queen Rusudan of Georgia and her son, David Narin. The "other David" is David Lasha. See Grousset, *Empire*, 272.

new year began he said, "The air at the Imil agrees with my constitution, and the water there is good for my illness." So saying, he decamped with great pomp and circumstance and headed west. At every farm he came to and every time he saw a group of people along the way he ordered that they be given bars of gold and fabrics so that they might be rescued from the shame of poverty.

Sorqaghtani Beki, being extremely intelligent and clever, realized that his haste on that trip was not free of trickery, and secretly she sent a messenger to Batu, saying, "Be prepared, for Güyük Khan is headed in your direction with a huge army." Grateful for this warning, Batu made ready for battle with him, and when Güyük Khan reached the Samarqand (Sängir Qum) area, a one-week's journey from Beshbaliq, his appointed time came, depriving him of the chance to place his foot one step further. The length of his reign was one year. (May the Padishah of Islam live to enjoy long life and prosperity!)

After Güyük Khan's death the roads were closed and an ordinance was issued for everyone to stop wherever he was, be the spot inhabited or in ruins. By Oghul Qaimish's order Güyük Khan's body was taken to the Imil, where his *ordu* was. As was customary, Sorqaghtani Beki sent Oghul Qaimish condolences, clothing, and a *boghtaq* [headdress]. Batu also sent condolences and sympathy, saying, "Oghul Qaimish will continue to administer the affairs of the realm, as before, in consultation with Chinqai and the ministers, and let her neglect nothing. On account of illness, old age, **[572]** and gout, it is impossible for me to move. You *inis* are all there, and you will do what is necessary."

Little was done, however, except dealing with merchants. Most of the time Oghul Qaimish sat in private with the shamans, listening to their blithering and fables. Khwaja and Naqu set up two courts in opposition to their mother, so now there were three courts in one place. On all sides the princes wrote decrees and gave orders for whatever they wanted. Since there was disagreement among mother, sons, and the others, and because opinions and ideas conflicted, things got out of control. Amir Chinqai sat dumbfounded by the tasks with which he was confronted, and no one listened to his advice or counsel. Their relative Sorqaghtani Beki sent admonishments and advice, but the sons were children and acted arbitrarily. Encouraged by Yesü Möngkä, they indulged in terrible things—until the khanate was confirmed upon Möngkä Qa'an and things were brought back under control. This has been the history of Güyük Khan.

Part Three of the history of Güyük Khan, on his conduct and character, the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons.

Güyük Khan was a monarch as grand as heaven and an emperor as magnificent as the ocean, possessed of the arrogance of grandeur and conceit of pride. When the news of his glorious accession spread throughout the world—and when his harshness, authoritarianism, and severity of punishment became similarly known—before his orders ever reached his foes, their hearts were filled with fear and dread of him, and those who dwelt in neighboring territories, once they heard of his reputation, were too afraid of his wrath and fury to have any rest by day or repose by night.

His court ministers, even his most elite courtiers, could not make a move and never dared to utter a word on any matter before he initiated a conversation. [573] Those who came from far and near approached not a span nearer than the place where the horses were tethered unless they were sent for. During the days of his reign amirs, rulers, tax gatherers, and deputies from east to west and from north to south went to his *ordu*, as during the time of the *quriltai*, when a thousand white tents were pitched for guests and there was no room to alight in the vicinity of his *ordu*—and still dignitaries and nobles kept arriving from all directions. Such a throng of people had never before been witnessed, and there is no record of such a thing in history books.

There were so many tents, people, and pavilions that no flat space remained on the plain.

When he was confirmed in the khanate, he forbade any change in the commands and orders of his father, just as he had allowed no change in the Yasa of his father, and he ordered that every *yarligh* sealed with Ögödäi Qa'an's red seal be renewed without being submitted to him for review.

Güyük Khan was basically of a sickly constitution, and mostly he was not without some illness. Nonetheless, most of his time was spent, from dawn to dusk and from dusk to dawn, in constant drinking and in the embrace of beauties. This caused his illness to get worse, but he would not give it up. Since Christians had been in attendance upon him from his childhood on, like his *atabeg* Qadaq and his deputy Chinqai—and some of his physicians were also of that community, his nature had been indelibly stamped, and he favored priests and Christians. When this became known throughout the world, priests and monks from all over came to his court. He was also by nature not devoid of an aversion to the Muhammedan religion.

During his reign he was melancholy and cared little for conversation. He turned over all administrative affairs to Qadaq and Chinqai. [574] During his time Christians were in the ascendant, and no Muslim dared raise his voice against them. In liberality he went beyond excess, wanting his reputation to surpass his father's, but he was not granted the time to do it. [B255]

A summary history of the emperors of Cathay and Machin and the amirs, caliphs, sultans, maliks, atabegs of Iran, Egypt, Syria, and North Africa who were contemporary with Töräganä Khatun and Güyük Khan from the beginning of Bars Yil, the Year of the Leopard that began in Sha'ban 639 [February 1242], through Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that began in Ramadan 643 [January 1246], a period of five years.

Emperors of Cathay and Machin during these five years.

The realm of Cathay during this period was completely under the control of the Genghisid house. The last of the emperors, Shou-hsü, was vanquished at the beginning of Ögödäi Qa'an's reign, and the dynasty came to an end.

During this period the emperor of Machin was Li Tsung,[1] who ruled forty-one years, seven of which were before this period and twenty-nine were after this period.

The amirs, caliphs, sultans, maliks, and

[1] Li Tsung (理宗) of the Southern Sung, ruled 1224–64.

atabegs during this period.

Amir Görgüz, the governor of Khurasan, was arrested and bound by order of Ögödäi Qa'an because of a quarrel he had on a bridge with a certain individual attached to the Chaghatayids, **[575]** and by the time he was taken to court Ögödäi Qa'an had passed away, so he was taken to the *ordu* at Ulugh Ef. There the amirs held an inquiry. "If you can make a final decision on my case," he said, "then I will speak. Otherwise, it would be better not to say anything." For that reason his case remained in abeyance, and he was taken to Törägänä Khatun's *ordu*, from which Chinqai had fled. Görgüz did not pay much attention to the other amirs who were in power, and he had no money with him to advance his case. He was taken to Chaghatai's *ordu*, and after his guilt was proven, he was executed. At the end of his life he became a Muslim. In his stead Amir Arghun Aqa was sent as governor of Khurasan, and Sharafuddin Khwarazmi was made his deputy.

History of the caliphs.

At the beginning of this period the Abbasid caliph was al-Mustansir-bi'llah. The Mongol forces were advancing upon Baghdad in droves under the command of Baiju Noyan, and they laid siege to Arbela and took it by force. The people of the city withdrew into the fortress and fought hard, but since there was no water in the fortress so many died that it was impossible to bury them all and they had to be burned. The Mongols destroyed the city and used catapults against the citadel. When the caliph was apprised, he sent Shamsuddin Arslan Tegin with three thousand cavalrymen to reinforce them. Learning of his arrival, the Mongols suddenly decamped and fled. The caliph asked the jurists to issue a legal opinion which was better, pilgrimage or holy war. They unanimously agreed that holy war was better. The caliph therefore decreed that no one should go on pilgrimage that year, and so the learned, jurists, courtiers, and common folk, both native and non-native, got busy learning archery and the arts of weaponry. He also ordered the moat and walls of Baghdad repaired and catapults set up on the walls.

Once again the Mongols returned to attack Arbela, the inhabitants of which had already been sorely afflicted. Amir Arslan Tegin and his troops constantly stood outside the city, waiting for their arrival. When the Mongols learned of this, they turned back and headed for Daquq and the outskirts of Baghdad. They murdered, looted, and took captives. Sharafuddin Iqbal Sharabi the *khatib* exhorted the people to holy war until they went out. **[576]** Jamaluddin Qosh-Temür commanded the vanguard. The two sides met at Jabal al-Hamrin. [B260]

The Caliph Mustansir came out of Baghdad, summoned elite and common alike, and addressed them, saying, "From all directions enemies and foes of our religion are attacking our territory. To repel them I have nothing but this sword, but I am determined to go out myself and fight them." The maliks and amirs said, "The caliph must not trouble himself. We are his slaves, and we will go." And they all went with strong hearts and fought. The Mongols pulled back in rout from Jabal al-Hamrin, and the caliph's Turks and military slaves pursued them, killing many and taking back the captives from Arbela and Daquq.

On Friday the 10th of Jumada II 640 [December 5, 1242] the Commander of the Faithful al-Mustansir-bi'llah passed away, and his son al-Musta'sim-bi'llah became caliph in his stead.

History of the sultans.

In Anatolia, Sultan Izzuddin ruled. His

brother Ruknuddin went to the Qa'an's court, and after Möngkä Qa'an was enthroned he gave him the office of sultan and deposed his brother.

In Mosul was Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu', who was at the pinnacle of his power. He sent an emissary to the Qa'an's court, and when Möngkä Qa'an mounted the throne he sent the emissary back with all honor. He showed favor to Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu' and sent him a *yarligh* and a *paiza*. During these years Sultan Badruddin took Nasibin.

The sultan in Egypt was Malik Salih Najmuddin Ayyub, son of al-Kamil, son of al-Adil. He was afflicted with a chronic illness, and he was at constant war with the Franks.

In Kirman was Sultan Ruknuddin. He dispensed justice and equity, and no untoward event occurred.

In Seistan was Malik Shamsuddin Kurt. [577]

History of the maliks and atabegs.

In Diyarbekir and Syria, Sayyid Tajuddin Muhammad Salaya was appointed governor of Arbela in 639 [1241–42]. Also in the same year Baraka Khan, the son of Dawlatshah, one of Sultan Jalaluddin's amirs who commanded the remnants of the defeated Khwarazmian troops, proposed marriage to Malik Adil's daughter, who was the mother of the lord of Aleppo. The envoy was humiliated, so Baraka Khan amassed his troops and set out for that territory. The army of Aleppo came out, and battle was fought at Manbij. The Khwarazmians defeated the Aleppans, massacred, pillaged, and took captives. After that, the lord of Aleppo and the lord of Homs joined to fight the Khwarazmians, but there was no defeat of either side.

Also during this year some Khwarazmians who had been in Kirman joined the others in Ana. Baraka Khan's son Muhammad came to Baghdad and entered the caliph's service in the retinue of Mujahiduddin Aybak the Davatdar. In 640 [1242–43], once again a battle was fought between the Khwarazmians and the Aleppans. The Khwarazmians were defeated and abandoned their wives, children, horses, and flocks. The Aleppans took much plunder.

In 642 [1244–45] once again the Mongol army went to Diyarbekir and Khabur. They seized Harran and Ruha [Edessa] and took Mardin peacefully. Shihabuddin Ghazi fled to Egypt, where he settled and received support.

In Fars the ruler was Atabeg Abubakr, who was occupied with organizing his army. [578]

ℭ SECTION NINE

THE HISTORY OF MÖNGKÄ QA'AN, SON OF TOLUI KHAN, SON OF GENGHIS KHAN, IN THREE PARTS

Part One is on his progeny, a detailed account of his wives and his sons' offspring who have branched off down to the present; a picture of him, and a genealogical chart of him and his sons.

Part Two is the story of his enthronement, a picture of his throne, wives, princes, and amirs during his enthronement; the dates of his reign; the battles he fought and the victories he achieved.

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons.

Part One. On Möngkä Qa'an's progeny, a detailed account of his wives and his sons' offspring who have branched off down to the present; a picture of him, and a genealogical chart of him and his sons.

Möngkä Qa'an was Tolui Khan's eldest son, and he was born of the chief wife, Sorqaghtani Beki daughter of Jagambu, the brother of Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit.

He had many wives and concubines, but his chief wife was Qutuqtai Khatun, the daughter of Uludai son of Butu Gürägän of the Ikiräs "bone."[1] (Butu Gürägän was Genghis Khan's son-in-law.) By this lady he had two sons. [579] The elder was Baltu, and the younger was Ürüngtash. [B265]

Ürüngtash had two sons, Sarban the elder and Könchäk the younger. They both died young and had no children. Sarban came on the Däräsü campaign with Nomoghan; however, Sarban allied himself with Shirägi, and they seized Nomoghan and took him to Möngkä Temür, the ruler of the Ulus Batu. Shirägi was taken to Qubilai Qa'an, who sent him to the coast and hot regions, where he died.

Also by that wife [Qutuqtai Khatun], Möngkä had a daughter named Bayalun. She was married to Märik,[2] the son of Cha'uqurchin, who was Huludai's brother. Huludai was the father of this girl's mother.[3]

He had another great lady wife named Oghul Qoymish of Oyirat "bone" of the family of Qutuqa Beki. She was the "sister"

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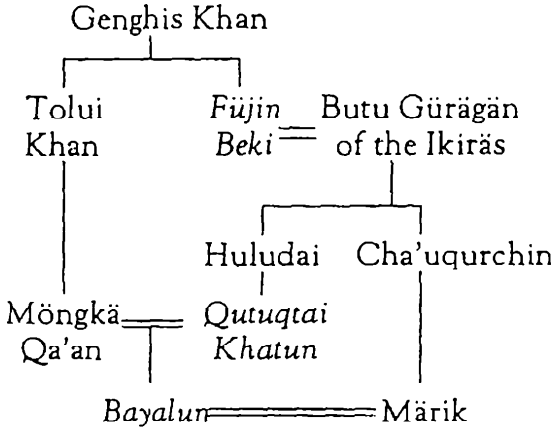
[1] See p. 124 above. Uludai ~ Huludai.

[2] The name is مریك (Märik?) in all Persian versions. In the *Yüan shih* he is called Hu-lin.

[3] A graphic representation may help to clarify this paragraph:

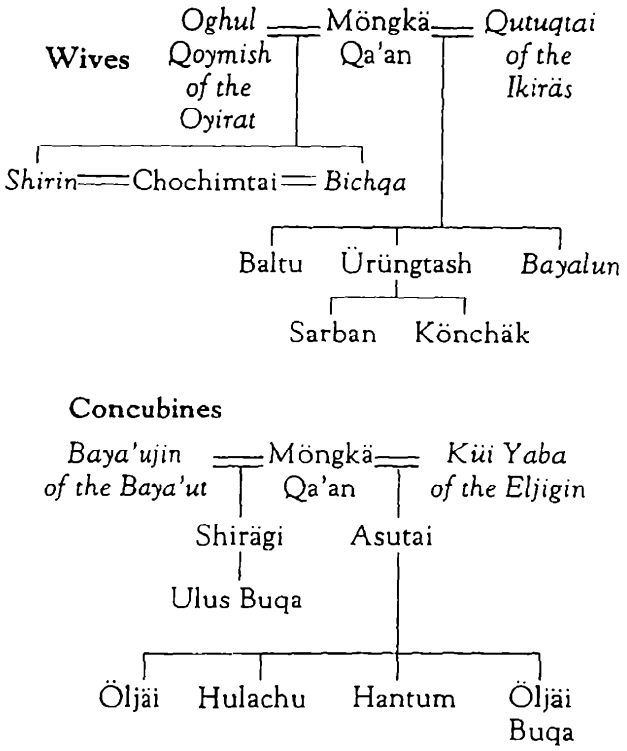


of Öljäi Khatun.[1] This lady was extremely domineering. Having been engaged first to Tolui Khan, she called her husband's brothers Qubilai Qa'an and Hülägü Khan "son," and they were afraid of her. There were no sons by this wife, but by her he did have two daughters. The elder was named Shirin and the younger was Bichqa, who was also called Kö'ünän.[2] Shirin was married to Chochimtai, the son of Taichu Gürägän. Taichu was married to Genghis Khan's youngest daughter, Altalun, and was of Olqunu'ut "bone." When Shirin died, Taichu Gürägän's son was given Bichqa.

He had two concubines of importance. One was Baya'ujin of the Baya'ut clan, and by her he had one son named Shirägi. He had a son named Ulus Buqa. [B270] The reason Möngkä took this Baya'ujin is that her father stole a bow string from the armory, and it was found in the leg of his boot. For that crime he was brought for execution along with his daughter Baya'ujin. He saw her there and took her.

He had another concubine named Küi Yäbä[3] of the "bone" of the Eljigin. By her he had a son named Asutai, who was in league with Ariq Bökä against Qubilai Qa'an. This Asutai had four sons. The eldest was Öljäi, then Hulachu, Hantum, and Öljäi Buqa. These four sons were with the Qa'an, but their history is not known in detail.

The genealogical chart is as follows.[4] [580]



[Part Two. The story of his enthronement, a picture of his throne, wives, princes, and amirs during his enthronement; the dates of his reign; the battles he fought and the victories he achieved.]

The reason the khanate was transferred to Möngkä Qa'an, and events leading to his enthronement.

The transfer of the khanate to Möngkä Qa'an through the intelligent efforts and planning of his mother, Sorqaghtani Beki.

When Güyük Khan passed away, once again the empire was thrown into confusion, and Güyük's wife Oghul Qaimish administered the realm in consultation with the ministers. Prior to that, when Ögödäi Qa'an had launched his expedition to Cathay and Tolui Khan died, the Qa'an constantly bemoaned his loss, and when he was drunk he wept a great deal and said, "I miss my brother so much. That's why I choose to get drunk. Maybe for an instant my inner burning will be quelled."

On account of the great sorrow he felt for Tolui Khan's sons, he ordered the adminis-

[1] "Sister" in the loosest familial sense. Oghul Qoymish was actually the great aunt of Öljäi Khatun, one of Hülägü Khan's wives.

[2] Reading کورتان (Kö'ünän) for the text's کرتان.

[3] In JT_K, کوی یبه, which could be Küi Yäbä. Boyle reads Küiteni.

[4] The chart is missing in all texts. It has been reconstructed here from information given in the text.

tration of the *ulus* and the management of military affairs assigned to Tolui Khan's chief wife, Sorqaghtani Beki, who was the most intelligent woman in the world. Thus both her sons and the army were at her command. In taking care of her sons, as well as in arranging their affairs and those of the army and *ulus*, Sorqaghtani Beki laid a foundation that would have been beyond the capability of any crowned head. The Qa'an consulted with her on all important administrative matters and never disregarded her advice or allowed any change in what she said. Her retainers were distinguished by the care, concern, and respect she gave them. In no *bulqaq* [disturbance] was anything ever done by her that contravened any long-standing or recent ordinance. At the enthronement of every ruler, all the princes were made to suffer humiliation for their actions—all except Sorqaghtani Beki and her sons. This was exclusively due to her great intelligence, perfect competence, and farsightedness, for from the time of Tolui Khan's death on, she always maintained the good will of her kinfolk and relatives through gifts and presents, and through generosity and favors she kept the troops and foreigners obedient and on her side. Therefore, after Güyük Khan most of the people were unanimous in declaring that the khanate should go to her eldest son, Möngkä. She continued to curry favor with all parties until God seated the bride of kingship in Möngkä's embrace through Sorqaghtani Beki's competence and intelligence. **[581]**

Although she herself was a follower of the Christian religion, she also strove to promote the Muhammedan law and gave alms and gifts to the leaders and shaykhs of Islam. Proof of this is that she gave a thousand silver bars for a *madrasa* to be built in Bukhara of which Shaykhu'l-Islam Sayfuddin Bakharzi was to be the superintendent. She also ordered villages purchased and placed in endowment and teachers and students appointed. She sent alms to all regions and gave support to poor and needy Muslims. She continued in this path until Dhu'l-Hijja 649 [February 1252], when she passed away.

Events leading to his enthronement.

When Güyük Khan died, Batu was suffering from the gout, and so he dispatched envoys in all directions to his *aqa-inis* summoning the tribes and relatives, saying, "Let all the princes come here. We will hold a *quriltai*, elect one who is worthy and whom we consider best, and enthrone him." This invitation was refused by the sons of Ögödäi Qa'an, Güyük Khan, and Chaghatai, who said, "The original *yurt* and throne of Genghis Khan is the Onon and Kerulen. We do not have to set foot upon the Qipchaq Steppe." Khwaja and Naqu sent as their representatives Qonquriyatai[1] [B275] Noyan and Temür Noyan, the prince of Qaraqorum, to sign for them to whatever was agreed by the princes. "Batu is the elder of all the princes," they said, "and we are all subject to his command. We will in no way go against what he considers proper."

After that, Sorqaghtani Beki said to Möngkä Qa'an, "Inasmuch as the sons have disobeyed their *aqa* and not gone to him, you go with your brothers and visit him in his illness." Möngkä Qa'an set out in accordance with his mother's wish and went to visit Batu.

When he arrived, he performed the customary services. Batu, seeing on his forehead traces of maturity and intelligence, said, "Among the princes, only Möngkä has the talent and ability to be khan, for he has seen the vicissitudes of the world and tasted the bitter and sweet of every labor. Many times he has led troops in all directions, and

[1] JT_K has قونقوريتاى; JT_{By} has Qonqurtaqai.

he is more intelligent and competent than any of the others. Ögödäi Qa'an and the other princes and commanders thought he possessed a full measure of gravity and dignity, as he does. **[582]** The Qa'an dispatched him and his 'brothers' Kölgän and Güyük with me, Batu, and Orda and Jochi's progeny to conquer the Qipchaq territory and the realms that lay in that direction. He rendered submissive and obedient the tribes of the Ülirlik, Qipchaqs, Vazuqinaqs, and Circassians. The Qipchaq leader Bachman, the Circassian chieftain Tuqfas, and the As chief Ajis were captured by Möngkä, as was the city of [Man]-Kärmän [Kiev]. He massacred, pillaged, and rendered them submissive. After that, in Ut Yil corresponding to 638 [1241], the Qa'an sent a decree for the princes to return. By the time they arrived, the Qa'an had died, leaving a command that his grandson Shirämün should succeed him. Törägänä Khatun ignored his order and elevated Güyük to the khanate. Now the one who is worthy of ruling is Möngkä. What other scion is there of Genghis Khan's progeny who can manage the empire and the army with insight and intelligence? Möngkä is the son of my good uncle Tolui Khan, the youngest son of Genghis Khan, and he commands his great *yurt*. According to Mongol law and custom the father's place goes to the youngest son. Therefore, the rule belongs to Möngkä."

When Batu had finished expressing this thought, he sent envoys to Genghis Khan's wives, Ögödäi Qa'an's wives and sons, Tolui Khan's wife Sorqaghtani Beki, and the other princes and commanders of the right and left wings, saying "The one prince who has seen with his own eyes and heard with his own ears Genghis Khan's *yasaq* and *yarligh* is Möngkä. The best thing for the *ulus*, army, subjects, and us princes to do would be to seat him upon the throne." At his command his brothers Orda, Shiban, and Bärkä, all of Jochi's offspring, the princes of the right wing, and Chaghatai's son Qara Hülägü gathered and held banquets for several days. Thereafter they agreed to enthrone Möngkä, who refused to consent to assume such a magnificent post or even to contemplate such a thing. The more they insisted, the more he refused.

Möngkä's brother Mögä Oghul rose and said, "At this assembly we have all promised and given our written pledges that we would not disobey the command of 'Sayin Khan.' **[583]** How can Möngkä deviate from what he thinks is right?"

Batu approved this sentiment highly and praised him for saying it, and with that Möngkä gave in. As was the custom of the Mongols, Batu arose, and he and all the princes and lords opened their belts, removed their hats, and bent their knees. Batu held out a goblet and offered the khanate to its rightful owner. All those present swore allegiance and promised that they would hold a great *quriltai* in the new year. With that thought in mind, they all departed for their own *yurts* and camping grounds, and the good news was spread throughout the world.

Then Batu ordered his brothers Bärkä and Toqa Temür to take a large military contingent to escort Möngkä Qa'an to Genghis Khan's throne place in Kerulen and to hold a *quriltai* in the presence of all the princes to seat him on the imperial throne. With this, they departed from Batu—

Glory and fortune to his right, and victory and triumph to his left.

—and camped in *järgä* formation.

Sorqaghtani Beki, in the meantime, was placating and winning over her relatives and kinsmen with kindness and displays of courtesy, and she invited them to a *quriltai*.

A group of princes from the Qa'an's and Güyük Khan's family, as well as Chaghatai's sons Yesü Möngkä and Büri, kept postpon-

ing action and causing division within the ranks, saying that the khanate should remain in the Qa'an's and Güyük Khan's family, and several times they sent emissaries to Batu to say, "We are far from agreeing to this and have no part in this covenant. The rule should come to us. How can you give it to another?"

"We have deliberated this action together with our *aqa-inis*," Batu replied, "and the matter has been settled in such a way that it is not possible to abrogate it. Had it not been done in this way, and had anyone other than Möngkä Qa'an been nominated, the affairs of the empire would have suffered beyond redemption. If you, my sons, will contemplate this action and look with farsightedness, you will realize that the maintenance of such an empire is beyond the Qa'an's sons and grandsons, for the administration of such a vast and broad realm stretching from east to west is not within the capacity of children."

While these arguments continued, the year appointed [for the *quriltai*] ended, and the next year was half over. With each passing year the affairs of the world and the empire grew shakier. **[584]** Since there were such vast distances separating them, it was impossible to assemble for a council, so Möngkä Qa'an and Sorqaghtani Beki sent representatives to each one to placate them and win them over. Since no amount of reason or advice had any effect on that group, they resorted to repeated messages containing promises of kindness and threats. The recipients kept making excuses, but they countered their objections every time, hoping that through conciliation they might be restrained and awake from their slumber of heedlessness and pride. [B280]

When that year too came to an end, they sent envoys in every direction to invite all their relatives to assemble in Kerulen. Shilämün Bitigchi was sent to Oghul Qaimish and her sons Khwaja and Naqu. Alamdar Bitigchi was sent to Yesü Möngkä to say to him, "Most of Genghis Khan's offspring have gathered, and the *quriltai* awaits your presence. No excuses or postponement will be accepted. If you have any thoughts of cooperativeness and unity, you must come to the *quriltai* so that together the bests interests of the empire may be served." When they realized that they had no alternative, Naqu Oghul set out. Qadaq Noyan and a group of commanders from Güyük Khan's court and Chaghatai Khan's grandson Yesün Toqa Oghul came with them to Shirämün. All three then gathered in one place, and after that Khwaja also set forth. They were still imagining that the *quriltai* could not proceed without them.

Bärkä sent a message to Batu, saying, "We have been wanting to place Möngkä Qa'an on the throne for two years. Ögödäi Qa'an's and Güyük Khan's sons and Chaghatai's son Yesü Möngkä have not come."

"Seat him on the throne!" replied Batu. "And any creature that disobeys the Yasa will lose his head."

The following princes and commanders who were with Möngkä Qa'an assembled: Bärkä, the great amir [Har]qasun, the princes of the Left Wing, Jochi Qasar's sons Yegü and Yesünggü, Qachi'un's son Elji'idäi, Otchi Noyan's son Taghachar, and Bälgütäi's sons, who were all Genghis Khan's nephews; of the princes of the Right Wing, Chaghatai's son Qara Hülägü, Ögödäi Qa'an's son Qada'an, Ögödäi's grandson, Kötän's son Möngätü, and Möngkä Qa'an's brothers Hülägü Khan, Qubilai Qa'an, Mögä, and Ariq Bökä.

The astrologers chose an auspicious ascendant, and one of the indications of Möngkä's ever-increasing fortune was as follows. **[585]** During those few days the sky in that area was clouded over and it was constantly raining, so no one saw the face of the sun. By chance, at the very hour the as-

trologers had chosen, just as they were about to take a sighting, suddenly the sun came out from behind the clouds and the sky cleared to reveal the whole body of the sun. The astronomers were easily able to ascertain the elevation, and all the assembled princes, great commanders, tribal chieftains, and innumerable soldiers who were there removed their hats and threw their belts over their shoulders. In Qaqai Yil, the Year of the Pig that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 648 [February 1251] they seated Möngkä Qa'an on the imperial throne in Genghis Khan's capital in the vicinity of Qaraqorum. The amirs and soldiers outside the *ordu* accompanied the princes in bending their knees nine times.

At the time of his blessed accession they gave thought how to make a *yasaq* for the order of precedence. It was unanimously decided that Bärkä should sit because of his gout, that Qubilai should sit beneath him, and that everyone should heed Qubilai's words. He ordered Möngkä to stand at the door so that he could hold the princes and amirs back, and he ordered Hülägü to stand before the *ba'urchis* and *qumuzchis* so that no one would speak or listen to frivolous words. Thus it was arranged, and the two of them went back and forth until all arrangements for the *quriltai* had been made.

When Möngkä sat auspiciously upon the four cushions of state, he magnanimously desired that relief be afforded all sorts and classes. [B285] He commanded that during those regal days no one should dispute or quarrel with anyone else and that all should enjoy and relish the spectacle to the fullest. Just as all varieties of the human species were enjoying themselves, domesticated animals, whether brutes for riding or beasts of burden, should not be subjected to being ridden, burdened with loads, or bound or shackled, the blood of those that could lawfully be eaten should not be spilled, and wild creatures that fly in the air, crawl upon the ground, or swim in water should not be subjected to hunter's arrow or snare but be allowed to roam in the meadows of security wherever they wanted. The surface of the earth was not to be troubled by stake or disturbed by horseshoe, and flowing water was not to be sullied by impurities.

God be praised for having made him the source of such clemency and a paragon of the virtues of equity to such an extent that **[586]** he was desirous of the comfort of all things animate and inanimate. How great must his regal concern have been for rectifying the condition of the weak and for spreading justice and welfare among the elite and common alike! May God let his renowned offspring enjoy kingdom and fortune for many long years and generations yet to come!

They spent that day like that, and the next day a banquet was held in a tent Sahib Yalavach had arranged—of such brocaded and gold-spun fabrics of all colors that never before had its like been erected. In the manner depicted,[1] the emperor of the world sat upon the throne, the princes assembled on his left and right like the necklace of the Pleiades, and his seven exalted brothers standing politely before him. To his left sat houri-like ladies while silvery-limbed cupbearers circulated draughts of kumiss and wine with ewers and goblets. In the midst of the lords was their chief, Mängäsär, standing servilely among the ranks of the *qorchis*, and the secretaries, viziers, chamberlains, and deputies with Bolgha Aqa at their head stood politely in their place. For a week the celebration and rejoicing continued in this manner, and every day the wine house and kitchen requisitioned two thousand carts of wine and kumiss, three hundred horses and oxen, and three thousand sheep. On ac-

[1]The depiction planned to accompany the text is, of course, missing.

count of Bärkä's presence they slaughtered all in accordance with Islamic law.

In the midst of the banqueting Qada'an Oghul, his brother Malik Oghul, and Hülägü arrived, and they offered their congratulations in the customary manner and then turned to enjoy the pleasures of the celebration.

Some of the princes from Ögödäi Qa'an's house plot against Möngkä Qa'an, but the plot is discovered by Käsägä Qushchi, who informs on them, and they are arrested.

While waiting for the arrival of the other princes, they indulged in excessive revelry, and no one imagined that Genghis Khan's ancient Yasa could be change or altered, and since no altercation or quarrel of any kind took place among the family, they neglected to take precautions during their celebrations.

Ögödäi Qa'an's grandsons Shirämün and Naqu **[587]** and Qarachar's son Totoq, having banded together, arrived in the vicinity, and with them were many carts full of weapons, for they were harboring deceit and treachery in their hearts.

By happy coincidence—which is what good fortune consists of—a falconer named Käsägä[1] of the "bone" of the Qanqli who was one of Möngkä Qa'an's falcon keepers, lost a camel. He went out in search of it and fell in among the horde of Shirämün's and Naqu's soldiers. There he saw a lot of soldiers with innumerable carts loaded ostensibly with food and drink for a congratulatory banquet. Unaware of what was going on, he inquired after his lost camel. Along the way he came across a lad sitting in front of a cart. The boy thought he was one of their own horsemen and asked him to help him fix the cart. Käsägä got off his horse to assist him, and his gaze fell upon the arms and implements of war that were in the cart. He asked the lad, "What is this load?"

"It's weapons," he replied. "The same as in the other carts."

Käsägä realized that going with carts filled with weapons was not devoid of treachery and deceit, but he feigned ignorance, and when he had finished helping the lad, he went to a tent that night and stayed as a guest. Gradually growing bolder and bolder, he inquired about things. When he was apprised of the situation, he realized for certain that the band was contemplating treachery for during the banquet, when everybody was drunk, they were going to "step off the path of respect" and carry out the attack they had plotted together. As the saying goes, "There is no evil plot that does not rebound upon its perpetrator." With this realization Käsägä could no longer restrain himself. Taking a few camels, he traversed a three-day road in one day, and then he burst into the court without permission and began to speak boldly, saying, "You are indulging in play and sport while your enemies have risen up to attack you! They are waiting for an opportunity and have their weapons ready." He reported everything just as he had seen it and urged them to make all haste to repel the attack.

Since such treachery was not customary among the Mongols—particularly during Genghis Khan's reign and that of his sons—they could not believe what he said and asked him to repeat it many times. He repeated it exactly without any variation, but Möngkä Qa'an refused to listen and paid no attention. Käsägä insisted, and his distress could be clearly seen, but Möngkä Qa'an's calm and reserve were immutable. **[588, B290]** The princes and lords who were present disagreed with such steadfastness as a precaution against the evil eye, and before the opportunity would be lost, all

[1] In the texts, كشلك/كسلك. Read كسگه (Käsägä), the K'o-hsieh-chieh of the *Yüan shih*. See JT_{By}, p. 207, note 47, and Cleaves, "Aqa Minu," 73 and note 65.

the princes wanted to set forth to deal with this affair, each wanting to go himself to investigate. In the end they agreed unanimously that Amir Mängäsär Noyan, the chief of the amirs of court, should go in the vanguard and investigate. As ordered, he set out with two or three thousand horsemen, and by dawn they had arrived near where the others were camped. He charged forward with five hundred warrior riders until he was near their tents, and then the soldiers poured in from left and right. Prior to this, Shirämün had left his contingent and *a'ughruq* in Maski and was coming unencumbered with five hundred horsemen. Amir Mängäsär, Prince Mögä as head of the army, and Choqbal Gürägän of Kerayit "bone" had surrounded Shirämün, Naqu, Totoq, and the other princes who were with them in Sa'ari Kähär and sent an envoy to say, "It has been reported to the emperor that you are approaching with evil in your hearts. If this report is false, it will be sufficient proof for you to head to court at once, without stopping to think or hesitate. Otherwise, we are ordered to arrest you and take you there. Which of the two would you prefer?"

When they heard this message and saw themselves surrounded like a point in the middle of a circle, and their supporters and followers far away, they were perplexed. There was little they could do but give in to their fate and deny the report, saying, "We are coming with good intentions." When they had undertaken to set out together for Möngkä Qa'an's court, the amirs came before Shirämün and the princes, offered each other goblets, and then set out for the emperor's court, escorted by only a few horsemen. When they approached most of their liege men and weapons were seized and held. It was ordered that the amirs who were with the princes should stand outside. They were all restrained, and having performed *tägishmishi* in groups of nine, they entered the interior of the *ordu*. For three days they were banqueted, and not a word was asked of them.

On the fourth day, when they went to court and were about to enter, Möngkä Qa'an's envoy came and said, "Stay here today." Immediately another envoy arrived to say, "Let every liege man and soldier who is with them return to his unit of a thousand, hundred, or ten. **[589]** Anyone who remains here will be executed." As ordered, all withdrew, and the princes were left alone with guards stationed to watch them.

Möngkä Qa'an goes to Genghis Khan's ordu and conducts the princes' trial himself.

The next day Möngkä Qa'an went to Genghis Khan's *ordu* and sat on a chair to conduct the trial of Shirämün and the princes himself.

"A report has been filed about you," he said. "No matter how untrue and unreasonable it seems, and regardless of its unacceptability to the ear of wisdom, it is necessary to investigate it in an amicable fashion in order for the dust of doubt and suspicion to be wiped from the countenance of certainty. If it is defamation and slander, the lying slanderer will pay for his action for all the world to see."

The princes denied the accusation, saying, "We have no knowledge of any such thing."

Möngkä Qa'an ordered Shirämün's *atabeg*, Qata Kürin,[1] summoned. When he was questioned, he denied the report. Then he was interrogated with the bastinado. This time he confessed, saying, "The princes have no knowledge of it. We amirs held a council and conspired together, but Möngkä Qa'an's good fortune intervened." He then stabbed himself with his own sword and

[1] Reading قاتاکورین (Qata Kürin) for JT_K's یاباکردیدی. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:580, note 88.

died.

Mängäsär Noyan conducts a trial of the amirs who plotted treason with the princes.

The next day he ordered arrested the group of noyans and amirs like the great noyan Elji'itäi, Taunal,[1] Jangi, Qalkhitai, Sorghan, Taunal the younger, Toghan, and Yasa'ur, each of whom considered himself of such a rank that the celestial spheres could not touch him. Also arrested was another group of *tümän* commanders and leaders it would take too long to name. [B295] Amir Mängäsär the *yarghuchi* was ordered to sit with a group of amirs and begin an investigation. **[590]** They questioned them until finally an inconsistency in their testimony was found, and no doubt of their guilt remained. They all confessed that they had conspired to commit treason. Möngkä Qa'an wanted, as was his praiseworthy custom and habit, to pardon them, but the princes, noyans, and amirs said, "To neglect to repel an opponent when the opportunity is nigh is far from being correct."

Where you ought to apply a burning brand,
it is useless to apply salve.

When Möngkä Qa'an realized that they spoke from sincerity and not out of rancor and selfishness, he ordered them all bound and imprisoned. Then he thought for a while about what to do with them. One day when he was seated on the throne, he ordered the amirs and ministers to say what they thought about the criminals. Everyone spoke according to his intelligence and knowledge, but nothing said impressed the emperor. At the end of the session Mahmud Yalavach was standing, and Möngkä Qa'an said, "Why doesn't that *äbügän* say anything?"

Yalavach was told to step forward and say something.

"It is better to be an ear in the presence of kings than to be a tongue," he said. "However, I remember a story. If so ordered, I will tell it."

Möngkä Qa'an ordered him to tell it.

"Once," he said, "when Alexander had conquered most of the realms of the earth, he was about to set out for India. His commanders and ministers then ceased to obey him, and each one began to speak of independence and despotism. Alexander was astonished and sent a messenger to his unrivaled vizier Aristotle in Greece to inquire why his commanders were rebellious and to ask what the remedy was. Aristotle went into a garden with the messenger and ordered the large, well established trees uprooted and weak little saplings planted in their places. He did not, however, give the messenger an answer. Having grown weary, the messenger returned to Alexander and said, 'He gave no answer.' Alexander asked what he had seen. **[591]** He said, 'He went into a garden and had the large trees uprooted and put little sticks in their place.' Alexander said, 'He did give a reply. You just didn't understand it.' Then he destroyed the commanders who were so unruly and appointed their sons in their places."

Möngkä Qa'an was highly pleased by this story and realized that he would have to subject the group to his wrath and appoint others in their stead. Therefore he ordered the commanders who had been imprisoned and those who had forced the princes to rebel and led them to the brink of such a crime to be executed. There were seventy-seven of them, and they were all executed. Of them, Eljigitäi's two sons' mouths were stuffed with stones until they died. Their father was arrested in Badghis and taken to Batu to join his sons.

[1] Deleting Qata Kürin from this list. Since he committed suicide in the preceding paragraph, he cannot have been arrested "the next day."

Chaghatai's grandson Yesün Toqa, his wife Toqashi, and Büri arrive, and what happened to them in this affair.

Yesün Toqa, his wife Toqashi, and Büri also arrived. They had stationed all their soldiers on the road and come themselves with only thirty horsemen. Büri was sent to Batu under escort by emissaries so that after his guilt was proven he could be executed. Qara Hülägü conducted the trial of Toqashi Khatun in Yesün Toqa's presence. He ordered her to be kicked to death, and thus he relieved his breast of an old grudge.

When Shirämün and Naqu set out, Qadaq realized that he had instigated the plot. Since he was incapable of making amends, he hung his head low. Suddenly the wardens of court arrived like avenging angels and said:

All your friends are gone. Now it's your turn.

Since he was pretending to be sick, he was seated on a cart and taken away. When he reached the court, although his guilt was clearer than Satan's infidelity, a trial was ordered. After he confessed to his crime, it was decreed that he be dispatched after his friends and comrades. [592]

Möngkä Qa'an summons Oghul Qaimish Khatun and Güyük Khan's son Khwaja; Oghul Qaimish is executed, and the Idiqut is put to death.

Since some of the criminals had not yet arrived and minds were still troubled by the enormity of their action, Möngkä Qa'an dispatched Büri[l]gitäi Noyan with ten *tümäns* of intrepid Turkish soldiers to the vicinity of Ulugh Taq, the Khangai range,[1] and Qum Sängir,[2] which is situated between Beshbaligh and [B300] Qaraqorum, so that from there his *yärgä* could join Qonquran Oghul,[3] who was in the vicinity of Qayaliq and who had formed a *yärgä* to the edge of Otrar. He also dispatched Mögä Noyan with two *tümäns* of soldiers to the border of Qirqiz territory and Kämkämji'üt.

To Oghul Qaimish and Khwaja, who had not yet arrived, he sent Shilämün Bitigchi as an envoy with a message saying, "If you did not participate in this conspiracy, your welfare depends upon your coming directly to court." When Shilämün discharged his mission, Khwaja Oghul wanted to do something terrible to him, but one of his wives, who was by many degrees inferior to the others in rank but vastly superior to them in intelligence, prevented him for acting upon his wish, saying, "It is incumbent upon a messenger to deliver his message, and in no age have messengers—even of rebels—been subjected to harm. How can you do injury to an envoy who has come from Möngkä Qa'an's court? By taking one life what injury can you do to his kingship, especially when many evils can be imagined springing therefrom? By committing this act, an ocean of unrest and strife will billow forth, and the world, which is now at peace, will be cast into commotion. A fire of calamity will blaze up, and then it will be too late to repent. Möngkä Qa'an is the elder and stands in the place of a father. You must go to him and obey his command."

Khwaja heeded this compassionate advice and showed Shilämün honor and respect. Then, together with his wife, he set out for court. By listening to good advice, he avoided falling into a bottomless abyss of trouble and stopped on the shore of security.

Khwaja's mother, Oghul Qaimish, [593] sent the envoy back to say, "You princes pledged and gave *möchälgäs* that the rule

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[1]Reading قونقای (Qonqai, the Khangai mountains) for the text's موبقای. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:585, note 107, and note to text p. 524 above.

[2]Reading قومسنکر (Qum Sängir) for the text's توبلنك. See Juvaini/Boyle 2:585, note 108.

[3]Qonquran (~ Qongqiran), the fourth son of Jochi Khan's son Orda. See text p. 512 above.

would always remain among Ögödäi Qa'an's offspring and that you would never rebel against his sons. Now you have broken your word."

When this message was relayed, Möngkä Qa'an became extremely angry and had a decree written to this effect: "The wives of Jochi Qasar, Otchigin, and Bälgütäi Noyan, the brothers of Genghis Khan, have attended the deliberation of the *quriltai*, but Oghul Qaimish has [not]. If the shamans or Qadaq, Chinqai, or Bala (who were Güyük Khan's *amir-ordus*) call or proclaim anyone *padishah* or *khatun*, or if anyone becomes a *padishah* or a *khatun* by their word, they shall see what they shall see!"

Immediately he dispatched an envoy to detain her and bring her to court with both hands stitched in rawhide. When she arrived he sent her and Shirämün's mother, Qadaqach Khatun, to Sorqaghtani Beki's *ordu*. Mängäsär Yarghuchi stripped her naked and brought her to trial.

"How can anyone else look upon a body that only an emperor has seen?" she asked. But she was tried, wrapped in felt, and cast into the river.

Chinqai also arrived, and he was dealt with by Danishmand the chamberlain.

In Ramadan 650 [November 1252] in Beshbaligh, the Idiqut, the leader of the idolators, conspired with a group of people to rise up on a Friday, when the Muslims were gathered in the congregational mosque, and kill them all. A slave who was aware of this plot became Muslim and informed on them. [B205] Their guilt was established, and after the Idiqut was brought in and tried, he confessed to his crime. It was ordered that he be taken to Beshbaligh and executed in the presence of all the people on a Friday after the prayer.

Möngkä Qa'an sends commanders in every direction to deal with the remnants of the rebels, and he pardons his relatives' crimes.

Since several trouble-makers remained in various corners, and it would have either taken too long or involved too much trouble to bring them in, the emperor dispatched Bala Yarghuchi and a group of liege men to Yesü Möngkä's armies **[594]** to inquire about them and put to death all who had participated in the conspiracy. He also sent another commander on the same matter to Cathay.

When his august mind was relieved of worry over these evildoers, the emperor's good disposition led him to realize that to maintain good family relations was obligatory upon every individual. Therefore he ordered Shirämün to escort Qubilai, Naqu, and Chaghan Noyan to Cathay. Khwaja was exempted from participating in the campaign in gratitude for the pleasing words his wife had spoken, and he was assigned a *yurt* in the vicinity of the Selenga near Qaraqorum.

Generally, from that time on, division appeared among the Mongols. Genghis Khan had advised his sons to maintain agreement and unity, saying, "So long as you agree with each other, fortune and triumph will be your friends, and no opponent can achieve victory." It was through this quality that it was possible for him and his offspring to conquer most of the countries of the world.

It is said that one day, when he was first rising to power, he was giving advice to his sons, and by way of example he took an arrow from his quiver and gave it to them, saying, "Break it!" It broke with only a little force. Then he gave them two arrows. They too broke easily. In this manner he kept adding arrows until there were ten, which even the strongmen and champions of the army were unable to break. "You are like these," he said. "So long as you support each other, no one can achieve victory over

you, and you will enjoy kingship for a long time." Had the rulers of Islam followed this path, their dynasties would not have been extinguished.

The princes and commanders request permission to return home from Möngkä Qa'an's court, and he sends them off with honor.

Now that Möngkä Qa'an's mind had been relieved of urgent matters, the kingdom in turmoil had settled down, and the rule had been turned over to him with the agreement of all the princes, the princes and commanders requested permission to depart for their homes. He ordered them to disperse *(targhamishi)* and go each to his own home, having showered them with all displays of honor and affection. **[595]** Since Bärkä and Toqa Temür had the farthest to go and had been away from Batu the longest, he dismissed them first with various gifts. With them he sent Batu gifts and presents befitting such a ruler. He awarded the sons of Kötän's son Möngädü, Qadaghan Oghul,[1] and Malik Oghul each an *ordu* from the *ordus* and tents of the Qa'an along with his wives. After that, he dismissed Qara Hülägü with honor and awarded him his grandfather's place that had been seized by his uncle Yesü Möngkä, and he withdrew happy. However, when he got to the Altai mountains he died without reaching his goal. The other princes, commanders, and lords were rewarded according to their rank and dismissed. He made Käsägä a *tarkhan* and rewarded him with so much wealth that he became a rich man of very exalted position.

When the princes and commanders had withdrawn and their business had been completed, he turned his attention to consolidating the administration of the kingdom and caused the world to flourish through his justice.

Möngkä Qa'an turns his attention to the administration of the realm; he puts it in good order and commands mercy for all classes; he dismisses governors of various regions.

Since Möngkä Qa'an's imperial attention was focused upon patronizing the pious and punishing the rebellious, and the reins of his blessed thought were turned toward the welfare of his subjects and lightening their burdens, in his perfect intelligence he chose seriousness over levity and gave up drinking wine. First he dispatched his soldiers to the farthest reaches of the orient and occident and the realms of the Arabs and Persians. The realm of the east he entrusted to Sahib Mahmud Yalavach, who had performed past services with great devotion and joined Möngkä's service before he was enthroned. The countries of Turkistan and Transoxiana, the lands of the Uyghur, Fergana, and Khwarazm he gave to Amir Mas'ud Beg, who had suffered much fear and trembling because of his devoted and sincere service to court, **[596]** as had his father, and they had preceded all others in prostrating themselves at court. As a reward for such service they were returned [to their former posts], and those who had come with them were singled out for various rewards.

After that, Amir Arghun Aqa, who had arrived after the *quriltai* and *targhamishi* because of the vast distance but who had already received distinction at court for his sincere service, had all his wishes fulfilled and requests granted, and the realms of Iran—Khurasan, Mazanderan, Iraq, Fars, Kirman, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lur, Arran, Armenia, Anatolia, Diyarbekir, Mosul, and Aleppo—were turned over to him, and the maliks, amirs, deputies, and secretaries who were in his service were rewarded as he saw fit. [B310] He set out to return on the 20th

[1]Qadaghan ~ Qada'an, the sixth son of Ögödäi.

of Ramadan 650 [November 24, 1252]. Ali Malik was sent as his liege man, and Isfahan and Nishapur were awarded to him. They were given the following order: "Conduct a new census and determine the entire *ulus* and army and the amounts of tribute due, and when that is finished, return to court." To each of them he said, "Make an inquiry into the amounts of previous taxes, for we are concerned for the welfare of the subjects, not for the proliferation of treasury revenue." He issued a decree reducing the subjects' tax burdens.

Inasmuch as after Güyük Khan many of the ladies and princes had given innumerable *yarlighs* and *paizas* to their people, dispatched envoys to all parts of the empire, and taken high and low alike under their protection as *ortaqs* and in other capacities, an imperial decree was issued to the aforementioned group to conduct investigations in their territories and recall all the *yarlighs* and *paizas* that people had received from them and other princes during Genghis Khan's, Ögödäi Qa'an's, and Güyük Khan's reigns. Henceforth, the princes would not issue instructions concerning any matter connected to the administration of the provinces without consulting the representatives of court. Great emissaries would not have the use of more than fourteen post horses, and they were to proceed from relay station to relay station and not requisition people's animals.

During the Qa'an's reign it had been customary for merchants coming to Mongolia [to have the use of post horses]. This he denounced, saying, "Merchants travel in order to make a profit. Why should they ride post horses?" He ordered that they should come and go on their own animals. [597]

He also ordered that emissaries should not enter any city or village in which they had no business, and they should not take more than the established amount of provisions.

Since oppression and aggression had increased, and the peasants in particular were hard pressed by the large amount of exactions, levies, and taxes—so much so that their entire crops would not have covered half the demands—he ordered that noble and commoner alike, *ortaqs* and financial and administrative agents, should act leniently and compassionately with their underlings, and every person should pay what he owed, without delay or excuse, in accordance with his ability, except for those who were exempt from levies and imposts by imperial order of Genghis Khan or the Qa'an. In this category were Muslims like great sayyids, important shaykhs, and imams, Christians like *ärkä'üns*, priests, monks, and scholars, idolators like the *toyins*,[1] and of all classes those of advanced age who were no longer able to make their living.

In order that every administrative agent might not have to make a different assessment every day, he instituted an annual rate whereby in Cathay a very wealthy man paid eleven dinars and so on in a graduated manner down to a base person, who paid one dinar. In Transoxiana it was the same. In Khurasan and Persia a wealthy man paid seven dinars and a poor man one. The tax collectors and scribes were not to show partiality, try to second-guess, or accept bribes and pay-offs. The tax on animals called *qubchur* was assessed as follows: everyone who possessed a hundred head of one kind of animal would pay one, while those who owned less than a hundred would pay nothing. Taxes in arrears, no matter where or by whom they were owed, were not to be taken from the peasants.

[1] *Ärkä'ün* (priest) here refers to Nestorian priests. By "idolators," here and almost everywhere, is meant Buddhists. *Toyin* (from the Chinese 道人 *tao-jen*) means Buddhist priest. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:123–25 §15 *(ärkä'ün)* and 2:648 §993 *(toyin)*.

Of all nations and groups, he showed the people of Islam the most favor and honor, and he ordered alms given. An example is during the Fitr holiday in the year 650 [December 5, 1252], when Qazi Jalaluddin Mahmud Khujandi and a group of Muslims came to the gate of his *ordu*. The qazi delivered the sermon and led the prayer, including the caliph's titles in the *khutba* and offering prayers for Möngkä Qa'an's well-being. The qa'an ordered that they be given as a holiday gift carts laden with gold and silver bars and precious textiles, of which most of the people received a share.

He ordered the unconditional release of all prisoners throughout the empire, and to effect it he dispatched envoys in all directions.

Were we to begin to give a detailed account of the ever-increasing justice and equity instituted by His Majesty, **[598]** it would fill volumes and still not end. "A little is indicative of the much." [B315]

When his reputation for justice and equity had spread throughout the world, Turk and Tajik came from far and near willingly to take refuge as his subjects, and the kings of countries that had not yet submitted sent gifts and presents. Since a bit about his fine moral character has already been introduced in a summary fashion, a story will be given that shows much of his character so that everyone may realize that this narration is free of embellishment.

Merchants from all over used to frequent Güyük Khan's court and have enormous dealings with his representatives, for which they received drafts against the provinces. Upon his death these drafts fell into abeyance and were not honored. Nonetheless, his servants, sons, and nephews continued to deal in this manner, issuing drafts against the provinces, and merchants arrived in droves to make deals and receive drafts. When Möngkä Qa'an assumed the throne and was informed of what these people were up to, some of the merchants had not receive a tenth of the payment for their wares, others had not yet reached the places against which their drafts were drawn, others had not received their drafts, others had not delivered their goods, and a few had not even fixed their prices. Wondering what to do, they went to court as a test in hopes of receiving his justice and generosity and reported their situation to Möngkä Qa'an. Although the ministers tried to prevent him by saying that it was not necessary for the prices of such transactions to be paid from the imperial treasury and that no one could raise an objection, in his perfect clemency he spread the wings of his favor over the entire group and ordered that all the bills be discharged from his demesne. It amounted to more than five hundred thousand bars of gold and silver, and had he withheld it, no one could have raised an objection. With such largesse he put the most generous kings to shame. In what history has it ever been read or from what narrator has it ever been heard that a king paid another king's debt?

This is a sample of his good qualities and regal character, and from it one can deduce the rest. **[599]**

He ordered that whenever there was to be an investigation into the affairs of people, Amir Mängäsär Noyan and a group of expert amirs should conduct it on the basis of justice. Bolghai Aqa, who held a special place on account of his past services, he ordered to be the chief scribe, and he would write and copy his letters and decrees. He ordered the Muslim *bitigchis* Amir Imadulmulk, who had held the same post under Ögödäi Qa'an and Güyük Khan, and Amir Fakhrulmulk, who had been one of the court elite, [not] to give *paizas* to merchants so that there would be a distinction between them and administrative officials. For goods brought for sale to the treasury, one group was to evaluate jewels, another

textiles, another furs, and another coins. Similarly he appointed experts for issuing *yarlighs*, stamping *paizas*, maintaining the arsenal, arranging birds and animals for the hunt, and taking care of the business of persons of every nation and group, and a decree was issued that these people should be free from any taint of hypocrisy and avoid excessive cupidity. They were not to detain anyone, and they should communicate everyone's petition to the emperor as soon as possible. Scribes were in attendance from every group—Persians, Uyghurs, Cathaians, Tibetans, and Tangqutans—so that whenever anyone had to write a decree for a place it could be issued in the language and script of that people. Even during the reigns of ancient kings and sultans of times past, when there was perfect order, had they been alive then they would have followed his example.

Möngkä Qa'an sends his brothers Qubilai and Hülägü with armies to the east and west, and he goes on campaign himself to conquer the realms of Cathay that were still not in submission.

When Möngkä Qa'an mounted the throne and brought victory to his friends and defeat to his enemies, he spent the entire winter in Ong Qin near Qaraqorum.

As the second year began, after a large *quriltai* was held, and now that he was firmly established upon the throne and free of worry from foes, he turned his august attention to conquering the remotest territories [600] of the east and west.

First, a group of litigants from the lands of the Heretics had presented themselves before his imperial gaze. To deal with them he assigned his younger brother Hülägü, on whose forehead could be read signs of world conquest and rule and imperial glory. In the Year of the Ox [1253] he sent him off to Tajik lands.

In the Year of the Tiger [1254] he assigned his middle brother, Qubilai, to defend and conquer the lands of the east. He was sent off in the company of Muqali Guyang of the Jalayir. The histories of these two will be given in separate sections since they both became autonomous rulers.

When Qubilai set out, he sent a messenger back to say, "No provisions can be found along the way and the going is extremely difficult. If it is so ordered, I will go to the province of Qarajang." Permission was granted, and Qubilai attacked and raided that land, which is known here as Qandahar,[1] and then returned to Möngkä Qa'an. After that, Möngkä Qa'an held a *quriltai* for everyone in Qorqonoq Jubur,[2] which is situated in the middle of Mongolia—it was at this place that Qutula Khan danced with his liege men so much beneath a tree when he had achieved a victory that the earth sank into a ditch.[3] When the *quriltai* was concluded and the people had been given *targhamishi* [an order to break camp] in droves, each of the amirs and princes spoke a *bilig* [word of wisdom]. During this, Därgäi Gürägän of the Ikiräs, Genghis Khan's son-in-law, said, "The kingdom of Nankiyas is so near, and it is also in rebellion against us. What are we waiting for?"

Möngkä Qa'an liked this speech and said, "Our fathers and elder brothers who were past monarchs each did something valiant and took a realm to make their names known among the people. I myself will also go on campaign to Nankiyas."

The princes all said of one accord, "How

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[1] See Pelliot, *Polo* 1:177

[2] Qorqonagh Jubur on the Onon is mentioned several times in the *Secret History* (e.g. §57, 115–17).

[3] "As for the rejoicing of the Mongghol, they were wont to rejoice, dancing and feasting. Having raised up Qutula as *qa*, they danced round about the Branching Tree of Qorqonagh Valley until there was 'A ditch up to their ribs;' until there was 'Dust up to their knees' " (*Secret History* §57).

can someone who is emperor of the face of the earth and has seven brothers mount and go out himself to do battle with an enemy?"

But he said, "Now that the issue is settled, it would be unwise to contravene it."

Thus, in Taulai Yil, which began in Muharram 653 [February 1255], the sixth year of his reign, he set out to do battle with "Jaugan,"[1] the emperor of Cathay, and he appointed his youngest brother, Ariq Bökä, as the head of the *ordus* and Mongol soldiers who remained behind, [B320] and he turned the *ulus* over to him. He also left his sons Ürüngtash and ___ with him. **[601]** He appointed the armies he took with himself, consisting of the following princes, *gürägäns*, and great commanders:

Of the Left Wing:

Princes: branch of Ögödäi Qa'an's *urugh*: Yäkä Qada'an,[2] Totaq;[3] branch of Chaghatai's *urugh*: Qoshiqai,[4] other sons: Abishgha,[5] Narin Qada'an,[6] Qadaqchi Sächän;[7] branch of Tolui's sons: Mögä, Asutai; branch of cousins: Ja'utu,[8] other princes.

Amirs: Baiju of Möngkä Qa'an's *urugh*; Qorchi Noyan.

Of the Right Wing:

Princes: Otchi Noyan's [grand]son Taghachar, and Jochi Qasar's son Yesünggä.

Amirs: Elji'itäi Noyan's son Chaqula; Muqali Guyang's son Qurumshi; Alchi Noyan of the Qunqirat; Nachin Gürägän of the Qunqirat;[9] Därgäi Gürägän of the Ikiräs;[10] Kähätäi and [Bujir] of the Uru'ut;[11] Möngkä Qalja and Chaghan Noyan of the Mangqut.[12]

All of the tribes of the Mongol army mounted, and those that belonged to the Right Wing set out, together with the army of Ja'uqut, with Möngkä Qa'an. The total of these two peoples was sixty *tümäns*. Ja'uqut is an expression for Cathay, Tangqut, Jurcha, and Solangqa (Korea), which area the Mongols call Ja'uqut.[13] He had the armies of the Left Wing move off with Prince Taghachar on a different route. They were thirty *tümäns* altogether, and their leader was Taghachar. In that council Bälgütäi Noyan said, "Qubilai has ridden on one campaign and performed his task. Now he is suffering from the gout. If so ordered, let him go home." Möngkä Qa'an approved of this. Bälgütäi Noyan was a hundred ten years old, **[602]** and he died that year.

They set out in the Luy Yil that began in Muharram 654 [January 1256]. On the right

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[1]"I.e., CHAO kuan, the 'Emperor CHAO,' or Ningtsung (1195–1224) of the Southern Sung, *kuan* being an abbreviation of *kun-chia* 'government,' 'emperor,' a colloquial epithet of the Sung period" (Cleaves, *Secret History*, p. 186, note 21).

[2]This "Yäkä Qada'an" should be Ögödäi's son Qada'an Oghul. See text p. 451.

[3]Reading ترتاق (Totaq ~ Totoq, son of Qarachar) for JT_K's ترقان.

[4]Qoshiqai was Sarban's son. See text p. 539.

[5]Abishgha was the son of Mö'ätükän's son Büri. See text p. 536.

[6]There is no trace of a Narin Qada'an in the genealogical charts of Chaghatai's offspring. Although his name occurs in the midst of Chaghatayids, he must be Qada'an Öbük, a son of Ögödäi's son Qada'an Oghul (Yäkä Qada'an). *Narin* (نرين) means 'thin, slender' in Mongolian; it is probably used in the sense of "Little" Qada'an to distinguish him from Yäkä ("Big") Qada'an.

[7]Qadaqchi Sächän was also a son of Mö'ätükän's son Büri. See text p. 536.

[8]Ja'utu was the son of Bälgütäi Noyan, Genghis Khan's youngest half brother. See text p. 209.

[9]Nachin Gürägän is mentioned in the section on the Qunqirat, text p. 123 above.

[10]Därgäi Gürägän is mentioned in the section on the Qunqirat, text p. 123f. above.

[11]Kähätäi and Bujir are mentioned in the section on the Uru'ut, text p. 148 above. Reading بوجر (Bujir) for the text's قوجو.

[12]Möngkä Qalja is mentioned in the section on the Mangqut, text p. 148 above. Chaghan Noyan is not mentioned.

[13]See Pelliot, *Polo* 1:227–29.

was Möngkä Qa'an and Sübätäi's son Kö[k]chü with ten *tümäns*. That summer Möngkä Qa'an arrived in the vicinity of Tangqut and Nankiyas territory and spent the entire summer in a place called Liupan Shan [Liu-p'an shan].[1] [B325] (That was the place where Genghis Khan fell ill and died when he was setting forth against Cathay.) In the autumn he headed for Yesün Qahalqa, which is on the frontier of Nankiyas territory. He took twenty fortresses in that area. That province is called Khan Sina. He camped encircling the great fortress called Do Li Shang and laid siege.[2] He had sent Taghachar Noyan with a hundred thousand horsemen along the great river Qa'an Gang [the Yangtse] to lay siege to the great cities of Sang Yang Fu [Hsiang-yang fu] and Fang Cheng[3] and bring them into submission. When he arrived there he besieged them with his army for a week, but since victory was not possible, they pulled back and settled in their own tents. Möngkä Qa'an was furious over this and reproached them *(qaqimishi)*, sending a message saying, "On the way back I will chastise you appropriately." Yesünggä's brother Qoriqchi sent a message to Taghachar, saying, "Qubilai took many cities and fortresses, while you have returned with stolen battles"—by which he meant that they had been too busy drinking and eating.

Qubilai is ordered to head for Nankiyas and lay siege to the city of Yauju, and he returns and crosses the River Gang.

After that, Möngkä Qa'an said, "Qubilai, despite the great pain he was in, has gone out once again on campaign. This time let him turn the expedition over to Taghachar, who will ride in his stead." When the order arrived, Qubilai sent a message in which he said, "My feet are better. How can it be proper for my elder brother to mount on an expedition while I sit at home?" Immediately he mounted and set out for Nankiyas. Since the road was extremely long and difficult, the entire country was filled with rebels, and the air was putrid, to save themselves they fought only two or three battles a day as he proceeded until he reached the city of Yauju,[4] to which he laid siege until no more than two of ten *tümäns* remained. **[603]** Then Qubilai withdrew from the expedition and left Uriangqadai and Bahadur Noyan, the son of Muqali Guyang's son Chila'un Guyang, there with five *tümäns* of soldiers. He had a bridge of boats constructed across the Gang Müren [Yangtse River]. From the direction of Nankiyas innumerable soldiers arrived, and the Mongol contingent wanted to cross the bridge but couldn't. Many of them fell into the river or were killed by the Nankiyas. Some got stuck in that territory, but when the Nankiyas were finally conquered those who were still alive came home. Qubilai came out of there and reached the *ordu* in the vicinity of the city of Jungdu [Peking], where he camped. During this time Möngkä Qa'an was busy besieging the fortress mentioned above. [B335]

Möngkä Qa'an is stricken and dies; his coffin is taken to his ordus, where mourning is held.

Möngkä Qa'an laid siege to the fortress

[1] This is 六盤山 Liu-p'an shan, the Liupan mountains in Gansu.

[2] The fortress Do Li Shang, as Blochet speculates, is "probablement Tho-lé, soit Tho-le-tchheng [托樂城 T'o-le ch'eng], au Ssé-tchouen," near the modern town of Songpan (JT_{BI} 329; Playfair, 483).

[3] This "Fang Cheng" should be 樊城 Fan-ch'eng in Hubei, formerly a town near 襄陽府 Hsiang-yang fu (the modern Xiangfan), or—but less likely—it may represent another name of Hsiang-yang fu itself. See JT_{BI} 330; Playfair, 125.

[4] The text's ياوجو ("Yauju") is a miscopying either of Yachi, which is Kunming in Yün-nan (see text p. 645 below), or of O-chou, the modern Wuchang in Hubei.

mentioned above, and when summer began the weather turned very hot. Due to the climate there an epidemic of dysentery broke out, cholera spread among the Mongol soldiers, and many of them died. The monarch of the world drank wine to ward off the cholera, and he continued so to do. Suddenly he developed an indisposition, and his illness came to a crisis.

In the Moghai Yil that began in Muharram 655,[1] he passed away at the foot of the unlucky fortress. He was fifty-two years old, and this was the seventh year of his reign. After his death, Asutai Oghul put Qundaqai Noyan in charge of the army and took his father's coffin back to his *ordus*, and mourning was held in the four *ordus*, the first day in Qutuqtai Khatun's *ordu*, the second day in Qutluq Khatun's *ordu*, the third day in the *ordu* of Chabui Khatun, who had been with him on this expedition, and the fourth day in Küi Yäbä Khatun's *ordu*. Each day in a different *ordu*, they placed the coffin upon a throne and wept and wailed bitterly. After that he was buried in Bolqan Qaldun, which is called Yäkä Qoruq [great sanctuary], next to Genghis Khan and Tolui Khan. May God grant the Padishah of Islam many years and long life, [604] and may he enjoy kingship, fortune, and rule.

The rest of the history of Qubilai on that expedition, and the arrival of the news of Möngkä Qa'an's death.

When Qubilai set out and reached the great river of the Nankiyas territory, which they called Khui Kho [Huai Ho], there he heard the bad news about Möngkä Qa'an. He took counsel with Muqali Guyang's grandson Bahadur Noyan and said, "Let us pay no attention to these fables." He sent Buluqan Qalja's son Ärkä Noyan of the Barulas to the vanguard,[2] and he followed along behind. They captured the scouts of the Nankiyas army and killed them so as not to allow the news to get out. Crossing the two-league-wide Gang [Yangtse] River by boat, he came to the city of Oju [O-chou],[3] laid siege, and took it. A division that had been fighting Möngkä Qa'an turned back and came to the aid of the city. Their commanders' names were Gia Dao and Ulus Taifu.[4] When they arrived, Qubilai had already taken the city. Immediately emissaries arrived from Chabui Khatun and the amirs of her *ordu*, Tayichi'utai Noyan and Yegü Noyan. The messengers' names were Toqan and Äbügän. When they had informed him of Möngkä Qa'an's death, Qubilai realized that it was true, left the army, and held mourning. He was alone in Nankiyas territory: Hülägü had gone to the west and Tajik lands, and there was a great distance between them and the capital. No sooner had Ariq Bökä heard the news of his brother's death than his eyes fell upon the imperial throne, and his amirs and retainers also urged him to rebel against Qubilai. The entire history of Ariq Bökä, Möngkä Qa'an's sons Asutai and Ürüngtash, and the other sons and grandsons will be included in the section on Qubilai Qa'an, God willing.

Now that the history of Möngkä Qa'an and his reign has come to an end, [B340] let us commence a summary history of the emperors of Cathay and Machin and the amirs, caliphs, sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghreb who

[1] Muharram 655 began in January 1257, but this cannot be correct. August 11, 1259 is the date usually given for Möngkä's death (Grousset, *Empire*, 284), and Qubilai succeeded him to the throne in May 1260.

[2] The بولقان قلجا Buluqan Qalja here is the same as the one (بالوقان قالجه in JT_{AJ}76) on p. 403 above.

[3] O-chou, the modern Wuchang in Hubei.

[4] Gia Dao is Chia Ssu-tao, as is obvious. The second should be Lü Wên-tê, but, needless to say, there is no resemblance between the text's "Ulus Taifu" and Lü Wên-tê.

were contemporary with him from the beginning of Qaqai Yil, the Year of the Pig that corresponds to 648 [1251], through the Moghai Yil that began in Muharram 655 [January 1257]. **[605]**

History of the amirs, caliphs, atabegs, sultans, and maliks.

History of the amirs.

Amir Arghun Aqa, the governor of most of Iran, set out for Möngkä Qa'an's court in Jumada II 649 [August 1251] to attend the *quriltai*. When he arrived, the *quriltai* had already been concluded, the princes and amirs had been dismissed, and Möngkä Qa'an was busy dealing with administrative affairs. The day after his arrival, the first of Muharram 650 [March 14, 1252], Amir Arghun performed *tägishmishi*, reported on the unsettled state of Iran, and was received favorably. After the *qalan* [tax] on the inhabitants of this area had been fixed at an annual rate of seven dinars for a wealthy man and one dinar for a poor person, the qa'an said that no further demands should be made. He gave Arghun Aqa a decree, reassigned him to the post he held, and dismissed him. He obtained the post of *sahib-divan* for Baha'uddin Muhammad Juwayni and Sirajuddin, who had been a *bitigchi* on behalf of Negübäi, and he got patents and *paizas* for them. In 651 [1253–54] they set out to return home.

When Amir Arghun reached Khurasan, he read out the orders and delivered the ordinances to the great delight of the people. He ordered that no one act contrary to these orders or oppress the subjects, and thus he put the affairs of Iran in order. [606] As ordered, he went via the Qipchaq Gates to Batu's court accompanied by Najmuddin Gilabadi, a census of Iran was conducted, and tax rates were set. Thus he continued to administer the realm until Hülägü Khan arrived.

History of the caliphs.

In Baghdad was the Caliph al-Musta'sim-bi'llah, a pious and ascetic man who never touched intoxicants or women other than his wives.

During these years Husamuddin Khalil Badr b. Khwarshed al-Baluchi, a grandee among the Kurds, rebelled against the caliph and took refuge with the Mongols. Prior to that he had worn the habit of dervishes and considered himself to be a disciple of Sidi Ahmad. At that time he plotted with a group of Mongols and went to Khulanjan in the vicinity of Najaf and attacked a group of Sulaymanshah's followers, killing and plundering. From there he set out for the fortress of Wahar, which belonged to Sulaymanshah, and laid siege to it. Sulaymanshah found out about it and requested permission from the caliph to go drive him away.

When he reached Hulwan an innumerable army gathered around him. A group of Muslims and Mongols had also gathered around Khalil. They clashed at a place called Sihr. Sulaymanshah had laid an ambush, and when the battle grew heated he turned to run away with Husamuddin in pursuit. As he passed the ambush place, he turned around and his soldiers sprang from ambush, surrounding them and killing many. Khalil was taken prisoner and then killed. His brother took refuge in a mountain, and from there he requested amnesty and then came down. Sulaymanshah took two fortresses from their territory. One was Shikan, a very strong fortification, and the other was Dizbaz in the middle of the town of Shapurkhwast.[1]

Also during these years a group of Mongols, nearly fifteen thousand horsemen, went from Hamadan to attack the environs

[1]Shapurkhwast is the modern Khurramabad in Luristan.

of Baghdad. Another contingent attacked Khanaqin. They fell upon a troop of Sulaymanshah's supporters and came away. Another group went to Shahrazur.[1]

The caliph ordered Sharafuddin Iqbal Sharabi, Mujahiduddin Aybak the lesser *davatdar*, and Ala'uddin Altun Bars the greater *davatdar* to lead a large contingent of his slaves and Arabs. They placed catapults on the walls of Baghdad. News arrived that the Mongols had reached the fortress of ___. **[607]** Sulaymanshah and this group of liege men arranged the battle. The Mongols came as far as the environs of Ja'fariyya, but during the night they lit fires and withdrew. Suddenly the news arrived that the Mongols had pillaged Dujayl, so Sharabi took a contingent to drive them away.

History of the sultans.

In Anatolia was Sultan Izzuddin Kay-Ka'us.[2] His brother Ala'uddin rebelled and went to Anguriya,[3] whence he was brought and imprisoned for seven years in the Hushyar fortress.

In Mosul was Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu'. During these years he was outfitting an army and asked for assistance from Tajuddin Muhammad ibn Salaya, the ruler of Arbela. He sent a thousand men. Badruddin headed for Mardin. The sultan of Mardin also mustered an army and asked for help from Aleppo. When the two armies came together, the Mardin left wing was broken, [B345] and the Mosul army went out in pursuit, taking booty. Qaymari's son, the leader of the Aleppo army, attacked and broke the center of the Mosul army. Sultan Badruddin took flight and went to Mosul with ten men. His treasury was plundered, and his soldiers took flight and straggled in after him.

In Egypt the sultan was Malik Salih Najmuddin Ayyub b. al-Kamil.[4] When he died the amirs and people of Egypt summoned his son Malik Mu'azzam Turanshah, the governor of Hisn Kefa.[5] When he reached the city of Damascus he took it over and then proceeded to Egypt. In 648 [1250] he was confirmed as the ruler of Egypt.[6] He did battle with the Franks who had taken over Damietta and parts of Egypt and defeated them. Nearly thirty thousand Franks were killed. One of their kings, Afridis,[7] was taken captive along with an inestimable number, and Damietta was taken. After that, the Bahri Turks conspired to kill the sultan, and Aybak the Turcoman, the chief of the amirs, went before the sultan while he was at table. While he was talking the sultan said something to him. Aybak got up, drew his sword, and struck the sultan. The sultan warded off the blow with his arm, but he received a serious wound **[608]** and fled into a wooden house. The Turks said to Aybak, "Finish what you started!" They brought naphtha-throwers and hurled a vial of naphtha into the house. It caught fire, and the sultan went up on the roof. Aybak shot an arrow at him, but the sultan dove into the river and got out on the bank. They went in pursuit, kicked him to death, and threw his body into the river.

When the captive Franks learned of this,

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[1]Shahrazur was in the vicinity of Halabja of recent infamy.

[2]Izzuddin Kay-Ka'us II of the Seljuqs of Rum, r. 1246–1248.

[3]The modern Ankara in Turkey.

[4]al-Malik al-Salih Najmuddin Ayyub, ruled 1240–1249.

[5]The name of this stategically important fortress on the Tigris is derived from the Arabic حصن *hisn* 'fortress' and the Aramaeo-Syriac ܟܐܦܐ *kêpâ* 'rock.' Over time the name has evolved into the modern Hasankeyf.

[6]al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Turanshah, ruled 1249–1250.

[7]The name Afrídís is a garbled version of *raydi-fráns (roi de France)* and refers to Louis IX.

they broke the chains from their legs and started killing Muslims. The Turcoman liege men entered, encircled them, and wielded their swords. Thirteen thousand Franks were killed in an instant. The Arabs went home, the Kurds returned to Cairo, and the Turks remained in Mansuriyya. They completely conquered Damietta from the Franks and got it under their control. They imposed a tribute of two hundred thousand réal dinars on Afridis, who left his brother, son, and a group of relatives as hostages and took one Muslim to whom he was to turn over the money.[1]

In the year 652 [1254–55] Aybak the Turcoman took over Egypt.[2] None of Malik Kamil's sons was left. Aybak put Amir Aqtai the Jamadar to death in the citadel without warning and ordered the *khutba* and coinage to be in his name as he mounted the throne in the manner of the sultans.

In Kirman was Sultan Ruknuddin.[3] In 650 [1252] Qutbuddin came from the court, and immediately Ruknuddin fled, trying to take refuge in Baghdad, but they were too afraid of the Mongols to let him in. From there he headed for the court with Qutbuddin following behind. He was brought to trial. After proving his guilt, Ruknuddin was turned over to Qutbuddin for execution, and the sultanate of Kirman was awarded to Qutbuddin, who mounted the throne.[4]

Part Three of the section on Möngkä Qa'an, on his conduct and character, the pronouncements and orders he gave, incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons.

A summary indication of Möngkä Qa'an's character and good qualities has been reported in previous sections, and as a detailed account this little bit will have to suffice. By way of corroboration, one story that sums up his justice and generosity will now be recorded so that the people of the world may know for certain that this report is free of any taint of exaggeration. It is as follows.

Merchants from all over the world had gone to Güyük Khan and transacted huge deals, but since Güyük Khan did not reign long, most of [what the merchants were owed] was held in abeyance and was not paid to them. Nonetheless, even after his death, deals with his wives, sons, and nephews continued on a grander scale than during his reign, and drafts against the provinces continued to be written. When the situation of this group changed and they lost authority, some of the merchants received not even a tenth of the value of the drafts that had been written, and others had not yet reached the places against which their drafts were written. Some still had not delivered their wares or had the prices determined, and yet others had not received drafts. When Möngkä Qa'an assumed the throne, the merchants went to him as a test, partially hoping to see his justice and partially in despair of receiving payment for their transactions. They explained the situation to him, and although all the courtiers and ministers advised that it was not necessary for the amounts to be paid from the emperor's treasury and that no one could raise an objection, **[610]** the emperor spread the wings of generosity over them all and ordered a decree for the settlement of all their claims from the income of his realm. It amounted to more than five hundred thousand bars of silver even though,

[1]Louis' brother, the Count of Poitiers, was left as hostage. Joinville

[2]Izzuddin Aybak of the Mamluk line, ruled 1250–1257.

[3]Ruknuddin Khwajachuq of the Qarakhitai of Kirman, ruled 1236–1252.

[4]Qutbuddin Muhammad, ruled 1252–1258.

had he withheld it, no one would have been able to raise an objection.

This is just an example of his imperial custom, from which his character in other matters can be deduced. [B350] ~

SECTION TEN

THE HISTORY OF QUBILAI QA'AN, SON OF TOLUI KHAN, SON OF GENGHIS KHAN, IN THREE PARTS

When Ariq Bökä took it into his head to become emperor, he rebelled against his elder brother Qubilai Qa'an and assisted Möngkä Qa'an's sons Asutai and Ürüngtash and their sons and kinsmen. In the end, the attempt failed, and they submitted to Qubilai Qa'an. For this reason their history will be given in this section, which consists of three parts.

Part One is on his progeny, a detailed account of his wives and his sons' offspring who have branched off down to the present; a picture of him, and a genealogical chart of him and his sons.

Part Two includes events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, princes, and amirs during his enthronement; stories of his reign; the history of Ariq Bökä and the princes who conspired with him; the battles the emperor fought and the victories he achieved.

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons. **[612]**

Part One, on his progeny, a detailed account of his wives and his sons' offspring who have branched off down to the present; a picture of him, and a genealogical chart of him and his sons.

His magnificent lineage.

Qubilai[1] Qa'an was the fourth son of Tolui Khan and was born of Sorqaghtani Beki. His nurse was Mögä's mother, a concubine from the Naiman nation. It so happened that two months prior to Mögä's birth, Qubilai Qa'an was born, and when Genghis Khan's gaze fell upon him he said, "Our sons are all of a ruddy complexion, but this boy is swarthy, just like his maternal uncles. Tell Sorqaghtani Beki to give him to a good nurse to be brought up by." He was given to Mögä's mother, Saruq by name. Two months later, when Mögä was born, his mother gave him to a nurse from the Tangqut people to be reared while she reared Qubilai until he was grown. She con-

[1]Qubilai's name is obviously derived in some way from the Mongolian *qubi* (lot, portion), but the manner of derivation is far from certain. It is not a normal Mongolian form. See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:565. The various guises in which "Qubilai" occurs are legion; among them are the Chinese transcription (忽必烈 Hu-pi-lieh), Qublai, Khubilai, Kublai, Qubla, and, of course, Coleridge's "In Xanadu did Kubla Khan / A stately pleasure-dome decree." Marco Polo tends to use "Cublai." Qubilai was born on September 23, 1215, ascended the throne on May 5, 1260, and died on February 18, 1294 (*ibid.* 1:566).

sidered him her own son, and she cared for him and protected in all respects. The Qa'an held her in great honor, and when she died he constantly remembered her and gave alms for the repose of her soul.

His wives and children

Qubilai Qa'an had many wives and concubines. The greatest of them all was Chabui Khatun,[1] the daughter of Elchi Noyan of the ruling clans of the Qunqirat. She was extremely comely, possessed of beauty, and beloved by [Qubilai Qa'an]. She died before Qubilai Qa'an in Bechin Yil, the Year of the Monkey corresponding to 682 [1284].

Qubilai Qa'an had twelve sons of note. Just as Genghis Khan's four sons who were born of his chief wife, Börtä Füjin, were of more importance, the four of Qubilai Qa'an's twelve sons whose mother was Chabui Khatun were more important. The names of the twelve sons are as follows. **[613]**

(1) Torji,[2] born of Chabui Khatun. He did not marry and had no children. He was a year older than Abaqa Khan. He was always feeble and sickly and died of that chronic condition.

(2) Jimgim. When he was born he was Gimjim.[3] He was born of the great lady named Taikhu who was of the "bone" of the Qunqirat. [B355] Taikhu *[t'ai-hou]* means the mother of a qa'an.[4] Jimgim died young, leaving three fine sons. [The first was] Kammala, who had three sons, Yesün Temür, Jungsan, and Dälgär Buqa. The second son was Tarmabala, who fathered three sons, Khaishang, Amuga, and Ajurpariyabatra.[5] The third son was Temür Qa'an, who is now the qa'an of the age. He is called Öljäitü Qa'an and has two sons, Tishi Taishi and Maqabalin. [B360]

(3) Mangqala,[6] also born of Chabui Khatun. He had a great wife named Putri, which means "born of a lord" in the Indian language. She was the granddaughter of Elchi Noyan of the Qunqirat tribe, and she had three sons. The first was Arslan Buqa, the second was Altun Buqa, and the third was Ananda. The reason for this name is that when he was born they were near an enemy people, the name of whose commander was Ananda, so they named him the same. He is a Muslim. The qa'an awarded him the territory of Tangqut. He has one son, Örüg Temür, and a daughter whose name is not known.

(4) Nomoghan.[7] He was also born of Chabui Khatun. There are many stories about him, and each will come in its proper place. He had two daughters whose names are not known.

(5) Qoridai. He was born of Qoruqchin Khatun of Märkit "bone," whom Qubilai Qa'an married **[614]** before any of his other wives. She was also older than the others. In the end she lost status. She was the daughter of Qutuqu, the brother of Toqto'a Beki, the ruler of the Märkit who was an enemy during Genghis Khan's time and with whom he often did battle. In the

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[1]Chabui was Qubilai's consort who was promoted to empress (皇后 *huang-hou)* in 1260. In Chinese her name is transcribed as 察必 Ch'a-pi; she died in 1281, not 1284 as given in the text here. See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:568.

[2]Torji ~ Dorji, from the Tibetan rDo-rje ('diamond').

[3]The name is Chinese, 真金 Chen-chin ('true gold'). Marco Polo calls him Cinchim (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:278).

[4]"Taikhu" is the Chinese 太后 *t'ai-hou* 'mother of an emperor.'

[5]Tarmabala is the Sanskrit Dharmabala; Ajurpariyabatra is the Sanskrit Ayurparibhadra. Such Buddhist names are generally filtered through Mongolian into Persian.

[6]This name is variously spelled, Mangqala ~ Mingqalan ~ Mangala ~ Manggala. Hambis *(Yuan che,* 114) prefers Manggala; we will opt for the most common Persian spelling, Mangqala.

[7]Nomoghan, Mongolian for "peaceful." Marco Polo transcribes his name as Nomogan.

end he was forced to surrender.

(6) Hügächi.[1] He was born of Dörbäjin Khatun of the Dörbän tribe. The qa'an awarded him the territory of Qarajang. One day he took a duck in a village by force, [B365] and when the qa'an heard about it he ordered him to receive seventy lashes, and his delicate flesh was torn to shreds. When he died he left a son named Esän Temür, whom the qa'an appointed in his father's place in the territory of Qarajang. In the Indian language they call it Kandar, meaning large province.[2]

(7) Oqruqchi. He was born of Dörbäjin Khatun. The qa'an awarded him the territory of Tibet. He had two sons. The first was Temür Buqa, who had a son named Shasgaba. When Hügächi died the province of Tibet was given to this Temür Buqa. The second son was Ejil Buqa.

(8) Ayachi. His mother was Hushijin, the daughter of Boroqul Noyan of the Hushin clan. This son married, and they were together for a time but had no children.

(9) Kököchü. This son was also born of Ayachi's mother, Hushijin of the Hushin clan. Now ___, and before now he has been on expeditions with Nomoghan. He came to Däräsü to fight Qaidu. He and Nomoghan were captured, but after a while they were sent back to the qa'an.

(10) Qutluq Temür. His mother's name is not known. He was born the year Ariq Bökä rebelled against the qa'an. He died when he was twenty years old. He had married but had no children. **[615]**

(11) Toghan. [B370] He was born of Baya'ujin Khatun, the daughter of Boraqchin Khatun of the Baya'ut tribe. He has one son named Laojang. In the province of Manzi, which is called Machin, there is a magnificent city called Jingju [Yang-chou], a nearly ten-*tümän* province. The qa'an awarded it to him.[3]

(12) ___.[4] He was born of Nambui Khatun,[5] Nachin Gürägän's daughter the qa'an married after Chabui Khatun died. A year later he brought her into the *yurt* and *ordu* inasmuch as she was Chabui Khatun's brother's daughter.

The genealogical chart of these sons is as follows:

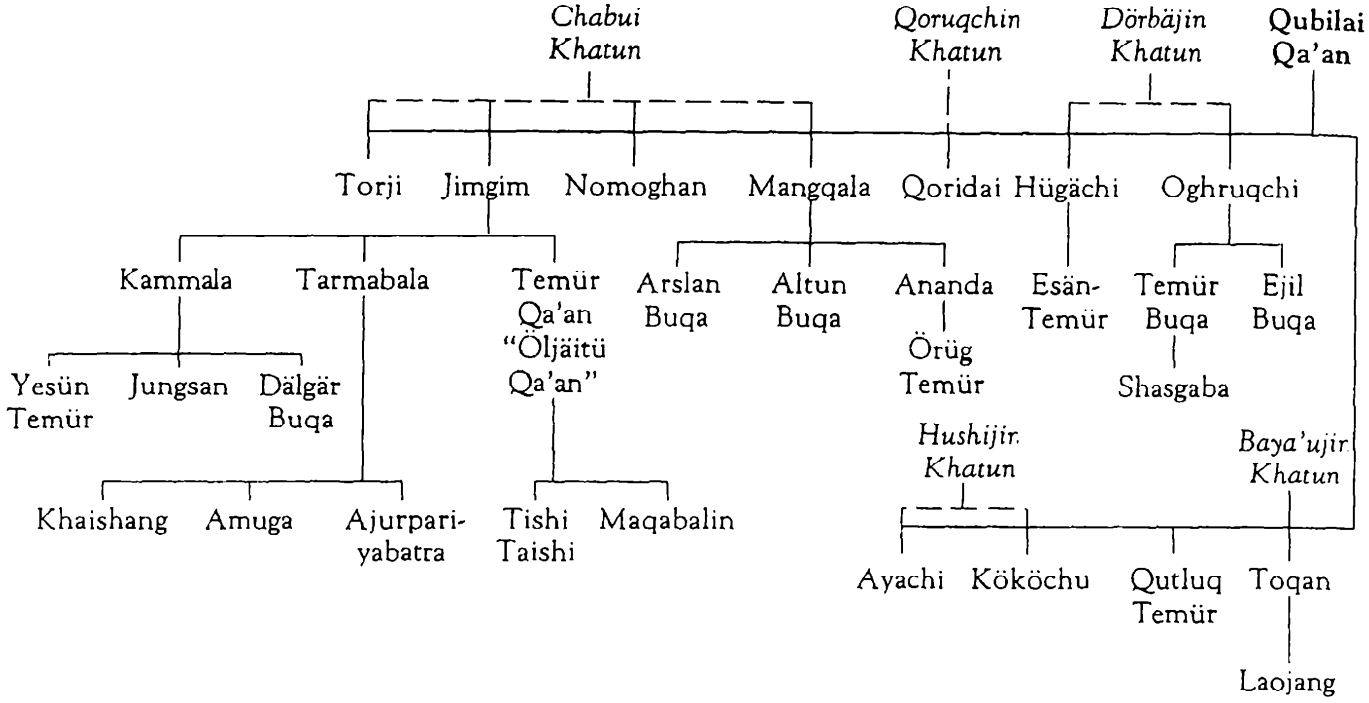
[1]Although Pelliot says that "Hükächi" would be "more regular," the Chinese transcription and Marco Polo's transcription of the name ("Cogacin") indicate a pronunciation of "Hügächi." See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:394.

[2]See note to text p. 616 below.

[3]Toqan was banished from court after his failure in Tonking and governed Yang-chou from 1291 until his death in 1301. See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:875.

[4]The name is lacking in JT_K. According to Pelliot (*Marco Polo* 1:568), the twelfth son's name was Tämächi (the Chinese transcription for which is T'ieh-mieh-ch'ih).

[5]Nambui's name is given in Chinese sources as 喃必 Nan-bi. See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:568.



Part Two, events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, princes, and amirs during his enthronement; stories of his reign; the history of Ariq Bökä and the princes who conspired with him; the battles the emperor fought and the victories he achieved; the commanders he stationed on every frontier, the princes who were with him, and the names of his commanders.

When the just monarch Möngkä Qa'an ascended the throne in his capital near Qaraqorum in the Onon-Kerulen region, after arranging administrative affairs he assigned his brother Qubilai to the lands of the east and the realm of Cathay and sent his younger brother Hülägü to the west and the lands of the Tajiks. As has already been mentioned in the section on him, he ordered eighty **[616]** *tümäns* of soldiers consisting entirely of Mongols and Ja'uquts to go with Qubilai to Cathay and take up residence there in order to conquer the province of Nankiyas, which borders Cathay. Qubilai set forth and scouted out the roads of Nankiyas, and because the rulers of that land had removed all sources of provisions from villages that lay along the way, the going was extremely rough. A messenger was sent to Möngkä Qa'an to report the situation and ask permission for them to go first and conquer the country of Qarajang and Chaghanjang[1] so that the army might acquire provisions, [B375] and then go to Nankiyas.

These two realms are called Dai Liu in the Cathaian language, meaning "great realm."[2] In the Indian language it is called Qandar and, in the language of this area, Qandahar. It borders on Tibet and Tangqut, part of the realm and mountains of Hindustan, and the realm of Cathay and the "Gold-Tooth" people.[3]

In short, Möngkä Qa'an approved of this

[1] "The Mo-so region of Likiang in northwest Yunnan" (JT_{By}, p. 246, note 21).

[2] Reading دای لیو (Dai Liu) for the text's دای کیو, as on text p. 321 above. Pelliot (*Marco Polo* 1:177) suggests that "Dai Liu" is for 大理國 Ta-li-kuo, the Kingdom of Ta-li, the name of the kingdom that became Yunnan.

[3] For the "Gold-Tooth" people, see text p. 321 above.

suggestion and gave his permission. Qubilai massacred and pillaged the province in the Luy Yil that began in Muharram 654 [January 1256]. He captured the ruler, who was called Maharao, which means great emperor, took him with him, and left the army.

After that, when Möngkä Qa'an set out to conquer Nankiyas, he ordered that since Qubilai had the gout, and since he had already been on campaign and reduced a rebellious province to submission, this time he could rest at home. As ordered, he rested in his *ordus*, which were in Qara'un Jidun in Mongolia.

A year later, when Taghachar Noyan and the princes of the Left Wing who had gone to Nankiyas returned empty-handed, Möngkä Qa'an chastised them severely, [B380] and an edict was issued as follows: "Qubilai has sent a message saying, 'My gout is much better. How can it be fitting for Möngkä Qa'an to ride on campaign while I sit at home?' Let him therefore take the soldiers who were commanded by Taghachar Noyan and head for the land of the Nankiyas." As ordered, he took control of one *tümän* of elite soldiers and ten *tümäns* of Ja'uquts that had been Taghachar Noyan's and set forth. When he reached the frontier of Nankiyas, he conquered many of the towns and provinces.

During that time Möngkä Qa'an was besieging the fortress of Do Li Shang, but the air was so foul that a cholera epidemic spread, [617] and Möngkä Qa'an was stricken and died. The news of his death was received by Qubilai on the banks of the Quiqa Müran [River Huai], but he consulted with Bahadur Noyan, the grandson of Muqali Guyang and father of Hantum Noyan of Jalayir "bone," saying, "We have arrived here with soldiers like ants and locusts. Why should we turn back without having done anything just because of some rumors?" Proceeding to the Nankiyas, he attacked their army without warning, seized their scouts, crossed the River Gang [Yangtse],[1] which is like a sea two leagues wide, by means of a talisman made from a *toɣ* [birch] tree he had set up, and laid siege to Oju [O-chou], a magnificent city.[2]

Prior to that, Möngkä Qa'an had dispatched a contingent from one side of Nankiyas led by Sübädäi Noyan's son Uriangqadai and consisting of three *tümäns*. Along with him he sent Chaghatai's grandson Abishqa and fifty princes of the Left Wing. Since the roads were difficult and the villages and fortresses were well fortified, they fought many battles. Their ways in and out were then blocked, and because of the foul air so many of the soldiers fell ill and died that no more than fifty thousand remained. Receiving news of Qubilai's arrival, he set out to join him, and after twenty days they met in the vicinity of that city, [O-chou]. Reduced to dire straits, the inhabitants sent out emissaries and surrendered. Then, without warning, the army that had been dispatched to deal with Möngkä Qa'an returned rejoicing over his death, and the inhabitants of the city were heartened by their arrival.

During all this, messengers from Chabui Khatun and the commanders of her *ordu*, Tayichi'utai and Yegü, arrived to deliver this message: "The great commanders Dorji and Alamdar have come on behalf of Ariq Bökä and are taking away Mongol and Jau'qut *turqaqs*, but the reason is not known. Should we give them the soldiers or not?" They also brought a riddle, saying, "The heads of the big fish and the little fish have been cut off. Aside from you and Ariq Bökä, who is left? Is it possible for you to return or not?"

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[1]The text's "Gang" is simply the Chinese *chiang* 江 'river' and refers to the Yangtse (長江 Changjiang).

[2]This O-chou is Wu-ch'ang, the modern Wuhan in Hubei.

Two days later Ariq Bökä's messengers also came to Qubilai, saying, "We have been sent to obtain news of your well-being and your safe arrival."

"In what direction are you sending the *turqaq*s and expeditionary force you are raising?" he asked.

"We servants do not know," they replied. "It's a lie anyway."

Since they were keeping the truth hidden, **[618]** Qubilai became suspicious and thought, "If he wanted a troop to send somewhere, why would he conceal it? There must be some deceit and trickery afoot." In secret he consulted with Bahadur Noyan and Uriangqadai, saying, "This is how things are, and it is not known what Ariq Bökä has in mind for us. You two stay here with some troops until I return to the Qara Müran [Yellow River] in Cathay, make an investigation, and send word back to you." On that understanding he turned back.

The princes Taghachar, [Narin] Qada'an, and Yesünggä were sent out with the rest of the army, and they captured countryside and villages and wrought destruction.

When Qubilai reached the city of Namgin [Nan-ching] on the banks of the Yellow River, he found out that Dorji and Alamdar had come in search of soldiers and put much pressure on the Mongols and Ja'uquts. He sent a messenger to Ariq Bökä, saying, "Nothing is going to be gained by the *turqaq*s and troops that are being taking away from Mongol households and Ja'uqut country. Give back the property and animals you have taken from the provinces, and give us the troops that were with me, Taghachar, Yesünggä, Narin Qada'an and the troops of the Left Wing. Also restore the troops of the Right Wing that went with Möngkä Qa'an and are now with Mögä, Qada'an, Asutai, and Ja'utu, the commanders of the Right Wing, so that we may provide ourselves with mounts, provisions, and weapons and fight the Nankiyas." This is the message he sent.

At that time Alamdar had gone from there, and Dorji had remained in the city of Jungdu, which is now called Khanbaligh. [B385] Qubilai sent a message to him saying, "You too send a liege man with these envoys." But he secretly sent word through his liege man to Ariq Bökä, saying, "It seems that Qubilai is aware of what you are thinking. The best thing to do now would be for you to send with these envoys a *noyan* from among the great commanders bearing falcons and hawks so that Qubilai may feel safe and grow careless." Ariq Bökä approved of this plan and sent a *noyan* with five falcons as a gift in the company of the envoys, saying, "The *noyan* is coming to bring back news of your safety." He charged the *noyan* and Dorji Noyan to speak nicely to Qubilai so that he would feel secure enough to turn back soon. Accordingly, they spoke pleasantly and, together with Ariq Bökä's envoys, reported to Qubilai that **[619]** the rumor concerning the requisitioning of *turqaq*s and auxiliary forces was false.

"Now that you have explained that upsetting rumor, minds are at rest," said Qubilai as he sent them back without a care. Then he sent envoys to Bahadur Noyan and Uriangqadai, saying, "Abandon the siege of Oju and return, for our situation has taken another turn, like the revolving of the celestial sphere." By the time the envoys arrived, Taghachar, Yesünggä, and Narin Qada'an had already started back, and Bahadur and Uriangqadai had come away with their troops and returned to Qubilai.

When Dorji and Toqan went before Ariq Bökä and informed him of the situation, he said, "Since Qubilai is sufficiently aware of our treachery and deceit, it would be best for us to summon the princes and commanders who are presently living in their *yurt*s and settle the khanate, which is currently vacant, upon ourself." After holding

council, they dispatched messengers in all directions. Taghachar's son Naimadai and Jibi[k] Temür's younger brother Yesü[1] both came to him, but the other princes all stayed away on some pretext or other. Since there was not a quorum, Ariq Bökä took counsel with the amirs once again, saying, "It would be best for us to send Qubilai more messengers who can fool him into thinking he is safe." Dorji and two others from among the amirs and *bitigchis* were sent with a message saying, "It would be appropriate to hold mourning for Möngkä Qa'an. It is necessary for Qubilai and all the princes to come." They had planned to seize them all when they arrived; however, when the messengers came before Qubilai, the princes Taghachar, Yesünggä, Narin Qada'an, and others, as well as the *noyans*, had already come to Qubilai in Jungdu. The envoys delivered the message, whereupon all said of one accord, "This proposal is perfectly correct. It behooves us all to go. However, we have just come from campaign. First let us go home, and then we can gather."

"Let my liege men take this word back," said Dorji. "In the meantime I will stay here so that I can escort you." With that agreed to, he sent his liege men off, and afterwards Qubilai sent a messenger to the army that had gone into Nankiyas territory with Möngkä Qa'an, and he also sent a message to Asutai telling him to come quickly. (Mögä had died on the expedition.)

When Dorji's envoys delivered the message to Ariq Bökä, **[620]** the princes who were there asked unanimously, "How long can we wait for them?" So saying, they agreed to elevate Ariq Bökä to the throne in the summer residence in the Altai mountains. The group consisted of Qara Hülägü's wife Princess Orghina, Möngkä Qa'an's sons Asutai and Ürüngtash, Chaghatai's grandson Alghu, Taghachar's son Naimatai, Jibik Temür's "younger brother" Yesü, Qada'an's son Dorji, Orda's son Qurumshi, Qarachar, and a son of Bälgütäi Noyan's.

When Asutai was brought from the army, Alamdar was sent as commander and *shahna* over the army to guard them and keep them happy so they wouldn't disperse.

After that, envoys and missives were sent to Ögödäi Qa'an's *ordu*, to Kötän's and Jibik Temür's sons, to the realm of the Mongols, to Tangqut and Ja'uqut to spread the following message [from Ariq Bökä]: "Hülägü, Bärkä, and the princes have agreed to elevate me to the khanate. You must not pay any attention to Qubilai, Taghachar, Yesünggä, Yäkä Qada'an, or Narin Qada'an or obey their orders."

Such documents they fabricated and sent off, but Jibik Temür and the commanders of Cathay seized the envoys and sent them and their letters to Qubilai. Then he realized for certain that Ariq Bökä had created a *bulqaq*.

After that, the following gathered and held deliberations: Taghachar, Yesünggä, Yäkä Qada'an, Narin Qada'an, Jibik Temür, Ja'utu, and other princes; the amirs, Muqali Guyang's son Qurumshi, Nachin Gürägän, [B390] Därgäi Gürägän; amirs of the Left Wing, Borcha's son Sodon Noyan, Qorchi's son Ejil, both of whom were *tarkhans*; all the amirs of the Right Wing. "Hülägü has gone to Tajik territory," they said, "and Chaghatai Khan's and Jochi Khan's progeny are too far away. Those who are in league with Ariq Bökä are acting

[1]Although it is in Persian, "younger brother" here is used with the added connotation of the Turkish *ini*, i.e. a younger relative; Yesü Buqa was actually Jibik Temür's nephew, the son of Jibik Temür's brother Küyän. See text p. 446 above. On the other hand, in some MSS Küyän is skipped and Yesü Buqa is made one of Kötän's sons, but according to the order given in the genealogies he would be the elder brother, not the younger.

ignorantly. Princess Orghina has been persuaded by the amirs to join Ariq Bökä's camp on behalf of the Chaghatai before Hülägü and Bärkä could get here. If we do not appoint someone as qa'an now, how can we survive?"

Having agreed to this, they were unanimous in elevating Qubilai Qa'an to the throne in the middle of summer of the Bechin Yil that corresponded to 658 [1260] in the city of Kai Ming Fu [K'ai-p'ing fu]. [621] He was then forty-six years old. As was customary, all the princes and commanders gave *möchälgäs* [written pledges] and bent their knees.

After enthroning Qubilai Qa'an the princes send emissaries to Ariq Bökä, who does battle several times with the qa'an but is defeated in the end.

After that, a hundred envoys on behalf of the princes were assigned and dispatched to Ariq Bökä with the following message: "We princes and commanders have held council together and have agreed to seat Qubilai as qa'an." That day was spent in banqueting, and when night fell Dorji escaped. When his flight was discovered, an envoy was sent out after him. The *yamchis* seized him and brought him in. He was questioned with threats and confessed to the *bulqaq* and plots that had been made from beginning to end. He was then imprisoned. After that, Abishgha, the son of Büri, son of Chaghatai's son Mö'ätügän, was assigned to head his grandfather's *ulus* and dismissed, and in his company they sent his "younger brother" Narin Qada'an. Ariq Bökä's envoys and a large troop of soldiers came across them on the frontier of Tangqut territory, seized them, and took them to Ariq Bökä, who arrested them and held them under guard, although he sent Qubilai's envoys back.

That summer many envoys were sent back and forth, but no agreement could be reached. After that, it was announced that Hülägü Khan, Bärkä, and other princes had arrived and were supporting Ariq Bökä. Many such rumors were started. When autumn came, Ariq Bökä gave a troop to Hülägü's eldest son Jumghur, Udur's son Qarachar, and some other princes and sent them out to battle Qubilai, whose vanguard was commanded by Yesünggä and Yäkä Qada'an. When the two sides reached each other, they did battle in Baski. Ariq Bökä's troops were defeated. Jumghur and Qarachar managed to get out of the fray with a few men. Terrified, Ariq Bökä and his soldiers fled in rout and dispersed. Before that, however, they killed the two princes who had been imprisoned and the hundred envoys [622] and entered Qirqiz territory.

It was customary for food and drink to be brought to Qaraqorum from Cathay by cart. Qubilai cut off the supply, and this resulted in shortages and severe inflation. Ariq Bökä was helpless. "It would be best," he said, "for Alghu, the son of Chaghatai's son Baidar, who has long served the throne and knows the ways and customs of everything, to go and take command of his grandfather's throne and *ulus* and send us supplies and arms. He can also guard the frontier along the Oxus lest Hülägü and Bärkä's soldiers come to assist Qubilai." With this thought in mind, he curried favor with Alghu and sent him off.

Alghu departed like an arrow shot from a bow and made his way to Kashgar, where around a hundred fifty thousand warrior horsemen gathered around him and he initiated a rebellion. Since the qa'an had mounted for the campaign, he proceeded as fast as possible to Qanqi Daban, where he heard that Ariq Bökä had killed Abishgha, the two other princes who were with him, and the hundred envoys. He flew into a rage and killed Dorji Noyan, whom he was holding under arrest. Before mounting on the campaign he had dispatched the princes

Yäkä Qada'an, Jochi Qasar's son Qaralchu,[1] several other princes, and Büri with a huge army to Tangqut territory because it had been reported that Ariq Bökä had sent Alamdar and Qundaqai as commanders and *shahnas* at the head of the army that had gone with Möngkä Qa'an to Nankiyas and which was later commanded by Asutai, who came to him unencumbered. These were on the frontiers of Tangqut. When Yäkä Qada'an and Qaralchu reached them they gave battle. [B395] Alamdar was killed during the fighting, and some of the soldiers were killed and others scattered. Those who remained took flight to Ariq Bökä in Qirqiz country.

When Qubilai Qa'an reached the borders of Qaraqorum he overtook the four *ordus* of Genghis Khan and the *ordus* of Kölgän and sent them back. He wintered on the Ongqin Mürän river.[2] Ariq Bökä, distraught and distracted, was on the river [Yus[3]] with emaciated and hungry troops on the Kämkämji'üt frontier. Fearing the arrival of the qa'an, he sent envoys and begged pardon, saying, "We younger brothers have committed a crime and done wrong out of ignorance. You are my elder brother. The rule is yours. Wherever you say, I will come, and I will not disobey my elder brother's command. **[623]** Let me fatten my flocks and horses and then come to you. Bärkä, Hülägü, and Alghu are also coming, and I am expecting their arrival." This is the message he sent.

When the envoys came before the qa'an and delivered the message, he said, "These boys went astray. Now they have sobered up and come to their senses by admitting their crime." As a reply he sent this message: "When Hülägü, Bärkä, and Alghu arrive there, let them send envoys, and when their envoys arrive we shall determine where we should gather. You must keep your word before then, and if you come before they arrive, so much the better." With this, he sent the envoys back and returned himself to his *ordus* at Qara'un Jidun, giving the expeditionary force leave to disband and go to their *yurts*. He also let Genghis Khan's and Kölgän's *ordus* go to their *yurts*, telling them to stay there. The qa'an stationed his cousin Yesünggä with ten *tümäns* of soldiers on the frontier of the *ulus* and told them to stay there until Ariq Bökä came, at which time they should accompany him.

At that time Hülägü and Alghu were in favor of the qa'an, and they were constantly sending envoys to each other. Hülägü sent envoys to reproach Ariq Bökä and keep him from action. He also sent envoys to the qa'an, as did Alghu. When he realized that Qaidu and Qutuqu were siding with Ariq Bökä, he attacked them several times and put them to flight. At that time the qa'an sent a message to Hülägü and Alghu, saying, "The provinces are in revolt. You, Hülägü, must take over and guard well the lands of the Tajiks from the banks of the Oxus to the river of Egypt and the Mongol soldiers who have disputed the good name of our ancestors.[4] Let Alghu command and keep the *el* and *ulus* from the Altai to the far side of the Oxus. I will guard this side from the Altai to the shores of the ocean."

Bärkä kept sending messages to both sides and trying to keep both happy.

When Ariq Bökä had fattened his horses

[1]Reading Qaralchu (see text p. 205) for the تابيچر of JT_K.

[2]The modern Ongin Gol.

[3]It has been suggested that JT_K's برس be read as يوس (Yus), a tributary of the Yenisei (Hambis, "Notes sur Käm," 300, note 69). It may also be another tributary of the Yenisei, the Us (see JT_{By} 254f., note 47).

[4]The last phrase, *va lashkar-i Mughúl ki nám-i nek-i ajdád-i márá tämächämishí kardaand*, "and the Mongol soldiers...," does not seem to fit the context. Perhaps the sense should be "against the Mongol soldiers...."

throughout the summer and autumn and had failed to keep his word, he mounted again to wage war on the qa'an. When he arrived near Yesünggä, who was positioned on the frontier, he sent an envoy to say, "I am coming to surrender." He thus took Yesünggä unaware and turned back Genghis Khan's and Kölgän's *ordus* as well as his own. **[624]** Crossing the desert, Yesünggä set out for the qa'an to inform him that the rebel was approaching. The qa'an sent a messenger to Taghachar and got together a force. [B400] He himself was in the forefront with Taghachar, Elji'itäi's son Hulaqur, Yäkä Qada'an, and the soldiers they had. Hulaqur, Nachin Gürägän, Därgäi Gürägän of the Ikiräs, Oradai, and Qada'an all performed outstandingly and fought well in the vanguard. Yesünggä did not participate in that battle because his men were scattered. During this expedition the qa'an and the aforementioned forces encountered Ariq Bökä on the edge of the desert, and they did battle at a place called Abji'a Kötägär[1] in front of a hill known as Khucha Boldaq and a *na'ur* [lake] called Shimu'ultai. They defeated Ariq Bökä and killed many of the Oyirat tribes.

When Ariq Bökä and his troops were broken and routed, the qa'an said, "Do not go in pursuit of them, for they are ignorant children. They must realize and feel sorry for what they have done." (A picture of this battle is as shown.)

Ten days later Möngkä Qa'an's son Asutai, who was Ariq Bökä's *gäjigä* [rear guard], caught up with Ariq Bökä and heard that Taghachar's army and the qa'an's other troops had turned back. Ariq Bökä and Asutai took counsel, turned back themselves, and gave battle in the afternoon on the edge of the sandy desert called Älät at Shirgän Naghur and Shilügälig hill. The qa'an's army broke Ariq Bökä's right wing, but his center and left wing kept fighting until evening and forced the qa'an to retire farther back during the night. Both armies retreated to their camps, but most of the soldiers perished on account of the long road and having to go on foot. During the winter both sides retired to their homes, where they spent the spring and summer.

After Ariq Bökä had asked Alghu several times to assist him with arms and provisions and received no answer, he mustered his army and set out against him. **[625]**

Alghu has a falling-out with Ariq Bökä and does battle with his army; Alghu is defeated but re-equips himself as Ariq Bökä loses strength.

When Ariq Bökä nominated Alghu, the son of Chaghatai's son Baidar, as head of the Ulus Chaghatai, Alghu set out on his way. When he reached Turkistan nearly a hundred fifty thousand horsemen gathered around him. Orghina Khatun, then the ruler of the Ulus Chaghatai, went to Ariq Bökä's court. Alghu dispatched Negübäi[2] Oghul with five thousand horsemen and one of his amirs named Uchachar, Habash Amid's son the *bitigchi* Sulayman Beg, and a *yarghuchi* named Abishgha to Samarkand, Bukhara, and the provinces of Transoxiana in order to guard the frontiers of those areas and carry out Alghu's orders.

When they arrived there, they put all Bärkä's dependents and liege men to death, even martyring on that pretext the *shaykhzada* of Islam, Burhanuddin, the son of the great Shaykh Sayfuddin Bakharzi. They seized all those people's property, animate and inanimate, some of the more valuable things were sent to Negübäi Oghul, and Uchachar went to Khwarazm.

During all this, Ariq Bökä's envoys

[1]Mentioned in the *Secret History* as Abji'a Ködeger (§187) and Abjigha Köteger (§191).

[2]Reading نیکبی (Negübäi, son of Chaghatai's son Sarban; see text p. 539 above) for JT_K's بیکی.

headed by Boritai Bitigchi, Yoshmut's son Shadi, [and] Äbügälün[1] delivered the decree that flocks, horses, and arms be taken away, and in a short time they had accumulated a great deal of property. [B405] Covetous of so much wealth, Alghu sought a pretext to arrest them until one day Alghu was told that they had said, "We have gathered these things at Ariq Bökä's order. What does Alghu have to do with them?" He took offense at this and in anger ordered them arrested and the property confiscated. His amirs said, "Now, as a consequence of your having taken such an action, Ariq Bökä's support will be lost, especially since Orghina Khatun has gone to complain and we do not have the ability to withstand her wrath. It would be best, now that we have revolted against Ariq Bökä, for us to fight on behalf of the qa'an." Fully agreed upon this, they killed the envoys and divided the property among the soldiers. When Ariq Bökä heard this, he flared up in anger and headed out against Alghu, saying, "Let the people of Qaraqorum accompany us." But the *imams*, *bakhshis*, and Christians said, [626] "This order is harsh. What can we do?"

"What ranks are these three groups going to break?" he asked. "And what good will they be in battle? Let them stay here and assist us with prayers. If the qa'an arrives, let them join him." So saying, he went out to fight Alghu. No sooner had he departed than the qa'an arrived in Qaraqorum with a large force and surrounded the city. He treated the people kindly, maintaining Ögödäi Qa'an's and Möngkä Qa'an's order that they be *tarkhan*, and then set out in pursuit of Ariq Bökä. Envoys arrived to report that there was chaos and confusion in Cathay due to the qa'an's absence, and therefore he returned to the capital of Cathay.

Qara Buqa, commander of Ariq Bökä's vanguard, did battle with Alghu in the vicinity of Bolad in a place called Süt Köl [Lake Sayram].[2] Alghu was victorious, and Qara Buqa was killed. Puffed up with pride in having defeated Ariq Bökä's vanguard and having killed Qara Buqa, Alghu retired unguardedly to the Ili River, where he camped in his own *ordus* and disbanded his forces. [B410] Asutai, who had been Ariq Bökä's *gäjigä* [rear guard], arrived, crossed the mountains called Temür Qahalqa [Iron Gates], selected troops *(ilghamishi)*, captured the Ili River and Almalyk area, and seized Alghu's *ulus*. Since Alghu's troops had been disbanded, he picked up his wife and the soldiers of the right wing that Asutai had not yet reached and fled to Khotan and Kashgar. On his heels came Ariq Bökä, who stayed at the Ili and Almalyk that winter, constantly engaged in revelry and in killing and plundering Alghu's people. One month later the soldiers who had fled reached Alghu, and he and his *aghruq* decamped and headed for Samarkand. Hülägü Khan's son Jumghur was suffering from a slight illness and asked Ariq Bökä for permission to go to Samarkand for treatment.

In Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat that started in Rabi' I 662 [1264], he parted from him, and since Ariq Bökä was shamelessly killing Alghu's innocent people and causing hardships, his commanders also left him, each one using some pretext or other, saying, "He ruthlessly kills the Mongol soldiers that Genghis Khan put together. Why should we not revolt and turn against him?" [627]

That winter they went no further forward, and when spring came there was such scarcity and famine in Almalyk that the sol-

[1] See text p. 545 above for the names of these three envoys. There "Äbügälün" is Äbügän Kä'ün. Boyle reads as Erkegün.

[2] For Bolad, see text p. 23 above.

diers had to feed their horses wheat instead of barley. Not having green grass to eat, the horses all perished, and many of the inhabitants of Almalyk died of starvation. Those who were left alive took refuge with God from the oppression of the soldiers and stretched out their hands in supplication.

One day Ariq Bökä was busy reveling and carousing when suddenly a fierce wind came and tore out the stakes and broke the poles of his court tent, resulting in the injury of several people. The court ministers and commanders took this as an omen of his demise and totally abandoned him. Ariq Bökä and Asutai were left there with only a few soldiers, realizing for certain that their distress was a result of the curses of the poor people who had died during the famine—and what doubt is there that many a palace has been destroyed by the cries of the oppressed!?

The sigh of an oppressed person at dawn is surely worse than arrows and spears.

At that time Möngkä Qa'an's son Ürüngtash was in Mongolia, in front of the Altai sands at the river called Jabqan Mürän.[1] [B415] When the commanders of a thousand arrived there they sent him a message saying, "We and our soldiers are going to consult with the qa'an. What say you?" Ürüngtash approved of this and agreed with them, sending an envoy to Ariq Bökä and demanding his father's great jade seal, which was with him. He sent it to him, and he, the *hazara* commanders, and soldiers went to the qa'an.

When Alghu was apprised of Ariq Bökä's weakened condition, he attacked him. Having learned of his advance and realizing how close he was, Ariq Bökä gave Orghina Khatun leave to depart in the company of Mas'ud Beg and sent her to Alghu to calm him down. Alghu married her and, in order to placate her, treated Mas'ud Beg kindly by making him divan chief of his realm and sending him to administer Samarkand and Bukhara. He went there, constantly took tribute from the subjects, [B420] and sent it to Alghu. Thereby Alghu recovered and reassembled his dispersed troops. Once he did battle with Bärkä's army and defeated it, and he pillaged Otrar. He died a year later. **[628]** Together with the amirs and viziers, Orghina Khatun elevated her son Mubarakshah to Alghu's place, as was said in the section on Chaghatai.[2]

Ariq Bökä goes in helplessness to the qa'an and confesses to his crime; his end.

When Ariq Bökä was abandoned by his soldiers and commanders, and the princes each went off on his own, he was left dumbfounded. With little or no alternative, he set out for the qa'an's court. Arriving there in Quluqana Yil, the Year of the Rat corresponding to 662 [1264], it was ordered that many troops be stationed, and it was commanded that Ariq Bökä perform *tägishmishi*. It is the custom in such cases that during *tägishmishi* a tent flap is thrown over the shoulders of the criminal. Covered in that fashion, he performed *tägishmishi*. After a time he was given permission to enter. He entered and stood in the place of the *bitigchis*. The qa'an looked at him for a while, and his fraternal compassion was stirred. Ariq Bökä burst into tears, and the qa'an too wiped away tears from his eyes and asked, "My dear brother, during this strife and contention, were we right or were you?"

"We were then," he replied, "but you are today."

An envoy from Hülägü Khan named Chingqun had come and was present. When he returned he reported the situa-

[1] The modern Mongolian river Dzavhan Gol, which empties into Ayrag Nuur and thence into Hyargas Nuur.

[2] See text p. 545f. above.

tion to Hülägü, who sent a message to the qa'an, saying, "How can it be appropriate to the Yasaq to allow a member of our family to do *tägishmishi* in this fashion or that our *aqa-ini* should suffer such humiliation?"

The qa'an heard and approved of these words and sent back the following reply: "Hülägü is right. I acted out of ignorance."

After that, he did not allow Ariq Bökä into his presence for a year.

During that time Ajiqi, the brother of the Abishgha who had been killed by Asutai, said to Asutai, "You killed my brother."

"Yes," he replied, "I killed him by order of the ruler of the time, Ariq Bökä. I did not want a member of our family to be killed by a commoner. Today the ruler of the face of the earth is Qubilai Qa'an. And if he so commands, I will kill you too."

The qa'an said to Ajiqi, "This is not the time for such talk. Their wrath is severe."

In the midst of this exchange Taghachar Noyan arose and said, "It is the qa'an's command that we should not investigate past affairs today but should be indulging in banquets and revelry." **[629]** The qa'an approved of this, so they quaffed goblets that day.

"Ariq Bökä is standing," said Taghachar. "Let the qa'an appoint him a place to sit." Qubilai indicated that he could sit with his sons. That day was spent in banqueting and revelry.

The next day at dawn the princes and great commanders, Otchi Noyan's [grand]-son Taghachar, Jochi Qasar's son Yesünggä, Hulaqur, Yäkä Qada'an, Ajiqi's son Ching Temür,[1] Shingqor's son Shirämün's son Ja'utu,[2] and Chaghatai's grandson Büri's son Ajiqi,[3] assembled at court. The qa'an ordered that Ariq Bökä's officers be seized and chained, and then he ordered that the following princes and commanders should sit and try Ariq Bökä and his officers and then report their findings: Princes Shirägi,[4] Taqai, Charaqu,[5] and Bai Temür, and the amirs Hantum Noyan, Dörbätäi, and the Bolad Chingsang who was in this land.

"I am the author of this crime, which has spread so wide," said Ariq Bökä. "They are not to blame."

This was unacceptable, and the qa'an said, "Tell the criminal officers, 'In the time of Möngkä Qa'an, the amirs of the age did [not] string a bow in his face, and there was only a slight difference of opinion. However, all the world knows how they were punished for the little rebelliousness they harbored in their hearts. You who have stirred up all this contentiousness and cast such strife and unrest among everyone that it has resulted in the loss of so many princes, officers, and soldiers, how will it be with you?' " All fell silent. [B425]

Then Tümän Noyan, who was the senior among them and of great "bone," said, "Officers, why do you not answer? Why have your eloquent tongues turned mute? On the day we seated Ariq Bökä on the throne we swore to each other that we would die before his throne. Today that day of death has come. Let us keep our word."

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[1]This is Ching Temür, son of Ajigi, son of Qara Hülägü, son of Chaghatai. In the *Yüan shih* he is called Chiyin Temür, but the Persian text consistently makes him Ching Temür. See Hambis, *Yuan che*, 62. Both Ching Temür and Ajigi are completely omitted from the genealogical section on Qara Hülägü, text p. 539 above.

[2]Ja'utu ~ Jaqutu, son of Shirämün, son of Shingqor, son of Jochi Khan. See text p. 518 above.

[3]Ajiqi, son of Büri, son of Mö'ätükän, son of Chaghatai. See text p. 535 above.

[4]Shirägi, Möngkä Qa'an's son.

[5]Charaqu was one of the numerous offspring of Otchigin Noyan. See p. 633 below, where he is given the title Otchigin. Taqai and Bai Temür may also have been of that clan; there is a Bai Temür who was a descendant of Jochi Qasar (see Hambis, *Yuan che*, 24).

"Well done," said the qa'an. "You have kept your word."

Then he asked Ariq Bökä, "Who incited you to sedition and rebellion?"

"Bolgha and Alamdar said to me, 'Qubilai Qa'an and Hülägü are both on expeditions, and the qa'an has turned the great *ulus* over to you. What do you think? Will you let them cut our throats like sheep?' I said, 'Have you consulted Dorji?' 'Not yet,' they said. I said, 'Consult Tümän, Toquz, Alichar, and Khucha,' [630] and they all agreed in council. Since Dorji was not there because of illness, I said, 'Summon him so we can finish this talk.' He too came and agreed in council. That group undertook this thing together, and of them only Tümän did not fail to disobey my orders, and he carried out whatever I ordered. It was Jibik Temür who caused harm, that is, he spoke words about the qa'an that were beyond the competence of one like him."

The amirs all said unanimously, "It was just as Ariq Bökä says. He is speaking the absolute truth."

"But Ariq Bökä himself instructed me," cried Jibik Temür. "How is he now attributing it all to me? Bulgha Aqa is a witness to this and knows it all."

Then the qa'an ordered Jibik Temür to confront *(tapishmishi)* Ariq Bökä. Jibik Temür repeated the same words to Ariq Bökä's face. This was difficult for Ariq Bökä to take, and he said, "If this is how it is, then you will live and I will die."

When this was reported, the qa'an realized that Jibik Temür's words were true and he let him go.

Then he consulted with all the elder and younger princes and said, "Bulgha Bitigchi has heard the words of Ögödäi Qa'an and Möngkä Qa'an. We will let him live. He can also be a witness in this case to Hülägü and the other princes." Upon the advice of all the princes he let him go. When Asutai learned of his release he said, "How can it be right for Bulgha to remain alive? I will confront him and expose his heinous crimes."

"You have quoted a Mongol proverb," Asutai said to Bulgha, "the meaning of which is that we have done something upon which we should [not] turn our backs or be negligent. This is your crime for which you should die." Bulgha Noyan not only did not deny it but even acknowledged it.

When his words were reported, the qa'an said, "Since it is so, let him be executed."

Elji'itäi's crime was greater that those of the others because he had made false accusations against Qada'an's son Qurumshi that resulted in his death. Therefore he was turned over to Qada'an to be executed.

Doquz's crime was also great, for he had a hand in killing many of the qa'an's people. All the aforementioned officers were executed. Güyük Khan's son Hoqu, Naqu's son Chabat, and Qarachar's son Totoq were sent to Turkistan along with several other princes.

After that, the qa'an wanted to try Ariq Bökä, and he would have waited for the arrival of Hülägü Khan, Bärkä, and Alghu, but since they were very far away [631] and it would have taken too long, the princes who were in the area, Taghachar, Yesünggä, Yäkä Qada'an, Hulaqur, Jibik Temür, [B430] Ja'utu, and other princes and commanders of Mongolia and Cathay assembled to put Ariq Bökä and Asutai on trial.

The princes and officers of Mongolia and Cathay try Ariq Bökä.

When ten of Ariq Bökä's officers had been killed and Ariq Bökä's own trial was begun, the monarch issued a decree to all parts of the realm. All the commanders took counsel and said, "How shall we look upon Ariq Bökä's and Asutai's crime? For the qa'an's sake, let us spare their lives." They sent envoys to Hülägü, Bärkä, and Alghu, saying,

"Since it is not possible for you to attend because you are too far away and too occupied with matters, and since there was a possibility, had we waited longer, for breaches to have been made in the fabric of the empire that could not have been repaired, we have therefore executed their officers, tried them, and are consulting with you. We brothers are all agreed that Ariq Bökä's blood should be spared and Asutai should be released. What say you?"

The envoys came first to Alghu and delivered the message. He replied, "I sat in Chaghatai's place without consulting the qa'an or Hülägü Aqa. When all the *aqa-inis* assemble and confirm whether I was right or wrong, if they exonerate me, and if I then have anything good or bad to say, I will say it."

After that, the envoys went to Hülägü Khan, who said, "Provided all the *aqa-inis* assemble, take counsel, and make a decision, then let it be so. When Bärkä sets out for a *quriltai*, we too will ride quickly." And he sent his own envoys along with the others to Bärkä to decide when they should go before the qa'an for a *quriltai*. When they arrived before Bärkä and reported the situation, he said, "Anything the qa'an, Hülägü Khan, and all the *aqa-inis* decide is all right. We too will set out in Hükär Yil, we will traverse the distance during Bars Yil, and we will accompany Hülägü Khan to a *quriltai* in Taulai Yil."

When the envoys returned and reported to the qa'an, Ariq Bökä and Asutai were permitted to give an oath of allegiance *(huljamishi)* and were brought into the *ordu*.

During the autumn of that year, which was the Year of the Leopard corresponding to 664 [1266], **[632]** Ariq Bökä fell ill and died. A dispute and battle broke out between Hülägü and Bärkä that will be mentioned in the relevant sections. They both died soon after that. (May God extend the kingdom of the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan for many years and innumerable generations, and may he enjoy long life and prosperity!) When their deaths were reported to the qa'an, he appointed Hülägü's eldest son Abaqa to his father's place as head of the Mongols and Tajiks of Iran, and he gave the Ulus Jochi to Möngkä Temür.

Alghu also came down with a long illness during that time, and he was unable to attend the *quriltai*. He also died, and Orghina Khatun, with the agreement of her amirs, sat her son Mubarakshah in Alghu's place. Baraq, the son of Yesünto'a, son of Chaghatai's son Mö'ätükän, asked the qa'an, "Why does Mubarakshah sit in my uncle Alghu's place? If it be so ordered, let me take over my uncle's position. My loins are girded in service and obedience." The qa'an gave Baraq a decree making him the commander of the *ulus* until Mubarakshah was grown. Baraq went and took Mubarakshah's place. Alghu's sons Chübäi and Qaban and their *aqa-inis* left Baraq and took their soldiers to the qa'an's court.

The Qa'an sends his sons Nomoghan and Kököchü with other princes to wage war on Qaidu; the princes plot treachery against them both.

When the qa'an's mind was at ease with regard to Ariq Bökä's sedition and revolt, the princes girded their loins in obedience to him—all except Qaidu, the son of Ögödäi Qa'an's son Qashin, and some of Chaghatai's sons. Qubilai Qa'an sent them an emissary to win them over and say, "All the other princes are here. For what reason have you not come? It is our wish that we be happy in seeing one another. After we consult on various matters, you will be shown all sorts of favor and allowed to return home."

Qaidu, who had no intention of submitting, excused himself saying, "Our animals are lean. When they are fattened up, we will

obey your command."

Three years passed with him making such excuses. After that, he and Qonchi Noyan together drove away the ___[1] who were attached to Möngkä Qa'an's son Ürüngtash [B435] and who were near them, **[633]** killing and plundering them. By this means they initiated sedition and strife, and therefore the qa'an sent his son Nomoghan with the following princes of the Right and Left Wings to deal with Qaidu's insurrection: Möngkä Qa'an's son Shirägi, Ariq Bökä's sons Yobuqur and Malik Temür, the qa'an's nephews Sögätäi's son Tuq Temür and Uruqutai,[2] and the qa'an's cousin Otchigin Charaqu, along with innumerable officers and soldiers under the command of Hantun Noyan.

Having summered along a river bank, the qa'an hunted for a few days and then parted from the others. During the hunt Tuq Temür and Shirägi came together and conspired, saying, "Let us together seize Nomoghan and Hantun Noyan and turn them over to the enemy." Tuq Temür tricked Shirägi by saying, "The rule will come to you, for the qa'an has treated us and our brothers very badly." During the night they seized the two. Nomoghan and his brother Kököchü were sent to Möngkä Temür, and Hantun Noyan was sent to Qaidu.

"We are much under obligation to you," Tuq Temür and Shirägi said to Qaidu, "and we haven't forgotten. We are sending you Qubilai Qa'an's sons and officers who were out to attack you. We must not harbor suspicions of each other but work together to repel the foe."

The envoys returned with the following message from Qaidu: "We are obliged to you, and we expect that you will remain in that area, where there is abundant water and grass."

Tuq Temür mounted and attacked Ögödäi's and Chaghatai's *ordus*, seizing the princes who were in charge, Sarban and Minqa Temür's brother, and letting it be known that the sons of Batu and Qaidu and the princes would be arriving together. They all decamped and set out in the company of Tuq Temür and Sarban when suddenly the qa'an's army led by Beglämish arrived and it became clear to the *ordus* that the rumor of Batu's and Qaidu's sons' arrival was false. Tuq Temür and Sarban had joined Shirägi and were fighting together against the qa'an's soldiers, and Tuq Temür, Shirägi, and Sarban took flight, headed for the Ba'arin tribe on the banks of the Irtysh River, where they began to equip themselves. Tuq Temür mounted from there to attack Qirqiz territory, but the qa'an's army arrived and plundered his *a'ughruq*. [B440] He turned back looking for it and asked Shirägi for assistance, but he did not respond. Tuq Temür took umbrage **[634]** and turned back. Chancing upon Sarban on the road, he tricked him too with a promise that the rule would go to him, his former promise to Shirägi notwithstanding.

At that time the distance between them and Shirägi was vast, but It Buqa of the ___ tribe was there, and he was attached to Shirägi. He raced to inform Shirägi, Malik Temür, and the other princes of the situation. Shirägi and Malik Temür assembled their forces, mounted on the ___[3] steppe, and sent an envoy to Tuq Temür, asking, "Why are you stirring up sedition and strife in the *ulus*?"

"There is no audacity or boldness in Shirägi," he replied. "I want Sarban to be ruler, for he has the capacity for it."

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[1] JT_K and JT_{B1} have بارين (Narin). Obviously a tribe or clan name, there is nothing with which to identify it. Perhaps read instead بارين (Ba'arin).

[2] Uruqutai ~ Uru'udai, a grandson of Kölgän. See text p. 225 above.

[3] The name in the text is جوركل. It has not been identified.

When Shirägi saw that he had no alternative, he sent word to Sarban, saying, "If you must be ruler, ask me for it. Why do you ask it of Tuq Temür?"

"Why should we ask you for the rule and have to come before you?" he replied. "You should rather come to us!"

When Shirägi realized that he could not oppose him, and if he did battle many soldiers would be lost uselessly, he came before them.

Meanwhile Tuq Temür summoned It Buqa, but he fled. He was pursued, and when they caught up with him he stabbed himself with a knife and killed himself.

After that, they agreed together that Sarban would sit in the higher position, and they forced Shirägi to give in by saying to him, "If you have come with true heart, then sent envoys this very instant to Batu's and Qaidu's sons and inform them that we have made Sarban our leader by our own choice." He sent envoys at once. Then they said to him, "Go to your own *ordu* and leave Malik Temür here until Yobuqur arrives." Shirägi informed Yobuqur, but he refused and would not go before Sarban. Tuq Temür led his army out against him, and when they were near, he sent a messenger to say, "We have decided thus in council. If you agree, well and good. If not, get ready for battle!"

Yobuqur sent the following reply, "I do not want to fight. I want a respite of five days to prepare myself for a *tägishmishi*." So saying, he got busy arranging his soldiers, and on the fifth day he came out with his army and drew up ranks for battle. Tuq Temür made a charge, but his entire army turned around at once and went over to Yobuqur. [Tuq Temür] managed to flee with twelve liege men. Three days later he arrived at some Mongols' tents wearing black felt and asking for water. They did not recognize him and brought some yogurt. Immediately thereafter a posse arrived looking for him, and when they got wind of him, **[635]** they set out after him. Coming suddenly across a brook full of water and mud, he said to his liege men, "It would be better for us to fight and die with a good name."

"You, a member of the family, will not suffer loss," they said, "but it will be bad for us." Having lost hope in his liege men, he threw down his weapons and was taken captive by the foe. They took him before Yobuqur. Shirägi asked Yobuqur for Tuq Temür, but Yobuqur said, "If you protect him you will be a great enemy to me."

"If he has done one bad thing," he replied, "he has done ten good things." It was to no avail. Tuq Temür was put to death.

Sarban came to Shirägi and said, "Tuq Temür made me do it." Shirägi took his soldiers from him so that he was left to wander about with only two or three liege men. After a time [the men Shirägi had taken] fled in droves to the qa'an. Shirägi wanted to go after them and bring them back, but he was afraid Sarban would stir up strife. So he sent him with fifty liege men to Jochi's [great-]grandson Qonchi. As it happened, their way lay through Sarban's *khaylkhana* in Jand and Özkand. Sarban's men assembled, seized the fifty liege men, and freed Sarban, who then mounted again with an army, waylaid Shirägi's *a'ughruq*, and told them to go to the qa'an. In advance he sent a messenger to inform of his situation. Shirägi was apprised and came to stage an encounter with Sarban, but his army at once went over to Sarban, and he was left alone. Sarban ordered five hundred horsemen to keep watch over him. When Yobuqur heard of this, he led his army out to encounter Sarban. His soldiers too went over to Sarban, and he too was captured and turned over to five hundred horsemen to be taken to the qa'an. Feigning illness, Yobuqur requested a few days' respite, but in secret he sent a great deal of cash and jew-

els to Genghis Khan's nephew Otchigin, whose *yurt* was in that area, and asked him for help. Without warning Otchigin attacked and waylaid the soldiers. Sarban managed to escape with only his wife. When one of Otchigin's warriors saw that his wife was fleeing, he set out to capture her, but she shouted out and Sarban turned back and felled the man with one arrow. He and his wife then went to the qa'an. Shirägi had already arrived when Sarban got there, but the qa'an did not allow him entry. It was ordered that he dwell on an island with extremely foul air, **[636]** and that is where he spent the rest of his life.

The qa'an rewarded Sarban with lands and troops, but he too died after a time. Yobuqur took Shirägi's and Sarban's *ordus* and entered Qonchi's horde. Malik Temür and Qurbaqa joined Qaidu. Shirägi's son Ulus Buqa joined Qonchi's horde, where he remained for a while. Yobuqur tired of serving Qaidu and fled to the qa'an, as did Ulus Buqa and his mother and *ordus*. When Jochi's grandson Möngkä Temür died, Tödä Möngkä was elevated to his position, and Noqai, Tödä Möngkä, [B445] and Qonchi consulted together and sent Nomoghan to the qa'an, saying, "We are all in submission. We will come to a *quriltai*." Qaidu also sent Hantun Noyan back, but he did not go to the *quriltai*. With this, [Noqai, Tödä Möngkä, and Qonchi] changed their minds. Nomoghan died a year later.

The Qa'an sends troops to Nankiyas and subdues that realm.

When the qa'an had let the Mongol troops rest from campaigning for several years, he said, "Since the realm of Cathay is completely subjugated, we should also take Nankiyas."

During Möngkä Qa'an's time, the ruler of that country maintained a firm friendship with Möngkä, and emissaries were always coming and going between them because the monarchs of Nankiyas were noble and of puissance, and in olden days they had held the kingdom of Cathay also. The Altan Khan of Cathay was of the race of Jurchids, who had revolted and seized the kingdom. Since the ancient emperors of Nankiyas, as will be explained in their history, which forms an appendix to this book, were enemies of the emperors of Cathay, they assisted Genghis Khan when he was conquering the realm of Cathay. More especially during Ögödäi Qa'an's reign they sent massive troops to render assistance in totally overwhelming the emperor of Cathay, as has already been said.

In the beginning Möngkä Qa'an intended to conquer Nankiyas, and Qubilai Qa'an even set out to do it, **[637]** particularly since his capital was Cathay and near the Nankiyas. However, every time he sent an expedition to their borders it failed. This continued until the year ___. Then a man named Bayan—a son of Kököchü, a great amir of Ba'arin "bone" whose grandfather Alaq Noyan had been executed on charges of a great crime[1]—fell by lot as a slave to Qubilai Qa'an, and since he was in Abaqa Khan's service in Iran, Qubilai Qa'an sent Sodon Noyan's son Sartaq Noyan along with Abdul-Rahman on a mission to summon him. (Abdul-Rahman remained behind here in order to settle the accounts of these provinces.) When Bayan arrived, the qa'an outfitted thirty *tümäns* of Cathay soldiers and appointed to head the army of Cathay Sämäkä Bahadur, a Cathaian officer from the city of Chaghan Balghasun [Chen-ting fu] who had surrendered during Möngkä Qa'an's time and performed valiantly and sincerely. As head of the Mongol army he assigned the aforementioned Bayan and

[1] See text p. 150 above.

Amir Achu,[1] a grandson of Sübädäi[2] Bahadur of the Uriangqat clan. He ordered that Sämäkä Bahadur be the leader of the joint army because his ordinance was severe and he had always performed well. Thus he sent them off to Nankiyas. Sämäkä had to return because of illness along the way, and Bayan and Achu became the commanders of both armies.

Since the expanse of the Nankiyas realm was extremely vast and their soldiers were innumerable, it was difficult to conquer and could only be accomplished over a long period of time. For nearly four years they made every effort and managed to conquer parts of it. After that, they sent messengers to the qa'an, saying, "The army is insufficient." Since the qa'an could not raise an army on short notice, [B450] he sent out a decree that all prisoners in Cathay should be brought forth—there were nearly twenty thousand men.

"You are all going to die or be killed," he said. "For my own sake I set you free. I will give you horses, arms, and clothing and send you to the army. If you perform well, you may become officers and men of standing."

He outfitted them, made the talented among them officers of units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten, and sent them off to join the great army. After that he sent an envoy to summon Bayan and Achu by post horse. They arrived with seven changes of relay, and he instructed them how to fight in battle. Then they returned. **[638]**

In the seventh year from the time they went to that country they did battle on the banks of the Gang Müräп River [Yangtse], beating seven *tümäns* of Nankiyas soldiers and capturing the country. They killed the emperor, Shaoju *[shao-chu]* by name,[3] and conquered the countries of Kandar, [I-ch'i-pu-hsieh], Maquman, Kalang, Kyay, Kafjih-Guh,[4] and others.

The kingdom of Solangqa [Korea], which had submitted during Möngkä Qa'an's reign but then reverted to rebelliousness, sent representatives to court when Qubilai Qa'an sat on the throne and submitted again.

He sent an army from the realm of Hindustan to Java, and they took it in battle. By boat he sent ambassadors to most of the realms of India for them to submit, and they were compelled to comply. Until now emissaries have been coming and going back and forth discussing the terms of submission.

He divided the realms of Nankiyas among the princes and stationed a contingent of soldiers in each part of that realm. Amir Bolad Chingsang, who is very familiar with the situation of that realm, reports that although it was the Nankiyas custom for only the nobles who led the people and had followings to be counted, the census there came to 990,000. There is no kingdom of greater extent, for it is written in books that five climes begin in that realm. This notwithstanding, it is uninterruptedly inhabited, and until the present those Mongol and Ja'uqut soldiers are resident there and have never left. Every *tümän* commander resides together with an army in a given realm, and

[1]The Achuqan of text p. 120 above.

[2]Read سوبدای (Sübädäi) for the JT_K's تودای.

[3]"Shaoju," for the Chinese 少主 *shao-chu* 'young ruler,' represents Kung Ti (恭帝), ruled 1275–1276. In the Appendix (Blair, *Compendium*, K17) as the last Southern Sung emperor, he is correctly given a reign of two years.

[4]Kandar ~ Qandar ~ Qandahar is Yunnan; see text p. 616 above. For the second name, reject JT_{BI}'s and JT_K's interpolation of وانکریوره and restore the MSS's اغکی بوره, which is probably to be read as Ighki-Buzih, a fair rendition of the *Yüan shih*'s I-ch'i-pu-hsieh, a tribe in southern China. The next three names, مقومان, کلنك, and کیای, have not been deciphered or identified. Kafjih-Guh is what Marco Polo calls Caugigu, the 交趾國 Chiao-chih kuo of the *Yüan shih*, i.e. Tonking.

the governorship of that area is entrusted to him along with four *bitigchis* representing the divan. When the taxes of a province are due, the qa'an's *yarligh* decree is sent to that officer, and he collects them from all the cities attached to that area in accordance with the order and remits them. None of them has any connection with any other labor. The members of the prisoner corps have all become officers of note and acquired summer and winter residences for themselves.

Now that the history of Qubilai Qa'an from his birth until the time he mounted the throne and completely conquered Cathay and Machin has been given, we will record several other stories pertaining to his realms, the regulations and rules he introduced, and the troops he stationed in every area and frontier of those provinces, God willing. **[639]**

The buildings the Qa'an made in Cathay, and the rules, customs, and regulations practiced in that realm.

The province of Cathay is an extremely vast and broad realm, and it is as thickly inhabited as possible. Trustworthy sources report that in the entire inhabited quarter of the globe the habitation and population that are there are to be found nowhere else.

There is a gulf, not very large, that extends inland from the ocean from the southeast along the borders and coast that separate Manzi and Kauli.[1] [B455] It comes into Cathay to within [twenty]-four leagues of Khanbaligh, and one can go that far by boat. Because of the nearness of the sea it rains a lot. Part of the country has a warm climate, and part has a cold climate.

In his time Genghis Khan conquered most of this realm, and then during Ögödäi Qa'an's reign the rest was taken. Genghis Khan and his sons had no capital in Cathay, as has been mentioned in every history; however, since Möngkä Qa'an gave that realm to Qubilai Qa'an, who, with his far-sighted view, could see what an extremely flourishing land it was and what important countries and realms neighbored it, he chose it as his capital. He designated as his winter residence the city of Khanbaligh, which is called Jungdu [Chung-tu] in Cathaian and had been an imperial capital. It had been chosen as a site in ancient times by astrologers and philosophers under a highly favorable ascendant, and it was always considered to be very auspicious and lucky. Since Genghis Khan had destroyed it, Qubilai Qa'an wanted to rebuild it, so for his own fame and reputation he built another city next to it. That city was named Daidu.[2] The two are contiguous, and the latter's ramparts contain seventeen towers with a distance of one league between every two towers. It is so flourishing that innumerable buildings have been built outside of every tower. All sorts of fruit-bearing trees have been imported from every country and planted in the gardens and orchards, and most have done well.

Inside the city he built a truly magnificent palace for his *ordu*. It is called Qarshi,[3] and its pillars and paving are all of marble. It is quite beautiful and very nice. Surrounding it are four [concentric] walls with a distance of an arrow shot between one wall and the next. The outer wall serves as a *kiriyäs*,[4] and the next inner wall is for the amirs to sit **[640]** who congregate every day at dawn. The third wall is for the *gäzigtäns* [bodyguards], and the fourth is for the elite. In the winter the qa'an resides in this palace.

[1] The gulf is the Bo Hai. "Kauli," Marco Polo's "Cauli," is for the Chinese 高麗 Kao-li, Korea.

[2] Marco Polo calls it Taidu, from the Chinese 大都 *Ta(i) Tu* 'great capital.'

[3] *Qarshi* (~~ORLC~~ харш) is the Mongolian word for palace.

[4] For the various senses of *kiriyäs*, see the glossary.

Artists have often illustrated it in history books, and its shape is as drawn.[1]

Khanbaligh and Daidu have a huge river that comes from the north, where summer pastures are located, from Chamchal.[2] There are other rivers too, and outside the city a very large *na'ur* [lake] has been constructed that is like a small sea. A dam has been made on it so that boats can be launched in it for pleasure cruises. The water of this river used to flow through another place and empty into the gulf that juts inland from the sea near Khanbaligh. Because the gulf in that vicinity was narrow and boats could not get through, cargos were mounted on animals and brought to Khanbaligh. The architects and wise men of Cathay determined and reported that it was possible for boats to come to Khanbaligh from most provinces of Cathay as well as from the capital of Machin, the city of Khingsai [Hang-chou], Zayton [Ch'üan-chou], and other places. The qa'an ordered a large canal cut, and the water of the aforementioned river, as well as that of another river that flows *ulam-ulam* [uninterruptedly] from the Qara Mürän [Yellow River] and others into the cities and provinces, was diverted into that canal. [B460] From Khanbaligh to Khingsai and Zayton, which is the port to Hindustan and the capital of Machin, is a forty-day journey by boat. Many dams have been built on this river to provide water to the provinces. When a boat reaches those dams, it and its cargo, no matter how large, are lifted by wench and crane and replaced in the water on the other side of the dam. The canal is more than thirty yards wide. Qubilai Qa'an ordered the walls of the canal sheathed in stone so that earth would not fall into it. Next to the canal is a large highway that goes to Machin, a forty-day journey. The entire length of the road is paved in stone so that when it rains a lot, animals will not get mired in mud. On the side toward the road, willow and other sorts of trees have been planted so that the entire length of the road is shaded, and no person, military or other, may break a branch from those trees or give leaves to his horses. On both sides are villages, shops, and temples so that the whole forty-day route is inhabited.

The walls of Daidu are made of earth, **[641]** for it is the custom in that country to set up two boards and then pour damp earth into the area between them and tamp it down with a big stick until it is firm. Then they take the boards away, and it is a wall. Because there is so much rain there and the earth is not strong, even such strong walls get damp, so at the end of his life the qa'an ordered stone brought, for he intended to face the wall with stone, but he died. God willing, Temür Qa'an will be able to finish it.

The qa'an wanted to build another such palace in his summer residence in the city of Kaimin Fu [K'ai-p'ing fu],[3] which is fifty leagues from Daidu. There are three roads from the winter residence to that place. One is the road that has been made a *ghoruq* [preserve] for hunting; only official envoys may travel that road. The second goes to [Fu-chou[4]] along the banks of the Sangin [Sang-kan] river,[5] where there are many

[1]Illustration lacking, regrettably.

[2]Chamchal, for Chabchiyal, the Mongolian name of the Chü-yung (居庸) Pass northwest of Peking. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:310 §183, and text p. 324 above.

[3]The text's كيمين فو is for 開平府 K'ai-p'ing fu, Qubilai's summer residence Marco Polo calls "Chemeinfu," the name of which was changed to 上都 Shang-tu (modern Shangdu, and whence "Xanadu") in 1263 although Persian texts perpetuate the older "Kaimin Fu" (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:256).

[4]The name in the text is جوجو, with many variants, including the telling خوجو; according to Pelliot ("Une Ville musulmane," 276) this is a textual corruption of فوجو (Fuju) for the Chinese 撫州 Fu-chou, the one mentioned on text p. 321 above.

[5]The 桑乾 Sang-kan River (the modern Sanggan-he).

grapes and fruits. There is another town near the city, and it is called Simali.[1] Most of the people there are from Samarkand, and they have built many gardens after the manner of Samarkand. The other road is via a low hill called Singling. Once past the hill, it is all open plain and grassy meadow as far as the city of Kaimin Fu [K'ai-p'ing fu]. Previously the summer residence was in the aforementioned city of Fuju[2] [Fu-chou], but then Kaimin Fu was chosen. To the east of it he built himself a *qarshi* called Lang Tan [Liang Tien].[3] One night he had a dream and abandoned it. He consulted with the wise men and architects over where another palace could be built. They agreed that the place with the best qualities was the *na'ur* [lake] in a meadow next to Kaimin Fu. They wanted to drain the lake. In that country is a stone used in place of kindling.[4] They gathered a lot of the stone and much charcoal and filled in the *na'ur* and its source with pebbles and small pieces of pottery. [B465] Then they melted tin and lead over it to seal it tight. They raised it above the surface of the earth to a man's height and built a plinth on top of that. Since the water had been trapped inside the earth, over time it seeped out in other directions into more distant meadows, and springs began to flow. On top of the plinth they built a *qarshi* [palace] in the Cathaian style. All around the meadow a wall of marble was made, and from the wall to the *qarshi* they placed a wooden barricade so that no one could enter the meadow. All sorts of game animals were gathered in the meadow, and they have multiplied. **[642]**

In the midst of the city they built a smaller palace and *qarshi*, and they made a lane from the outer *qarshi* as a private passageway into the *qarshi*. For a *kiriyäs*, a wall was built around the *qarshi* at a distance of one bow shot. Most of the time the emperor resides in the *qarshi* outside the city.

There are many magnificent cities in that realm, and each one has been given a name that contains a special derivational significance. The ranks of governors can be known from the titles of the cities so that there is absolutely no necessity for anything to be written in edicts or for there to be any discussion as to which governor of which city has precedence. In assemblies they have no dispute over seating, for it is clear from every rank which governor must rise to greet another or bend the knee. The titles and ranks are as follows: first rank, *ging [ching]*; second rank, *du [tu]*; third rank, *fu [fu]*; fourth rank, *ju [chou]*; fifth rank, *chi*; sixth rank, *gün [chün]*; seventh rank, *hiyan [hsien]*; eighth rank, *jen [chen]*; ninth rank, *sun [ts'un]*.[5] The first is used of a vast realm, such as Anatolia, Fars, or Baghdad; the second is used of a country that is a

[1]Simali for the Chinese 洗馬林 Hsi(en)-ma-lin. See Pelliot, "Une Ville musulmane."

[2]Again correcting the text's جوجو to فوجو (Fuju) per Pelliot.

[3]From the Chinese 涼點 *liang tien* 'cool pavilion.'

[4]Marco Polo, to whom coal was as unknown as it was to Rashiduddin, comments: "It is true *again* that through all the province of Catai there is *found* a kind of *large* black stones which are dug from the mountains as veins, which burn *and make flames* like logs *and consume away like charcoal*. They keep up the fire *and cook* better than wood does. Moreover I tell you that if you put them on the fire in the evening and make them catch well, I tell you that they keep fire all night so *well* that one finds some in the morning. *These stones make no flame except a little at first when they are lighted, as charcoals do, and staying thus glowing they give great heat*" (Marco Polo, *Description* 1:249).

[5]The terms are as follows: 京 *ching* is 'capital' or 'imperial residence'; 都 *tu* is 'capital, metropolis'; 府 *fu* is a first-class city or seat of a district; 州 *chou* is a second-class city; it is unclear to what Rashiduddin's "*chi*" is meant to refer; 郡 *chün* is a subprefecture; 縣 *hsien* is a small market town subordinate to a prefecture of the first or second class; 鎮 *chen* is a large village or small market town; and 村 *ts'un* is 'village.'

monarch's capital; and so on down to the seventh, which is used for small cities; the eighth is for towns; and the ninth for villages and plantations, although *mazin [mo-hsien]* is also used for plantations and villages. Ports and harbors are called *matau [ma-t'ou]*.[1] Such rules and organization do not occur in other countries. Most of the administrative affairs of the realm are organized along these lines. [B470]

The officers, viziers, and bitigchis of Cathay, details of their ranks, the rules and regulations that pertain to them, and the technical terms of that group.

Great officers who hold the office of deputy or vizier are called *chingsang [ch'eng-hsiang]*, army commanders are called *taifu [t'ai-fu]*, a commander of ten thousand is *wangshai [yüan-shuai]*, and officers, viziers, and deputies of the divan who are Tajik, Cathaian, and Uyghur are called *finjan [p'ing-chang]*.[2] It is customary for there to be four *chingsangs* from the great officers in the divan. The four *finjans* from among the great officers of various peoples like the Tajiks, Cathaians, Uyghurs, or *ärkä'üns* [Christians] also have representatives in the divan.

The officers' and governors' posts are according to rank, **[643]** and their ranks are as follows. Of the first rank are *chingsangs*; they hold the posts of vizier or deputy. The second rank is *taifu*, which is an army commander. Regardless of how great a *taifu* may be, he defers to a *chingsang*. The third rank is *finjan*, which is a divan deputy or vizier from various peoples. The fourth rank is *yuching [yu-ch'eng]*, the fifth is *zuching [tso-ch'eng]*, the sixth is *sam-jing [ts'an-cheng]*, the seventh is *sami [ts'an-i]*, the eighth is *lanjun [lang-chung]*,[3] and the ninth is not known, but all scribes are under him.

In Qubilai Qa'an's time the following officers were *chingsang*: Hantun Noyan, Uchachar, Öljäi, Tarkhan, and Dashman. At the present time Hantun Noyan is no longer alive, but the rest are still in office and serve together as Temür Qa'an's *chingsangs*. [B475] The rank of *finjan* was formerly given only to natives of Cathay, but at present it is also given to Mongols, Tajiks, and Uyghurs. The chief *finjan* is called *shu finjan*, meaning the cream of the *finjans*. At the present time, which is the reign of Temür Qa'an,[4] the head of all is Bayan Finjan, the son of Sayyid Nasiruddin and grandson of Sayyid Ajall. He, i.e. Bayan Finjan, is also called Sayyid Ajall. The second is Umar Finjan, a Mongol. The third is Täkä Finjan, an Uyghur. Formerly there was Lachin Finjan, a nephew of Amir Su'unchaq; and at present there is his son, Karmana by name. The fourth is Yighmish Finjan, who has taken Temür Finjan's place. He too is an Uyghur.

Since the qa'an resides most of the time in Daidu, which they call *shing [sheng]*,[5] a place has been made in which they hold the great divan. It is customary for a deputy to be present who has charge of the gates. *Bularghus* [ownerless properties] that are taken are carried before that deputy,[6] and he investigates. The name of that divan is *lisha [li-ssu]*. When they make an investigation

[1]瑪頭 *ma-t'ou* 'port city.'

[2]For the terms see Doerfer, *TMEN*: *ch'eng-hsiang* (丞相), 1:310f. §184; *t'ai-fu* (太佛), 1:374f. §250; *yüan-shuai* (元帥), 4:229f. §1935; *p'ing-chang* (平章), 1:377f. §254.

[3]For the terms see Doerfer, *TMEN*: *yu-ch'eng* (右丞), 1:554f. §407; *tso-ch'eng* (左丞), 3:215f. §1201; *ts'an-cheng* (參政), 1:342 §215; *ts'an-i* (參腋), 1:342 §216; *lang-chung* (郎中), 1:492f. §358.

[4]Note that from here to text p. 649 the narrative switches to "the present," i.e. Temür Qa'an's reign.

[5]*Shing*, Marco Polo's *scieng*, is the Chinese 省 *sheng* 'secretariat.' The secretariat in Peking was the 中書省 *Chung-shu-sheng*, the 'Grand Secretariat'; see Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:370f. §247; Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:827–29.

[6]For *bularghu*, see Doerfer 1:213–15 §93.

they write down the minutes and send them along with the *bularghu* to the *lusha [lu-ssu]* divan, which is higher in rank. From there it is sent to the third divan, which is called *chubiyuwan [shu-mi yüan]*.[1] From there it is sent to the fourth divan, [B480] which is called *tunjinyuwan [t'ung-cheng yüan]*; affairs dealing with post stations and couriers pertain to it.[2] The last mentioned three divans are all under the supervision of the [first] divan. Then it is taken to the fifth divan, called *zhushitai [yü-shih t'ai]*, which deals with military affairs.[3] Thence it goes to the sixth divan, which is called *sanwisha [hsüan-wei ssu]*.[4] That is where all envoys, merchants, and comers and goers report. It also deals with *yarlighs* and *paizas*. **[644]** At present it is under the exclusive supervision of Amir Dashman. When a matter has been taken through all six divans, it is then taken for inquiry to the Great Divan, which is called *shing*.

"Fingerlines" of persons interrogated are taken. The meaning of the word "fingerline" is as follows.[5] It has been ascertained by experience that the finger joints of people are different. Whenever a deposition is taken from anyone, the paper is placed between his fingers, and on the back of the deposition they draw a line around the place of his finger joints so that, if he ever denies it, they can compare it with the marks of his fingers. If they match, he cannot deny it.

When a matter has been carefully passed through all the divans in this fashion, it is reported to the throne, and whatever action is ordered is carried out.

It is customary for the aforementioned officers to go to the *shing* every day to investigate persons and administer the affairs of the realm. The four *chingsangs* also sit in, and the other office-holders and *bitigchis* sit according to rank. In front of each one is placed a *shirä*, which is something like a stool, on which is placed an ink stand. Normally that is where they are. Each officer has a mark and a seal. Several *bitigchis* are employed whose duty is to record the name of each individual who comes every day to the divan so that their salaries can be docked if they do not come for several days. If anyone comes seldom to the divan without a good excuse, he is discharged from office.

The four *chingsangs* report directly to the qa'an.

The Khanbaligh *shing* is huge, and several thousand years worth of records are kept there. They are well kept, and they maintain good records. There are nearly two thousand employees in that *shing*.

There is [not] a *shing* in every city, only in places that are capitals of many cities or provinces, like Baghdad, Shiraz, and Konya in Anatolia. There are twelve *shings* in the qa'an's realm, but there are no *chingsangs* other than in the Khanbaligh *shing*. There are, however, an officer, who serves the combined functions of *shahna* and *amir*, and four *finjans*. Other divans and posts are as recorded. The twelve places that have

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[1]The 樞密院 *Shu-mi yüan* was the Bureau of Military Affairs (Farquhar, "Institutions," 30).

[2]The 通政院 *T'ung-cheng yüan* was the Bureau for Transmission Services, which operated the state postal system (Farquhar, "Institutions," 30).

[3]The 御史臺 *Yü-shih t'ai* was the Censorate, which investigated official conduct (Farquhar, "Institutions," 30).

[4]The 宣徽司 *Hsüan-wei ssu* was the Pacification Office (Farquhar, "Institutions," 34). For the terms see Doerfer, *TMEN*: *lisha*, 4:19 §1734; *lusha*, 4:17f. §1732; *chubiyuwan*, 3:45f. §1060; *tunjinyuwan*, 2:642f. §985; *zhushitai*, 3:216 §1202; *sanwisha*, 3:281 §1277.

[5]It is clear from his definition that Rashiduddin had only the vaguest idea what a fingerprint was. He thinks it has to do with the joints *(band-i angushthá)* and calls it *khatt-i angusht* 'finger line.' I hesitate to translate the Persian term as 'fingerprint' because *khatt-i angusht* is obviously a construction Rashiduddin has made up to describe a phenomenon he does not really understand.

shings are as follows.

First is the *shing* of Khanbaligh and Daidu.[1] [B485]

Second is the *shing* of the province of Jürcha [Manchuria] and Solangqa [Korea]; this divan has been placed in the city of Chuwanju [Ch'uan-chou],[2] which is the largest **[645]** city in Solangqa. Ala'uddin Finjan, the son of Husamuddin Sam-jing of Almalyk, and Hasan Zuching are there.

Third is the *shing* of the province of Kauli [Korea] and Kauguli,[3] a separate kingdom, the king of which is called *wang*. Qubilai Qa'an gave him his daughter in marriage, and his son is one of the qa'an's intimates, but he is not the *wang* there.

Fourth is the *shing* of the city of Namging [Nan-ching], which is a large city in the kingdom of Cathay on the banks of the Qara Müren [Yellow] River and one of the old capitals of Cathay.[4]

Fifth is the *shing* of the city of Yangju [Yang-chou], a city on the border of Cathay. Prince Toghan is there.[5]

Sixth is the *shing* of the city of Khingsai [Hang-chou], the capital of Manzi.[6] Ala'uddin Finjan, son of Sayfuddin Taghachar Noyan is there with a Cathaian liege man named Suching, as are Umar Finjan Manzitai and Beg Khocha Tusi Finjan. [B490]

Seventh is the *shing* of the city of Fuju [Fu-chou], a Manzi city. Formerly the *shing* was there, but it was taken to Zayton and then brought back.[7] The governor there was once Zhen, the brother of Dashman, but now it is Bayan Finjan's brother, Amir Umar. Zayton is the port for boats, and the governor there is Baha'uddin Qunduzi.

The eighth is the *shing* of the city of Lukin Fu.[8] It is a town in the province of Manzi, one side of which belongs to Tangqut. Bayan Finjan's brother Hasan Finjan and Lachin Finjan's brother, also named Hasan,

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[1]This is the Central Secretariat of the Metropolitan Province (modern Hebei, Shandong, Shanxi, and the eastern part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region). See Farquhar, "Institutions," 34.

[2]This is the Liao-yang Secretariat, which included modern Liaoning and Jilin. The text's چونچو (Chuwanju) is, according to Blochet (JT_{BI} 485), "vraisemblablement la ville de Tchhouen-tschéou [川州 Ch'uan-chou] qui faisait partie du Taï-ning-lou, second district du Liao-yang." Tempting though it may be, the text's چونچو has nothing to do either with the modern Chongju of North Korea or with the modern Ch'ongju or Chonju of South Korea.

[3]This is the Cheng-tung Secretariat (modern Korea). Rashiduddin's "Kauli," Marco Polo's "Cauli," is the Chinese 高麗 *Kau-li* for Korea; see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:234. The second name, "Kauguli" (کوکولی in the text), is problematic; see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:234.

[4]This is the Hu-kuang Secretariat (modern Hunan, Guangxi, and parts of Guangdong and Guizhou). Its seat, 南京 Nan-ching, is the modern Kaifeng.

[5]This is the Honan-Chiang-pei Secretariat (modern Henan, Hubei, Jiangsu, Anhui). Its seat, Yangchou (揚州), is the modern Yangzhou in Jiangsu.

[6]This is the Chiang-che Secretariat, which included modern Zhejiang and Fujian. Rashiduddin's خینکسای (Khingsai) and Marco Polo's "Quinsai" transcribe the Chinese 京署 *ching-shu (king-shu)*, 'the capital,' i.e. the capital of the Southern Sung, which is the modern Hangzhou in Zhejiang.

[7]Fu-chou, Marco Polo's "Fugiu," is the modern Fuzhou in Fujian. Rashiduddin must be referring here to the Ching-hsi Secretariat, which included modern Jiangxi and eastern Guangdong. The question of the removal of the *shing* to Zayton and the subsequent restoration to Fu-chou is much more intricate than is indicated here; see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:588–93 for a discussion of this problem and also for the identification of Rashiuddin's "Zayton," Marco Polo's "Çaiton," with Ch'üan-chou (泉州), the modern Quanzhou in Fujian.

[8]This should refer to the Ssu-ch'uan Secretariat (the modern Szechwan/Sichuan), which became a separate province in 1286 (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:814). There was a town in Ssu-ch'uan called Lung-k'ing fu, with which Rashiduddin's "Lukin Fu" would correspond, but, as Blochet comments, "sa position géographique ne concorde en rien avec ce que dit Rashid" (JT_{BI} 492).

are governors there.

Ninth is the *shing* of [Kongi],[1] which the Tajiks call Chin-i-Kalan. It is an extremely large city on the seacoast below Zayton. It too is a great seaport. The governors there are a man named Noqai and Ruknuddin al-Tustari Finjan.

Tenth is the *shing* of Qarajang, which is a separate kingdom. There is a large city there called Yachi [Ya-ch'ih], and that is where the *shing* is.[2] The inhabitants are all Muslim, **[646, B495]** and the governors are Yaghan Tegin and Ali Beg's son Ya'qub Beg, who is descended from Yalavach.

Eleventh is the *shing* of Kenjanfu [Sian], one of the cities of Tangqut province.[3] Mangqala's son Ananda is there, and the governors are Dashman Finjan's brother Qaitmish and Umar Khita'i. Ananda's *yurt* is in a place called Chaghan Na'ur, and he has built a *qarshi*.

Twelfth is the *shing* of Qamju [Kanchou],[4] which is also a Tangqut city. It is a very large realm with innumerable dependencies. Ajiqi resides there, and Amir Khojo is also there as governor.

Since these provinces are distant from one another, there is a prince or officer of consequence resident in each one, along with troops. It is to him that the inhabitants of the province and administrative affairs are referred, and he keeps order and guards the province. The *shing* of each province is in the largest city of the area, and every *shing* is as large as a village, since they have been constructed with many houses and chambers, outbuildings, and dependencies. To it are attached many working slaves and servants, and the rules and regulations of the divans are extremely tight and excellent. It is the custom for some criminals and lawbreakers to be killed and for others to be stripped of their families and possessions and sent, without a single family member, to dig clay, pull wagons, or carry stones so that when people see officers and important people in such a state they may learn a lesson. Their regulations and organization are of many sorts. There are many stories of all sorts concerning that realm, but since the history of that area will be given separately in an appendix, this much must suffice here.

The lands that border the Qa'an's realm; a mention of the princes and officers who are stationed with troops to guard the frontiers.

To the southeast the qa'an has no enemies, for all the countries that lie on that side as far as the ocean are inside his empire—save only a large island in the sea near the coast of Jürcha [Manchuria] and Kauli [Korea]. It is called Jimingu.[5] **[647]** It is nearly four hundred leagues in circumference and has many cities and villages. It has a separate ruler, and he is, as he was before, unsubdued. The inhabitants are short of stature and have short necks and large bellies. There are many mines there.

Directly to the east to the shores of the ocean and the borders of Qirqiz territory there is no enemy. To the southwest of Manzi, between the provinces of Kongi

[1]Reading, for JT_K's and JT_{BI}'s كورلكى, كورنكى (Kongi, a corrupt form of Kuang fu, a shortened form of 廣州府 Kuang-chou fu, Canton). See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:276.

[2]This is the Yün-nan Secretariat (modern Yunnan). Ya-ch'ih, Marco Polo's "Iaci," is the modern Kunming in Yunnan.

[3]This is the Shang-hsi Secretariat (modern Shaanxi) with its capital at 西安 Hsi-an (Sian), which is rendered in Persian as كين چانفو Kenjanfu, Marco Polo's "Quengianfu," for 京兆府 Ching-chao fu, the name of Hsi-an under the Chin. See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 2:813f.

[4]This is the Kan-su Secretariat (modern Gansu). Qamju, Marco Polo's "Campçio," is 甘州 Kan-chou, the modern Zhangye in Gansu.

[5]The "Jimingu" of the text is for the Chinese 日本國 Jih-pen kuo, i.e. Japan, which Marco Polo calls "Çipingu."

[Canton] and Zayton, there is an immensely large forest along the coast. One of the sons of the ruler of Manzi escaped into it, and although he has no power or strength, he lives by robbery and banditry.

To the south is a province called Kafjih-Guh [Tonking]. It has thick forests, and it borders the province of Qarajang, part of Hindustan, and the shore. There are two cities there, Lochak and Khainam.[1] It has a separate ruler who is inimical to the qa'an. The qa'an's son Toghan, who resides in Lukin Fu in Manzi with troops, guards the province of Manzi and keeps watch against that foe. Once he went with his soldiers against the cities on the coast, took them, and stayed on the throne one week. [B500] Then, without warning, their army sprang an ambush from the sea, forests, and mountains and attacked Toghan's soldiers, who were busy collecting booty. Toghan got out safely and is still resident in Lukin Fu.

To the northwest, which is the border of Tibet and the "Gold-Tooth" people, there is no foe except in the one direction that is a *[sübä]* with Qutluq Khwaja's army.[2] However, there are formidable mountains in between and the enemy cannot enter. Nonetheless, some soldiers have been stationed to guard that direction.

The northeast adjoins laterally Qaidu's and Dua's territory,[3] and from their border to the border of the qa'an's realm is a forty-day journey through the wilderness. Soldiers and scouts are stationed along the borders on both sides to keep watch. Occasionally battles erupt. This border of the qa'an's realm is a one-month journey in extent, stretching eastwards. Soldiers and scouts are necessary in most places. Starting in the east princes and officers have been stationed with troops. In the extreme east Prince Kammala, a full brother of the qa'an's, has been stationed with troops. Next down from him is Görgüz Gürägän,[4] the qa'an's son-in-law. Next down from him is Jungqur, the son of the Totaq who was one of Qubilai Qa'an's great commanders. Next down from him is Nankiyadai,[5] the son of Nayan Kübügächi, who was also a great commander. **[648]** Next down from him is Kököchü, the qa'an's uncle. After that comes the province of Tangqut, which is commanded by Mangqala's son Ananda, who is stationed there with troops along the border of Chaghan Na'ur. Next down from him is the border of Qara Khocho, the city of the Uyghurs. There is good wine there. It lies between the qa'an's frontier and Qaidu's, but they get along with and serve both. Next down reside Chaghatai's grandson Prince Ajiqi and Alghu's son Prince Chübäi. Then come the forbidding mountains of Tibet, which have already been mentioned. It is not possible to travel along the roads of this territory in summer because of the lack of water, and in winter one has to drink the water from snow while traveling.

The princes and great commanders who are in attendance upon and attached to the Qa'an.

[1] "Apparently the Leichow Peninsula and Hainan Island are meant, though these identifications are not altogether satisfactory" (JT_{By} 285). See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:242–44.

[2] See note to text p. 658 below.

[3] All the directions in this section are slightly skewed. Tibet is given as northwest of Cathay, and this probably should read *southwest*, while Qaidu's and Dua's territory (the Imil River and Tarbagatai Range) should be north, not northeast.

[4] By "next down" *(zer-i ú)* throughout this section, Rashiduddin means down geographically, proceeding from the extreme northeast, through Tangqut and Uyghuristan, to the southwest (Tibet).

[5] This name is given in the MSS without few or no dots. Blochet (JT_{Bl} 501, note b) suggests reading Tägätädäi; Boyle (JT_{By} 286) reads Nankiyadai.

One of the princes is Toqta Kä'ün,[1] the son-in-law of Amir Öljäi Chingsang; he administers Taghachar's *uruq* in Nayan's place. When Nayan was killed an edict was promulgated that every slave and captive they had captured should be given back. They all gathered around him. Another, ___, the son of Tögüz Khatun, one of the wives of ___, resides in the *yurts* on the Onon and Kerulen. Khaishang, the son of Asutai's wife Taiki, who was extremely beautiful and is married to the qa'an, is a prince. Törä Oghul and Yasar are two brothers. Köchü's son Sösä of Ögötäi Qa'an's *uruq* is a great prince. Of Chaghatai's *uruq* is Ajiqi, son of Büri, son of Mö'ätükän; he is the eldest of all the princes in age, and at present he is extremely grand and important.

Of the qa'an's sons-in-law who are known, one is the son of the ruler of Solangqa [Korea]. [B505] Another is Manzitai of the Qunqirat tribe. He has a daughter named Ünägäjin. Another is the son of the ruler of Manzi, who long ago was the ruler [of Cathay] but [whose line] has now been deposed. He serves the qa'an as a son-in-law and officer.

The history of Sayyid Ajall Bukhari's son, who was the Qa'an's vizier, and of his grandson, Bayan Finjan.

Sayyid Ajall Bukhari was Qubilai Qa'an's vizier after Yalavach,[2] **[649]** and the qa'an entrusted the province of Qarajang to him. When Qubilai Qa'an went to that province at Möngkä Qa'an's order and his army was hungry and naked, he came forward and performed so well that Qubilai Qa'an undertook to serve as his patron at Möngkä Qa'an's court, and thus he did. Möngkä Qa'an received him warmly and rewarded him greatly. When it was Qubilai Qa'an's turn to rule, he rewarded him with the post of vizier and sent his son Nasiruddin as governor in his stead in the province of Qarajang. He served as vizier for twenty-five years, and neither did an *ayqaq* [informant] ever come forward against him nor was he touched by any calamity. He died a natural death, which is a truly rare occurrence. Nasiruddin remained as governor in Qarajang and came to make a presentation to the qa'an. He died sometime within the last five years and was buried in his garden in Khanbaligh. Prior to that, Nasiruddin['s son] Abubakr, who is now known as Bayan Finjan, was sent to Zayton as governor.

When Sayyid Ajall died, Amir Ahmad Fanakati became the qa'an's vizier with discretionary powers. During the time that Chabui Khatun was still in her father's house Amir Ahmad was on intimate terms with them, and when she became the qa'an's wife he became an attendant in her *ordu*, acquired influence, and became the chief of all the amirs with power over the entire realm. The officers of Cathay grew jealous of him. Jimgim in particular was so contemptuous of him that one day he hit him on the head with a bow and cut his face. When he came before the qa'an, the qa'an asked, "What has happened to you?"

"A horse kicked me," he replied.

Jimgim was present. He was offended and said, "Are you too ashamed to say that

[1]The Mongolian title *kä'ün ~ kävün ~ kö'ün*, like the Turkish *oghul*, means 'son' and is used for prince. This is the first undoubted instance of its use in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh*. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:455f. §321

[2]There is some unwarranted interpolation into the text here. The text has "Sayyid Ajall Bukhari's grandson," but the grandson is Bayan Finjan Sayyid Ajall II, to whom a section is devoted below (p. 659f.). Sayyid Ajall I was Shamsuddin Umar (ca. 1210–1279), whose name was transcribed into Chinese as Sai-tien-ch'e Shen-ssu-ting Wu-ma-eul. He was the administrator of Yunnan from 1274 to 1279, and his son Nasiruddin and his grandson Husayn succeeded him in the administration of the province. See Grousset, *Empire*, p. 601, note 31.

Jimgim struck you?" And in the very presence of the qa'an he struck him many times with his fist. Ahmad was constantly in fear of him.

During the summer of that year, when the qa'an was about to go from Daidu to his summer residence, he stationed Ahmad and an officer named Tärkän of the Qipchaq tribe as heads of the divan and treasuries to guard the *qarshi*. The amirs of Cathay who were present and in attendance conspired, bearing old grudges and hatreds, to assassinate him. **[650]**

The history of Amir Ahmad Fanakati, who was the Qa'an's vizier, and how he is killed by Gau Finjan; Manzi is conquered by Gau Finjan.

During Qubilai Qa'an's time Amir Ahmad Fanakati Finjan was the qa'an's vizier. A Cathaian named Gau Finjan was also vizier. Since Amir Ahmad had total authority, they called him *shu finjan*, meaning "awake vizier." *Shu* is a title for great *finjans*. Gau Finjan had many followers, and he was jealous of Amir Ahmad.

During the summer mentioned above, when the qa'an stationed him over the *qarshi* and divan of Khanbaligh and Daidu, Gau Finjan hatched a plot with a group of Cathaians to assassinate him. However, a slave, one of Amir Ahmad's retinue, got wind of it and informed him. By night Amir Ahmad took forty select horses from among the qa'an's personal geldings that had been tied in the barley fields and set out. [B510] The Cathaians learned of it and, when it was day, got to a village five leagues away called Shandai (the Tajiks call it Deh-i-Khula and Sayyid Ajall's *yam*). The Cathaians, having traversed the way previously, did not allow him to cross the bridge. Then he tried to get across the river, but the Cathaians blocked his way. During all this, Gau Finjan caught up with them, grabbed Amir Ahmad's halter, and said, "The Qa'an has stationed us here to tend to the affairs of the divan. Why are you going without having consulted us?"

"The Qa'an has summoned me," he replied, "and I am going."

Gau Finjan would not allow him to proceed, and during this discussion four envoys arrived from the qa'an, headed for Khanbaligh. When Amir Ahmad saw them, he cried out, "I'm going to the Qa'an, but they won't let me."

"The Qa'an has sent us to summon Amir Ahmad," the envoys said.

"He has stationed us to deal with divan matters," said Gau Finjan, "and we have business with this man."

The envoys insisted and obtained his release. He proceeded and joined the qa'an at his summer residence. He got a black platter, scattered pearls on it, laid a knife on top, covered it with red silk, and took it to the qa'an.

"What is this?" asked the qa'an. "And what does it mean?"

"Before now, when I came to court," he replied, **[651]** "my beard was black like this platter. It became white like these pearls in service. Gau Finjan wants to make my beard as red as this silk with a knife." In this manner he reported the situation as it happened, and the envoys who had witnessed it confirmed what he said.

The qa'an ordered them to go arrest Gau Finjan, but since he had realized that the situation had been reported, he took flight to Sayan Fu [Hsiang-yang fu], which is on the border of Manzi on the banks of the Qara Mürän [Yellow River], half on one side and half on the other.[1] In olden times half the taxes were paid to the emperors of Cathay, and the other half were paid to the emperors of Manzi, for such was the truce

[1]Sayan Fu (襄陽府 Hsiang-yang fu) is the modern Xiangfan in Hubei on the Han, not the Huang (Yellow), River.

between them. When Cathay came under Mongol control, the emperor of Manzi took control of the whole of the city. On this side of the town is a strong fortress, strong walls, and a deep moat, and no matter how often the Mongols went against it, it couldn't be conquered. When Gau Finjan went there, he was an officer of influence and renown, and the people were encouraged by his arrival and relied on him. He became an amir of influence there too.

The qa'an ordered Bayan to go in pursuit of him with a troop. Before that there had not been any large Frankish catapults in Cathay, but Talib, a catapult-maker from this land, had gone to Baalbek and Damascus, and his sons Abubakr, Ibrahim, and Muhammad, and his employees made seven large catapults and set out to conquer the city. Gau Finjan sent a spy to the commanders of the army to say, "I have committed no crime. There was bad blood between me and Amir Ahmad, and we tried to have each other assassinated. Now I have fled here in fear. If the Qa'an spares my life, I will turn the city over to him. This city is the key to Manzi, and when it is taken, all the rest of the kingdom will fall."

Gau Finjan's messenger was sent to the qa'an to report the situation. The qa'an rewarded him and sent a writ of safe conduct and a sword. He was encouraged by this. The army then trained their catapults on the fortress and destroyed the towers. Gau Finjan made a hole from inside and got out. **[652]**

When the emperor of Manzi was apprised of the destruction of the towers and Gau Finjan's treachery, he abandoned the fortress and went with many people to the other side of the river. [B515] As Bayan took this side of the fortress and was killing and plundering, [the emperor] and the army escaped from the other side, but he was unable to make a stand anywhere against the qa'an's army, and so all the realm of Manzi capitulated and was conquered.

Gau Finjan joined the qa'an's army, and when he came to the qa'an's court he was singled out for all sorts of rewards and was reinstated in his post of *finjan* as before. He became a partner to Amir Ahmad.

Amir Ahmad held the post of vizier honorably for nearly twenty-five years. After the Gau Finjan episode, he served jointly with him for nine more years, hating and despising him as before. After nine more years Gau Finjan tried once again to assassinate Amir Ahmad. This came about as follows.

A certain Cathaian claimed holiness and sanctity and made himself known in the *ordus* for his asceticism and piety. One day he pretended to be ill and sent several of his disciples to the officers, saying, "I shall die and come back to life in forty days." They came and spoke [to the officers, who] sent a group to investigate, and they found him lying in his house as though dead, his sons weeping and wailing. They imagined that he was really dead. After forty days he came out and gave out the news that he was alive. The Cathaians gathered around him, and he was thriving mightily.

Gau Finjan and the lords of Daidu came to consult with him on how to deal with Amir Ahmad. Since Amir Ahmad was highly cautious and watchful and always had guards with him, and it was not known where he slept, they decided they would send two thousand men to the valley four leagues out of Daidu known as Chamchal, which they would hold. One thousand men would spread the word that Jimgim was coming. Amir Ahmad would go out to greet him, and they would kill him. Gau Finjan sat in a palanquin. (It is the custom of rulers there sometimes to sit in palanquins, and at night they usually travel in them.) From the valley heralds and messengers were sent continuously to say that Jimgim (of whom Ahmad was afraid) was

coming. All those he sent ahead were killed. **[653]** By night they proceeded with torches and candles, as was the custom of rulers, and when they were near the *qarshi*, Amir Ahmad went out to offer a cup. They took him down and killed him. Amir Tärkän, his liege man, had exercised precaution and sensed that something was amiss. Standing afar with his liege men, he reached for an arrow and shot Gau Finjan dead in the palanquin. With this the Cathaians fled. Tärkän sat in the *qarshi*. That night much killing and great disturbance occurred. The Cathaians fled into nooks and crannies. When it was reported to the qa'an, he ordered Amir Bolad Aqa and Hantun Noyan to take troops and kill all the Cathaians who had stirred up the trouble. He also ordered four thousand bars given for the expenses of Amir Ahmad's funeral, and he sent grandees and officers to bury him in state.

Forty days later the qa'an was looking for a large stone to have mounted on his crown, but it couldn't be found. There were two merchants there, and they came and said, "We brought a large stone for the Qa'an and gave it to Amir Ahmad."

"He didn't bring it to me," the qa'an said. Then he sent out for a search to be made of Amir Ahmad's house, and it was found in the possession of his wife, Enchü Khatun. She was brought before the qa'an, who was highly offended by this action and asked the merchants, "If a slave did such a treacherous thing, what would his punishment be?"

"If he was still alive," they replied, "he would have to be killed. If he was dead, he would have to be taken out of his grave and dishonored so others would learn a lesson."

The Cathaians had also said to Jimgim, "He was your enemy. That's why we killed him." Thus they had planted a hatred for him in the qa'an's heart. He therefore ordered him taken out of his grave, a rope bound to his feet, his body hanged in the crossroads in the marketplace, and wagons driven over his head. [B520] Enchü Khatun was also killed. The forty other wives and four hundred concubines he had were pardoned, but his property was forfeited to the treasury. His sons Amir Hasan and Amir Husayn were taken away and skinned alive. His other children were spared.

After his death the vizierate was given to an Uyghur named Sanga, **[654]** who held sway over the realm for five or six years. His story will be given next.

The story of Sanga the Uyghur, who was the Qa'an's vizier after Amir Ahmad, and how he met his end.

During Sanga's vizierate a group of Muslim merchants came from Qori, Barqu, and Qirqiz territory to the qa'an's court and presented as a gift a white-legged falcon with a red beak and a white eagle. The qa'an rewarded them and gave them food from his own table, but they did not eat it. "Why don't you eat?" he asked. "Because this food is carrion to us," they replied. Offended, the qa'an ordered that Muslims and People of the Book should no longer slaughter sheep [in their own fashion] but should slit the breast and side as in the Mongol manner. Anyone who did slaughter a sheep [in the Muslim fashion] would be killed, and his wife, children, and property would be confiscated.

Isa Tarsa Kalimachi, Ibn-Ma'ali, and Bunduq, who were the prime evil troublemakers of their time, used this edict as a means to obtain a decree stating that they could execute anyone who killed a sheep even in his own house. With this pretext they seized much property from people, and they duped slaves of Muslims by saying, "If you inform on your master, we will set you free." In order to obtain their own release they informed on their masters and accused them of the crime. Isa Kalimachi

and his accursed followers went so far that for four years Muslims could not even have their sons circumcised.

Our lord Burhanuddin Bukhari was a student of the late Shaykhu'l-Islam Sayfuddin Bakharzi, and he was a preacher in Khanbaligh. He was falsely accused and sent to Manzi, where he died. Conditions became so bad that most of the Muslim grandees [left the country]. Baha'uddin Qunduzi, Shadi Zhuchang, Umar Qirqizi, Nasiruddin Malik Kashghari, Hindu Zhuchang, and other men of consequence banded together and accepted to pay a large sum to Sanga the vizier so that he would report to the qa'an as follows: "All the Muslim merchants have departed, **[655]** and no one is coming from Muslim territories. The *tamgha* [customs] is bankrupt, and *tansuq*s are not being brought—all because for the last seven years no one has been able to kill a sheep. If so commanded, let them slaughter them so that the merchants will come and customs taxes may be collected." An edict was so promulgated.

Again, since the Christians practiced great fanaticism against the Muslims during the qa'an's time, they hatched a plot and said, "There is a verse in the Koran that says 'Kill all the polytheists.' " They reported this in such a way that the qa'an was offended and said, "How do you know this?"

"A letter in this regard came from Abaqa Khan," they said. The qa'an asked for the letter and summoned the scholars. He asked the chief of them, Baha'uddin Baha'i, "Is there such a verse in your Koran or not?"

"There is," he replied.

"Do you think the Koran is God's word?" the qa'an asked.

"Yes," he said.

"Since God has ordered you to kill the infidels," he said, "why don't you do it?"

"The time has not yet come," he answered, "and we do not have the power."

The qa'an flared up in anger and said, "I at least do have the power!" And he ordered him executed. Amir Ahmad the vizier, Qazi Baha'uddin, who also held the rank of vizier, and Amir Dashman managed to forestall the order on the pretext that they would ask others. They summoned Mawlana Hamiduddin Sabiq Samarqandi, who was a cadi, and the qa'an asked him the same question.

"This verse exists," he said.

"Why don't you kill them?" asked the qa'an.

"God has said, 'Kill the polytheists.' If the Qa'an orders me to say who the polytheists are, I will tell him."

"Speak!" said the qa'an.

"Since you write the name of the great god on your edicts, you are not a polytheist. A polytheist is someone who does not recognize God, ascribes a partner to Him, or denies His existence."

The qa'an was highly pleased, and the mawlana's words took root in his heart. He honored Mawlana Hamiduddin, and the others obtained release through his words.

In short, Sanga served as vizier for seven years. One day by chance the qa'an asked him for a few pearls.

"I don't have any," he said.

There was at the qa'an's court a man from Damghan named Mubarakshah, and he was intimate with the qa'an, who believed everything he said. He was just waiting for a chance to attack Sanga. Immediately he said, "Sanga has a load of pearls and jewels in his house. I've seen them. Let the Qa'an keep him occupied while I go bring them from his house."

The qa'an kept Sanga occupied near him, [B525] and Mubarakshah brought a pair of chests from Sanga's house. **[656]** When they were opened, they were found to contain fine pearls and matchless gems. The qa'an showed them to Sanga and said, "How is it that since you have such pearls,

you didn't give me any when I asked for a few?"

Ashamed, Sanga said, "The Tajik lords gave them to me"—and this was the group of whom each one had been appointed as governor of a province.

"Why didn't they bring me pearls and gems too?" the qa'an asked. "You bring me ugly raw fabrics and take matchless jewels for yourself."

"They gave them," said Sanga. "If the Qa'an so orders, I'll give them back."

Since he had spoken so boldly and impolitely, the qa'an ordered him arrested. Filth was stuffed in his mouth, and he was executed along with Hindu and some of the Tajik officers who were there. Word was sent to have the others, who were in Manzi, arrested. When Baha'uddin Qunduzi, Malik Nasiruddin Kashghari, Umar Qirqizi, and Shadi Zhuchang were brought, he ordered that they be killed too. "I asked Baha'uddin Qunduzi's father for him," he said. He shouted at him, struck him several times on the face, and had him pinioned with a *doshakha* and thrown into a dungeon. Of Nasiruddin he said, "I summoned him from Kashgar. Give him back his property." When he was rewarded, since he was a generous man with many admirers, no sooner had he mounted than many people also mounted to ride with him. Along the way he came across Amir Gäräi Ba'urchi, who was so old he had to travel in a palanquin. Malik Nasiruddin did not see him because of the great crowd and thus did not notice his greeting. Amir Gäräi was offended, and Pahlavan Malik of Badakhshan, who once came here, said to him, "This is the Malik Nasiruddin they were going to kill. No sooner was he released than he got carried away by pride and conceit. Now he has so many horsemen riding with him and every year he sends more than a thousand *tanga*s to Qaidu's army."[1] Gäräi was offended, and when he reached the qa'an's court he accused him falsely. An edict was issued for him to be brought back and executed.

Prince Ajiqi interceded on Umar Qirqizi's and Shadi Zhuchang's behalf and got them pardoned. The qa'an also released Baha'uddin and appointed Öljäi Chingsang in Sanga's place.

The Qa'an's great officers; the names of their chief men and the function of each.

One of the qa'an's great officers was Bayan Noyan of the Ba'arin tribe who was taken from here **[657]** and died eight months after the qa'an. He had sons and daughters.

Another is Hantun Chingsang, who was seized along with Nomoghan and died one year before the qa'an.[2]

Another is Uchachar Noyan, who is still in power at present and holds his post with Temür Qa'an, as does Öljäi Chingsang. Dashman is also still influential and is in charge of *yarlighs*, *paizas*, *ortaqs*, and persons who come and go.

Tarkhan Chingsang is more influential now than he was before and serves in the divan.

Naliqu, Jirqalan, and Chirtaqu are three brothers in charge of the *qushchis* [falconers] and the bureaux of *totqavuls* [highway patrols] and *gätüsüns* [state police].[3] [B530]

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[1]The *tanga* was the main unit of Mongolian currency and continued to be issued throughout the post-Mongol period. It was taken to India with the Timurids and was one of the main units of weight and currency in the Mughal Empire. The word *tanga* has ultimately given the modern Russian word for money, деньги. It has also been resurrected recently as the unit of currency in Kazakhstan, the тэнгэ, and in Uzbekistan as the танга. See Doerfer, *TMEN* 2:587–92 §946.

[2]For the story of the seizure of Hantun and Nomoghan, see text pp. 632–35 above.

[3]For *totqavul* see Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:251f. §124. For *gätüsün* see ibid. 1:488f. §353.

With all they command they need only speak for someone to be arrested. Naliqu died two years after the qa'an.

Badam Noyan was the grand *qushchi* [falconer] and brother of Su'unchaq Aqa. When he died his son Lachin Finjan became the chief officer of the *bitigchis*. He too died, and at present his son Yäkä Finjan occupies his position and is in charge of the bureau of *yams* [post stations].

Gäräi Ba'urchi died after the qa'an.

One of the great officers of the army was Ambai, who was the commander-in-chief. He still occupies that post at present. Muqbal Finjan was the *bökä'ül* of the army, and he still is. Hoqotai was the commander of four *gäzigs* and still is.

The commanders of the *sükürchis* [parasol bearers] are Ismail, Muhammad-shah, Akhtachi, Mubarak, Turmish and his brother Yighmish. Yighmish was brought up by Temür Qa'an, and he records the qa'an's words, as is their custom.

The Qa'an does battle with Nayan Noyan of Taghachar Noyan's offspring and the princes who conspired with him; Jimgim is made heir designate.

It is related that in Qaqai Yil corresponding to 68[6],[1] Nayan Noyan of Taghachar Noyan's offspring, a descendant of Otchi Noyan, rebelled along with some of the sons of Yesünggä Aqa and other princes, who became alienated from the qa'an and set out to join Qaidu and Dua. The qa'an's army went out in pursuit and did battle, but they overwhelmed the army. When the news was brought to court, although the qa'an was suffering from rheumatism and was old and weak, he set out in a palanquin on the back of an elephant. The qa'an's army was almost defeated, but the elephant with the palanquin was driven up a hill and the battle drums were sounded. [658] Nayan Noyan and the princes fled with their troops, and the qa'an's army went out in pursuit. They were taken captive by their very own soldiers and brought before the qa'an for execution. [B535] Their troops were divided and dispersed. After that, the qa'an could not move very much because of the gout, and the troops resided on Dua's and Qaidu's borders.

In previous years, before Nomoghan was seized by Qaidu's troops, there had been talk of Nomoghan's becoming the heir designate, and that is what the qa'an had in mind. After that, when he saw how intelligent and competent Jimgim was, he loved him exceedingly, and when Tödä Möngkä sent Nomoghan back, the qa'an said that Jimgim should be elevated as emperor. This was hard for Nomoghan to take, and he said, "When he becomes qa'an, what will they call you?" The qa'an, offended, reprimanded him, drove him away, and said, "Let him not come before me again." Nomoghan died not long thereafter. The qa'an elevated Jimgim to the rule, and he was emperor for three years. He too died, and they sealed his throne. His wife, Kökächin by name, was extremely intelligent, and the qa'an was on very good terms with her. She had the ultimate say-so.

Toward the end of the qa'an's reign there was a rebellion in a Manzi province called Lukin [Lung-hsing] on the coast below the province of Sayan Fu. To deal with it he sent [the Mongol commanders Yighmish and Tarkhan, the Cathaian commander Suching], and the Tajiks Ghulam Samjing and Sayyid Ajall's brother Umar Yuching with troops. They crushed them and plundered.

On the front with Qaidu and Dua, the *qaravuls* [scouts] were constantly skirmishing, but there was no major battle. At the end of the qa'an's reign Dua mounted an

[1] The Year of the Pig was 1287, which was 686 of the Hegira. The missing *sitta wa-* should be restored to the text.

expedition and came to the border and *sübä*,[1] where Chübäi was watching the frontier with twelve thousand men. Dua wanted to make a surprise attack on him, but he got wind of it and attacked Dua's vanguard by night, killing three or four thousand men. Informed during the night, Dua had all his troops mount, and they clashed at dawn. Many were killed on both sides. Chübäi had mounted in great haste without informing Ajiqi or Ananda, and consequently he was unable to offer a resistance and had to flee. When Ajiqi was informed, he sent word to Ananda to mount. By the time they had gathered their troops and mounted, however, Dua had already withdrawn and so the troops were unable to catch him. This situation was one reason for Dua's boldness against the qa'an's troops. When the qa'an was apprised, he blamed Ajiqi and had him beaten nine blows. **[659]** Later, however he restored him to favor and sent him back at the head of the troops, where he remains in command of the border until today. Qaban, Chübäi's elder brother, had died some time before this battle.

It is well known that the realm of Turkistan was first devastated by Alghu, then by Qaban, Chübäi, Baraq, and Qonchi's son Nayan, who were princes of the Right Wing who were initially with Qaidu but later submitted to the qa'an. [B540]

The history of Sayyid Ajall, the Qa'an's vizier who was entitled Bayan Finjan.

One of the grandsons of the late Sayyid Ajall was named Abubakr. The qa'an entitled him Bayan Finjan, made him a liege man to Öljäi, and assigned him as *finjan*, i.e. divan chief. He was vizier for two years in Qubilai Qa'an's time, and during that period *ayqaqs* [informants] against him arose from the qa'an's divans and reported that he had lost 6,000,000 bars. The qa'an questioned him, and he replied, "I left this money with the subjects because there had been three disastrous years. There was no crop, and the subjects were impoverished. Now, if the Qa'an so orders, I will sell their wives and children and transfer the money to the treasury. However, the realm will be destroyed."

The qa'an was pleased by his compassion for the subjects and said, "All the high-ranking officers worry about themselves, but Bayan Finjan worries about the kingdom and the subjects." He rewarded him highly and garbed him in jewel-studded robe with a belt, and then he turned over all administrative affairs to him.

Around the same time Kökächin Khatun, Temür Qa'an's mother, summoned Bayan Finjan and said, "Now that you have been rewarded so well, and the Qa'an has turned over the administration to you, go ask him what he intends to do about Jimgim's throne, which has been sealed for nine years now." (At that time Temür Qa'an had gone

[1] This word (سونیه) is read by Boyle as سویه *(sübä)*, a Mongolian word meaning eye of a needle or narrow passage. Doerfer *(TMEN* 1:349–51 §227) sees the word as *sibä*, which, in all its variants *(sibä ~ shibä ~ sübä)* and misspellings (legion), means wall, barricade, palisade, and the like. It is without doubt the same as the سوینه on text p. 647 above, where, as here, it seems to mean barrier in the sense of frontier border, and it also occurs on text p. 675 below. Blochet *(JT*$_{BI}$ 536, note *l*) defines the word correctly without offering a reading: "il signifie une portion de la frontière de l'empire chinois gardée par un cordon de troupes réparties tout le long de cette ligne." There is also a distinct possibility that it is what is meant by the obscure phrase *manglai SWYH* found some two hundred fifty years later in Mirza Haydar Dughlat's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (text p. 9, trs. p. 7) when he speaks of the area Chaghatai gave to Ortu Börä, i.e. *manglai sübä* 'front barrier,' or some such. True, this does not accord with the definition he gives (*áftáb-rú*, 'facing the sun'), but the original sense may have been lost by his time. The area of which he speaks is exactly the territory between Qara Khocho (near Turfan) in Uyghuristan and Tibet where Chübäi and Ajiqi were stationed (see text p. 648 above).

on an expedition against Qaidu and Dua.) Bayan Finjan repeated the question, and the qa'an was so overjoyed that he got up from his sick bed, summoned the officers, and said, "You have been saying this *sarta'ul* [Persian] is a bad man. It was he who was compassionate enough to report the subjects' plight, and now he speaks of the emperor's throne and is concerned for my children lest quarrel and dispute break out after me."

Once again he rewarded Bayan Finjan and gave him his grandfather's grand title of Sayyid Ajall. He honored him and his seven brothers **[660]** who were present with *yarlighs* and *paizas* and said, "Mount this very instant and bring back my grandson Temür, who is riding with the army against Qaidu, and seat him on his father's throne as qa'an. Hold banquets for three days and make him monarch. After that, let him mount and ride with the army."

Sayyid Ajall went as ordered, turned Temür Qa'an back, and sat him on Jimgim's throne in Kaimin Fu [K'ai-p'ing fu]. Three days later he set off with the army, and Sayyid Ajall returned to court.

Temür Qa'an loved wine inordinately—so much so that the qa'an often advised him against it and tried to stop him, but it did no good. Things got so bad that he had him beaten three times and set guards over him to keep watch so he wouldn't drink. He had an attendant scholar named Razi from Bukhara, who claimed to have a knowledge of alchemy and talismans. Through trickery and sleight-of-hand he had wormed his way into Temür's heart, and he often used to drink wine in secret with Temür. The qa'an was very angry with him for this, and no matter how hard they tried to keep him away from Temür, it couldn't be done because he was a sociable man and a good conversationalist. Since the guards and watchmen stood in the way of Temür's drinking, on Razi's instruction they would go into the bath and tell the attendant secretly to pour wine instead of water into the channel so that it would go through a pipe into the pool and they could drink it. The guards found out about it and reported it to the qa'an, who ordered Razi kept away by force. Then he sent him on some pretext to Shingi, and he was killed in secret along the way.

Now that Temür has become qa'an he has voluntarily given up wine and drinks little and rarely. God removed the love of wine from his heart when he attained great fortune, for otherwise Qubilai Qa'an was never able to stop it with insistence or by force.

Although he is young, only twenty-five years old, he suffers constant pain from the gout. He used to ride in a palanquin atop an elephant, but at present he rarely does it on account of the superstitiousness of the people.

The bakhshis who were and are in attendance upon the Qa'an, and a mention of their influence.

At the end of Qubilai Qa'an's reign there were two Tibetan *bakhshis*, one named Tanba and the other Kanpa.[1] **[661]** Tanba Bakhshi's two front teeth were so long that he could not put his lips together. [B545] They resided in the qa'an's private temple, which the Nankiyas call Dai Miau, and they were related to each other. They had great influence over the qa'an and were grand *bakhshis*. Their lineage went back to the kings of Tibet. Although there were and are many Cathaian and Indian *bakhshis*, the Tibetans have more influence.

There is another *bakhshi*, a Kashmiri called Qarantas Bakhshi. He is also of importance. Temür Qa'an still believes in

[1]Tanba Bakhshi is the Tibetan grand lama whose name the Chinese transcribe as Tan-pa. See JT_{BI} 543, note *r*. The text's "Kanpa" is probably the Tibetan *m-khan-po* 'master, lama'; see JT_{BI} 544, note *b*.

them, and the two Tibetan *bakhshis* are dominant and in control. They have made their servants who know medicine attendants upon the qa'an, and they keep Temür Qa'an from eating and drinking too much. When there is an occasion to make him stop, they beat two sticks against themselves so that the sound of the sticks can be heard, and Temür Qa'an is thus warned and decreases the amount he drinks. He attaches great importance to what they say. One story of Tanba Bakhshi's influence will come in the next section on Temür Qa'an, God willing.

The death of Qubilai Qa'an.

In Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse that corresponds to 693 [1294], after ruling for thirty-five years Qubilai Qa'an died at the age of eighty-three,[1] bequeathing the transitory world to his grandson, the qa'an of the age, the renowned monarch, Temür Qa'an. May God cause his *urugh* to enjoy many years of success and fortune, especially the Shahanshah of Islam, the most magnificent sultan, "master of the necks of nations," Ghiyasu'd-dunya wa'd-din Öljäitü Sultan Muhammad—may God extend his reign forever.

A summary and short history of the emperors of Machin and the sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, &c. who were contemporaries of Qubilai Qa'an from the beginning of Bechin Yil, the Year of the Monkey corresponding to 658 [1260], through Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse corresponding to 693 [1294], as well as the unusual events that occurred during this period. [662]

History of the emperors of Machin.

Lizun [Li Tsung] [ruled for] forty-one years, twenty-six [of which were] before, and fifteen [of which were] after this period.[2]

Tuzun [Tu Tsung] [ruled for] ten years.[3]

After Tuzun, "Shaoju" became emperor of that realm.[4] When two years of his reign had passed, Qubilai Qa'an's troops took the realm entirely.

History of the sultans.

In Anatolia was Sultan Izzuddin Kayka'us, the son of the Sultan Ghiyasuddin Kaykhusraw. He was defeated by the Mongol army under the command of Baiju Noyan at Kösä Dagh. He ruled jointly with his brother, Sultan Ruknuddin. Mu'inuddin Parvana not only was Ruknuddin's administrator but raised him too. A dispute arose between the [two brothers], and Sultan Izzuddin ceded the rule to his brother and went to the land of Nicaea. From there he went before the Byzantine emperor in Istanbul. When Bärkä's troops arrived in Istanbul, they took him before Bärkä, and he was given the rule of the city of Crimea, where he died. His brother Ruknuddin was killed by the infidels in 664 [1265–66], and his [brother Qilich Arslan's] son Ghiyasuddin Kaykhusraw succeeded to the rule. He was killed in Erzinjan, [B550] and after him the sultanate went to Kayka'us' son Ghiyasuddin Mas'ud, who is presently sultan.[5]

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[1]Qubilai was born on September 23, 1215 (27 Jumada I 612), ascended the throne on May 5, 1260 (22 Jumada I 658), and died on February 18, 1294 (20 Rabi' I 693). He would have been eighty years old by our calculation but eighty-three calculating by the lunar years of the Hegira. For the Western dates see Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:566.

[2]Li Tsung (理宗) of the Southern Sung, r. 1225–1265.

[3]Tu Tsung (度宗) of the Southern Sung, r. 1265–1275

[4]"Shaoju," for the Chinese 少主 *shao-chu* 'young ruler,' represents Kung Ti (恭帝), r. 1275–1276.

[5]The Rum Seljuqs mentioned here are as follows: Izzuddin Kayka'us II, r. 1246–1248. Kayka'us II and

In Diyarbekir and Mosul was Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu'.

In Egypt and Syria was Aybak the Turcoman. He gained dominion over Egypt. He had several disputes with the lord of Aleppo and Damascus, but in the end they made peace. Quduz rebelled against the Turcoman and killed him, and he gained control over Egypt and Syria. After Hülägü Khan took Aleppo and Damascus and withdrew, Quduz, together with the commanders of Syria and Egypt and the khans of Khwarazm who were the remnants of Sultan Jalaluddin's army, **[663]** did battle with Ket Buqa Noyan.[1] Malik Nasir Salahuddin Yusuf was the lord of Syria. When he went to see Hülägü Khan he was executed on the Mush plain, and when Quduz retired from the battle with Ket Buqa Noyan, Bunduqdar killed him and usurped the kingship. When Bunduqdar returned from Anatolia and the battle with Toqu and Tödä'än, he died, and Alfi became ruler. After Alfi, his son Ashraf succeeded.[2]

In Kirman was Sultan Qutbuddin. When he died he left two sons, Muzaffaruddin Hajjaj and Jalaluddin Soyurghatmish. The title of sultan went to Sultan Hajjaj, but the absolute rule was in the hands of Tärkän Khatun. Since Tärkän Khatun's daughter Padishah Khatun was married to Abaqa Khan, she used to come to court every two or three years and return laden with honors. Once she came here, and when she was returning home, Sultan Hajjaj went out to welcome her. Before they met he grew anxious and went back to Kirman and then set out for Hindustan, where he sought refuge with Sultan Shamsuddin of Delhi. He was there for nearly fifteen years, and then he died. Tärkän Khatun was extremely just, and administrative affairs in Kirman went smoothly because of her fairness and equity. During Sultan Ahmad's reign she had came to the *ordu* and died in the vicinity of Tabriz. Her body was taken back to Kirman, and the rule was settled upon Jalaluddin Soyurghatmish. In truth, she was an extremely intelligent and competent ruler. During Gaikhatu Khan's reign his wife Padishah Khatun went to Kirman, arrested her brother Soyurghatmish, and imprisoned him in the fortress. He escaped and came in disguise to Gaikhatu Khan's court to seek asylum. Gaikhatu sent him to Padishah Khatun, and she kept him under guard for a few days and then killed him. When Baidu rebelled, Shah-i-Alam, Soyurghatmish's daughter and Baidu's wife, sent an envoy. Kürdü[n]chin, Prince Mänggü Temür's daughter who had been Soyurghatmish's wife, seized Padishah Khatun and was bringing her to the *ordu* when she was killed in revenge somewhere between Shiraz and Isfahan.[3] **[664]**

History of the maliks and atabegs.

In Fars was Atabeg Muzaffaruddin Abubakr. He died in the year 658 [1260]. His son Atabeg Sa'd had gone to the qa'an's court and was returning ill. [B555] He received the news of his father's death in Torqu, a dependency of Parahan, but he

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Ruknuddin Qilich Arslan IV ruled jointly 1248–49. Ghiyasuddin Kaykhusraw III ruled 1265–82, and Ghiyasuddin Mas'ud II ruled 1282–84 and again 1284–93, 1294–1301, and 1303–5.

[1]At the Battle of 'Ayn Jalut, September 3, 1260.

[2]Izzuddin Aybak ruled 1250–1257. Quduz ruled 1259–1260 and was succeeded in 1260 by Ruknuddin Baybars I "al-Bunduqdari," who ruled until 1277. al-Malik al-Nasir II Salahuddin of the Ayyubid line in Damascus ruled from 1250 until the Mongol conquest in 1260. "Alfi" is Sayfuddin Qalawun "al-Alfi," who ruled 1279–1290 and was succeeded by Khalil al-Ashraf, ruled 1290–1293.

[3]The Qarakhitai rulers of Kirman are as follows: Qutbuddin ruled 1252–1258. Qutlugh Tärkän Khatun ruled as regent 1258–1282. Sultan Hajjaj died in Delhi in 1272. Soyurghatmish ruled 1282–92 and was executed in 1294. See Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:269.

died twelve days later. When the news of his death was taken to Shiraz, his twelve-year-old son Atabeg Muhammad was seated on the throne and called Sultan Azududdin. His mother, Tärkän Khatun, the daughter of Atabeg Qutbuddin Mahmudshah, served as regent. The boy too died soon thereafter, and his mother became ruler. Muhammadshah, Atabeg Abubakr's nephew, had married her daughter Salghum. He began a quarrel with his mother-in-law, but in the end he was killed. Tärkän Khatun married her youngest daughter, Abish Khatun, to Prince Mänggü Temür. In short, Tärkän Khatun became the wife of Saljuqshah, but after a time he killed her and imprisoned both her daughters in the Saped fortress. This situation was reported to the court, and Amir Altachu was sent with troops to go with Tärkän Khatun's brother Ruknuddin Atabeg Ala'uddawla of Yazd and the maliks of Shabankara and the Tajik troops of the area to seize Saljuqshah. When the troops reached Abarquh, six thousand Shirazi horsemen came forth. Atabeg Ala'uddawla attacked them with five hundred horsemen and drove them back to Shiraz. Saljuqshah took refuge in Kazarun. The army went there and fought, taking the city and massacring and pillaging. Saljuqshah was taken out and killed, and his head was sent to Shiraz. Atabeg Ala'uddawla was wounded there, and he died several days later. The girls were taken out of the fortress, and their grandmother, Yaqut Tärkän, the daughter of Qutluq Sultan Baraq Hajib of Kirman, took them to the emperor's court. Abish Khatun was married to Prince Mänggü Temür. The post of atabeg of Shiraz was nominally hers. The other sister, Bibi Salghum, was married to Atabeg Yusufshah of Yazd, who was her cousin on her mother's side. Abish Khatun died during Arghun Khan's reign, and her body was taken to Shiraz and buried in the Azudiyya Madrasa, which her mother had built and named for the above-mentioned Atabeg Azududdin Muhammad. **[665]** Princess Kürdü[n]chin was her heir, and although for several years now the function of the malik of Shiraz has been performed by *ortaq*s and merchants, the *nawbat* is still performed at the atabegs' palace and the great divan is held there.

In Seistan, Malik Shamsuddin Muhammad Kurt had, in accordance with a decree from Möngkä Qa'an, put to death Malik Shamsuddin of Seistan and become the ruler. After that, Malik Nusratuddin, the nephew of the slain malik, took an envoy from Hülägü Khan's court, recovered Seistan from Shamsuddin Kurt, and took over the country. He is still governor and malik there.

Unusual events that occurred during the period.

In the year 659 [1261] Badruddin Lu'lu' died in Mosul.

On the 17th of Rajab 664 [April 24, 1266] Mu'ayyiduddawla Urzi, who was unique in the mathematical sciences and a wise philosopher, died.

At dawn on the 19th of Safar 669 [October 7, 1270] there was an earthquake in Nishapur of such proportions that it was thought unimaginable that any stone could remain atop any other in the mountains or that there could be a clod of earth on the plain not shattered to smithereens. It lasted fifteen days and nights, and the earth trembled every hour.

In the heart of winter in 661 [1262–63] a great earthquake occurred in Tabriz. The earth moved from time to time for four months.

On Monday the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja 672 [June 24, 1274] Khwaja Nasîr[uddin Tusi] died at sundown in Baghdad. The khwaja had left instructions for his burial in the

Musa-Jawad shrine.[1] At the foot of Musa's tomb an empty spot had been found—a grave had been made and lined with tiles, and when it was investigated it was discovered that the Caliph al-Nasir-li-dini'llah had had it excavated for his own tomb, but his son Zahir had gone against his father's wishes and had buried him among his ancestors in Rusafa. It is one of the strangest coincidences that the very day the subterranean chamber was finished **[666]** was the day of Khwaja Nasir's birth, i.e. Saturday the 11th of Jumada I 597 [February 17, 1201]. He lived seventy-five years, seven months, and seven days.

On the 25th of Dhu'l-Hijja 673 [June 21, 1275] Arghun Aqa died in the Radkan meadow in Tus.

Part Three, on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons.

[text missing from all versions] [B560]

On the wives and children of Ariq Bökä, after whose death the Qa'an divided his ordus among his sons.

After the fires of sedition died down, when Ariq Bökä went to his brother Qubilai Qa'an and apologized, he took all the wives he had and stationed his four sons, Yobuqur, Malik Temür, Naira'u Buqa, and Tammachi, in his *yurt*. His summer pasture was in Ilyastu [the Altai], and his winter quarters were in Uriangqat and Qirqiz [territory], a three-day journey in between. Sorqaghtani Beki was there.

Ariq Bökä was with the qa'an for one month and six days, and after that he died. They took his body to Buda Ündür, where the great sanctuary of Genghis Khan was, near the Selenga River. Sorqaghtani Beki and the other princes are also buried there, with the exception of Qubilai Qa'an.

One of Ariq Bökä's wives was Elchiqmish of the Oyirat tribe. The second was Qutuqta Khatun of the Güchügür clan of the Naiman; by her he had two daughters. The elder was Chaluqan Aqa, who was married to Nayanqa Gürägän of the Baya'ut. Chaluqan's daughter is married to Malik Temür. Her name is Negüdär,[2] and she resides in Sorqaghtani Beki's *yurt* and dwelling place. Another daughter by her is named Qamtai, and she has not been married yet. The other daughter [by Qutuqta] was Nomoghan. **[667]** She was married to Chupan Gürägän of the Oyirat.

The third wife was Qutlu Khatun of the Qunqirat. She also resides in Sorqaghtani Beki's *yurt* and has no children.

He had a concubine named Iraghui of the Barulas clan, the sister of the Qada'an who came here as an emissary. By this concubine he had a son named Nairaqu Buqa.

He had another concubine who is still alive. Her name is Eshitäi of the Qunqirat tribe.[3] She was in Qutuqta Khatun's *ordu*. By her he had a son named Tammachi.

When Ariq Bökä died, his wives went to their *yurt*. Three years later the qa'an ordered Ariq Bökä's sons to come see him. When they were received at court, he ordered the great *yurt*, where Yesüdär Khatun had lived, to be commanded by

[1] The Kazimayn Shrine in the Kazimiyya section of Baghdad, where the Seventh Imam Musa Kazim and the Ninth Imam Muhammad Jawad are buried.

[2] This name varies in the MSS as تکودار (Tägüdär) and نکودار (Negüdär), one of the perennially problematic names that differ in Persian by only a dot. Blochet is convinced that Negüdär is the correct reading, "quoique Takoudar se retrouve dans l'onomastique des Mongols" (*JT*$_{BI}$ 563, note *d*).

[3] According to Blochet (*JT*$_{BI}$ 564, note *b*), Eshitäi is the Mongolian [illegible] 'first princess.'

Yobuqur. Yobuqur took Yesüdär [in marriage], and they were together for three years. This lady bore no children and died. In her place he married Irinjimma[1] Khatun of the Ushin, [B565] by whom he had two sons, Öljäi Temür and Hulachu. Hulachu is in attendance upon his father in Ariqan Chaidan, which belongs to Baski.[2] Öljäi Temür is an attendant of Temür Qa'an's. He has another son named El Buqa, elder than those two, by Chalun Khatun of the Qaranut, which is a branch of the Qunqirat and Qorolas. He has yet another son named Ödägä born of Oghul Tegin of the Naiman, a niece of Güshlüg Khan.

There was also one of Tolui Khan's wives named Nayan Khatun of the Qunqirat. Sorqaghtani Beki's *yurt* had been transferred to Ariq Bökä, and when Qutui Khatun came here, she stationed the princes Jumghur and Taraqai in that *ordu*. Since there was nobody there of Hülägü Khan's, they said, "Why should we leave such an *ordu* empty?" And they settled Oghul Tegin Khatun there. At present the *ordu* belongs to Ödägä, who is now eighteen years old and attached to Malik Temür. He has a wife named Nayanqa, a daughter of Ja'utu Noyan of the Suldus, a grandson of Sodon Noyan.

Ariq Bökä's second son, Malik Temür, was ordered to take over the *ordu* of Lingqun Khatun, Güshlüg Khan's daughter who was extremely intelligent and competent. She was the mother of Prince Qutuqtu. Qutuqtu had a son named Tükäl Buqa by a concubine from the Qipchaq nation named Buta Egächi. This Tükäl Buqa died upon reaching maturity. Qutuqtu also had two daughters. The elder was the Kälmish Aqa who was married to Salji'utai Gürägän of the Qunqirat. The younger, Shirin Agha, was born of Qundu[z] Egächi **[668]** of the Baya'ut. She was married to Tuqchi Gürägän of the Ushin. When Lingqun Khatun died, a daughter was left by her named El Temür. She was married to Bars Buqa Gürägän. In [Lingqun Khatun's place] Malik Temür married Giltä Khatun, the daughter of Taran Noyan, the grandson of Olduqur Noyan of the Jalayir, and settled her in the great *yurt*. (That *yurt* had gone in the division to Hülägü Khan, but because of the distance and the absence of members of his family, Malik Temür took charge of it.) By Giltä Khatun he has no children.

Malik Temür has another wife named Törä, the daughter of the Shirägi of the Dörbän tribe who was one of the great officers of the *jasa'ul*. By her he has two sons, Oyiratai, who is in attendance upon his father, [B570] and Mahmud, who is also there. He also has two daughters by her. One is named Ämägän, and she was married to Tuq Temür Gürägän, grandson of Bars Buqa of the Oyirat, who was Törälchi Gürägän's grandson. The other daughter is named El Qutluq, and she was married to the son of Köbäk of the Suldus, who is Dua's chief commander and is stationed on this side of the Oxus River. He has a concubine named Tuqluq Öljäi, the daughter of Baighara of Almalyk, a commander of a hundred. Malik Temür's sons are four: Mangqan, Ajiqi, Yesün To'a, and Baritai, all by Ämägän Khatun the daughter of Bars Buqa of the Oyirat.

Qubilai Qa'an gave the *ordu* of Elchiqmish Khatun of the Oyirat, Ariq Bökä's senior wife, to Ariq Bökä's son Naira'u Buqa. She tried to kill herself when Ariq Bökä died, but she was not allowed to do it. She died later of grief. In this *yurt* he had a daughter named Ashiqtai. Afterward, when he went

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[1] ارنجيه in JT_K; ارنچه in JT_{Bl}. Blochet suggests reading *a-rin-tchem-ma* (Arinchemma) for the Tibetan *rinchen-ma* "principal wife, great lady." Based on the conventional reading Irinjin for Rinchen, we read Irinjimma.

[2] Text has *NSKY*, which must be the same as the Baski on p. 621 above. Neither, however, has been identified.

to the qa'an, the *yurt* was left in Malik Temür's hands, and now Malik Temür's son Ajiqi commands it.

Tammachi was given Qutuqta Khatun's *yurt*, but before they could come together Qutuqta died. In her place he married Er Tegin, the daughter of Sorqadu Ba'urchi of the Naiman, the nephew of the Sartaq and Burunduq who live here. When he took that wife to the qa'an's court, the *yurt* remained vacant.

Nairaqu Buqa has five sons: Qurbaqa, Bachin, Samskar, Bayan Äbügän, and Ara Temür. Ara Temür's mother is Öchin Egächi of the Olqunu'ut tribe. The other four sons' mother is Ashightai Khatun of the Qunqirat, the niece of Chabui Khatun, Qubilai Qa'an's chief wife.

Tammachi has two sons, Bayan and Dörbän.

Malik Temür's officers.

Of the great officers of Ariq Bökä's son Prince Malik Temür, **[669]** who is presently with Qaidu's sons, the first is Amir Ja'utu of the Suldus, [B575] the grandson of Sodon Noyan [and] son of Su'unchaq Noyan, a *tümän* amir of the Left Wing. He has a son named Qada'an, who commands a *gäzig* and weapons. He has married Malik Temür's daughter.

Another is Qipchaq, grandson of the Münglig Echigä of the Qongqotan whose son Kököchü was a *tümän* amir and a *jaqurchi* of the Right Wing. He commands one *gäzig* and weapons.

Another is Alaqa, an amir of a Qataqin *hazara*,[1] son of the Chiligä Bahadur who came here.

Another is Jangqi Gürägän of the Jalayir, a *hazara* amir. His *hazara* is the one that previously had a commander named Oqai, who, with a *hazara* of Oyirats, used to guard Buda Ündür, the great *ghoruq* [reservation] where the bones of the princes are placed. When the princes who were accompanying Nomoghan rebelled and the armies clashed, most of this *hazara* went over to Qaidu's army, and some have remained there. Now this *hazara* belongs to Oqai's sons.

Another was Gäräidäi, the chief of the *bitigchis*, of the Suldus.

Another is Kähätäi, the *kükältash* [milk brother] of Malik Temür. He is also of the Suldus. He is in charge of food and other things in the *ordu*.

Another is Qadaqa of the Märkit, a great commander and chief of the *bökä'üls*. *Chärig* [expeditionary forces] affairs are in his hands.

Another is Saqtai of the Qongqotan, commander of a *gäzig*.

Another is Sögä of the Qonqotan, who commands one *gäzig*.

Another is Batuqa son of Qutuqu Noyan, commander of a *hazara*.

Another is Esän Temür Ba'urchi, son of Tümän Ba'urchi.

Another is Yesütäi Bahadur, the *amir-ordu*.

Another is Ariq Bökä Noyan of the Naiman.

Another is Cha'uldar, son of Torghuchi Yarghuchi of the Arulat tribe.

Another is Äbügän, son of Bughra Yarghuchi of the Jalayir.

Another is Toqan Akhtachi of the *urugh* of Jäbä Noyan of the Besüt tribe. [B580]

Another is Toghril son of Burtaq of the Suldus.

Another is Qundaqai Khazinachi, son of Abaqai of the Qarakhitai.

Another is Abishgha Sükürchi of the Qorolat.

Another is Maliki Argchi of the Tajiks.

[1] Reading قتقين (Qataqin) with Boyle for JT_K's قنقيات.

ℭ SECTION ELEVEN

THE HISTORY OF TEMÜR QA'AN, SON OF JIMGIM, SON OF QUBILAI QA'AN, SON OF TOLUI KHAN, SON OF GENGHIS KHAN, IN THREE PARTS

Part One is on his blessed lineage and a detailed account of his wives and the branches of his sons [670] down to the present; a picture of him, and a genealogical chart of his sons.

Part Two includes events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, princes, and amirs during his enthronement; stories of his events that have occurred from the beginning of his imperial reign down to the present; some of his battles and conquests that are known.

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons. [B582]

Part One, on his blessed lineage and a detailed account of his wives and the branches of his sons down to the present; a picture of him, and a genealogical chart of his sons.

Temür Qa'an, who is also called Öljäitü Qa'an—may the shadow of his justice and equity lie forever over the heads of all peoples—is the son of Jimgim, the son of Qubilai Qa'an, the son of Tolui Khan, the son of Genghis Khan. He was born of Jimgim's chief wife, Kökächin Khatun, in Hükär Yil, the Year of the Ox corresponding to 663 [1265]. There are many wives and concubines in his *ordus*, but because of the distance and closure of the roads not all their names have been ascertained. His chief wife is called Buluqan Khatun, of Baya'ut "bone." By her he has one son named Tishi Taishi.[1] By another wife he has another son named Maqabalin. A genealogical chart of his sons and grandsons is as follows. [B585]

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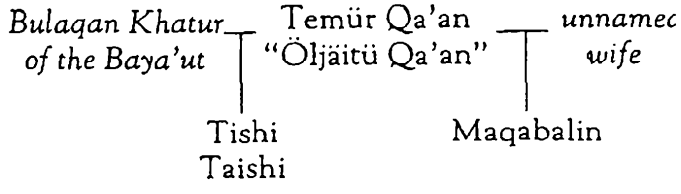

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Part Two, events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, princes, and amirs during his enthronement; stories of his events that have occurred from the beginning of his imperial reign down to the present; some of his battles and conquests that are known. [671]

The very day Qubilai Qa'an died in Morin Yil, the Year of the Horse corresponding to 693 [1294], his son Jimgim's chief wife, the mother of Temür Qa'an, sent, with the agreement of the officers, Bayan after Temür

[1] Reading تیشی (Tishi) for JT_K's تاشی. See Hambis, *Yuan che*, p. 136.

to inform him of the qa'an's death and bring him back to sit on the imperial throne. During the year it took Temür Qa'an to get there, Kökächin Khatun administered the affairs of the realm.

When he finally arrived under good auspices, a great *quriltai* was held. Present were the following: his uncles Kököchü and Toghan; his brother Kammala and [his son] Yesün Temür; his cousin Ananda Oghul son of Mangqala; [his uncle] Oghruqchi's sons Temür Buqa and Ejil Buqa; great amirs like Bayan Chingsang, Uchachar Noyan, Toqtaq, Ölüg, Öljäi Chingsang, Altun Chingsang, Dashman Aqa, Jirqalan, Nalighu, Ambai of Tangqut, Babusha of Yesünggä's *urugh*,[1] Qutuqu Chingsang of the Tatar nation, and Arqasun Tarkhan Chingsang of Badai's *urugh*; [B589] and princesses like Nambui Khatun and her daughter Begchin Khatun, Manzitai, Kökächin Khatun, Buluqan Khatun, and other princes, officers, and princesses it would take too long to mention.

There was a dispute for the throne between Temür and his brother Kammala, who was older, and words were exchanged. Kökächin Khatun, who is extremely intelligent, said to them, "Chechän Qa'an (i.e. Qubilai Qa'an) said that whoever knows the *biligs* [maxims] of Genghis Khan better should occupy the throne. Each of you now pronounce his *biligs* so that the elders who are present may see which of you knows it better."

Since Temür Qa'an is very eloquent and masterful, he pronounced the *biligs* well with a nice *ayalghu* [intonation]. Kammala, on the other hand, has a slight stutter and is not so perfectly endowed in this regard, so he did less well. All unanimously shouted, "Temür Qa'an knows the *biligs* better and pronounces them better. He is worthy of the crown and throne." In the city of Kaimin Fu [K'ai-p'ing fu] in the [Qonin] Yil that corresponds to 694 [1295], he was seated upon the imperial throne under good auspices as they performed the rites and rituals that are customary, as is here illustrated.[2] **[672]**

The Qa'an's arrangements for the administration of the empire.

When they were finished banqueting and celebrating, and when the rites of congratulation were over, the qa'an turned his attention to the administration of the army and realm, appointing princes and officers to the provinces and assigning viziers and divan chiefs.

He gave his elder brother Kammala a large share of the wealth inherited from their father and sent him to Qaraqorum, where Genghis Khan's *yurts* and *ordus* are still, and put the troops in that area under his command. He guards and protects the areas of Qaraqorum, Chinas, Shina'uchi, the Onon, the Kerulen, the Kämkämji'üt, the Selenga, and Qayaliq as far as Qirqiz territory and Genghis Khan's great *ghoruq*. [B593] The four great *ordus* and another five, making nine in all, are there. Not everyone is allowed access since it is the great *ghoruq*. They have made images of them and constantly burn incense and aromatics. Kammala has also made a temple for himself there.

He sent Prince Ananda at the head of his army and *ulus* to Tangqut territory.

Prince Kököchü and Görgüz, the qa'an's son-in-law, were sent to Qaidu's and Dua's frontier.

Toghan and an army were dispatched to Manzi to protect that area.

Amir Ajiqi was sent with an army to Qara

[1] This "Babusha" is mentioned in the *Yüan shih* as Pa-pou-sha, but he is not mentioned in the section on Jochi Qasar on text p. 208 above. See JT_{BI} 587, note *m*, and Hambis, *Yuan che*, 26.

[2] Illustration lacking.

Khocho.

He kept Bayan Finjan as divan chief. The title Sayyid Ajall carries great weight with the Tajiks, and when the Mongols also saw that the chief vizier was called by that title, it became the loftiest title for them. The qa'an thus gave Bayan Finjang the title of Sayyid Ajall as an acknowledgement of his importance and power. At present he is an extremely grand and powerful vizier. The functions of the great divan are carried out in collaboration with Öljäi Tarkhan, Yäkä Finjang, Toba, Abdullah Finjan, Amir Khwaja Sami, Qutbuddin Samjing, and Mas'ud Lanjun, and they administer the realm. [673]

The history of Prince Ananda (son of Mangqala, son of Qubilai Qa'an), who is ruler in the province of Tangqut and has become a Muslim; a mention of some of the features of that province, and a report on his realm.

Prince Ananda is the son of Mangqala, Qubilai Qa'an's third son, and elder brother to Nomoghan, whom the princes who were accompanying him on an expedition to deal with Qaidu rebelled against, [B597] seized, and sent to the Ulus Jochi. Then, when Tödä Möngkä became ruler of that *ulus*, he apologized and sent him back to Qubilai Qa'an. He died not long thereafter. Temür Qa'an awarded to Ananda the troops Qubilai Qa'an had given to Mangqala and the province of Tangqut, which had also belonged to [Mangqala]

Tangqut is a large country in length and breadth. In the Cathaian language it is called Khoshi [Ho-hsi], meaning large river of the west.[1] It has been so named by them because it lies on the western side of Cathay. The large cities there that are the capitals of their rulers are as follows: Kenjanfu [Ching-chao fu], Qamjiu [Kan-chou], Eriqai, Khalajan [Ning-hsia], and Aqbaligh.[2] In that country are twenty-four large cities. Most of the people there are Muslims, but the cultivators and peasants are idolators, and they resemble Cathaians in form. Previously they used to pay tribute to the rulers of Cathay and gave their cities Cathaian names. Their manners, customs, ordinances, and habits are similar to each other's.

Since Nomoghan left no son, Ananda was turned over to a Muslim from Turkistan named Mihtar Hasan Aqtachi to be brought up. That man's wife was named Zulaykha, and she nursed him. That is why Muslimism took firm root in his heart. He learned the Koran and writes the Tajik script very well. His time is spent mostly in acts of devotion. He has converted to Islam nearly a hundred fifty thousand Mongol soldiers who are attached to him. Sartaq, one of his amirs who was opposed to Islam, went to the qa'an's court and complained that Ananda was always in the mosque, praying, fasting, and reciting the Koran, and that he had circumcised most of the Mongol boys and converted most of the military to Islam. The qa'an was highly offended by this and sent Jirghalang and Chirtaqu, two brothers who were in charge of the falconers, to forbid him to worship, to prevent the Muslims who were with him from hav-

[1] The Chinese 河西 Ho-hsi, 'river of the west,' for Tanqgut is well attested. From Ho-hsi is derived the Mongolian Qashi(n). See Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:315.

[2] Kenjanfu, Marco Polo's "Quengianfu," is Ching-chao fu (京兆府), the modern Sian in Shaanxi. Kan-chou (甘州) is the modern Zhangye in Gansu. For *JT*K's ازردی, MSS vary, but there is little doubt that it should be Eriqai, the city of Erighaya (寧夏 Ning-hsia), Marco Polo's "Egrigaia"; see text p. 103 above. The "Khalajan" of Persian texts is Marco Polo's "Calacian," i.e. Chung-hsing fu, which later became Ning-hsia. This Aqbaligh is Marco Polo's "Acbalec Mangi," i.e. the Aqbaligh of Manzi, which is Han-chung (漢中), to be distinguished from the Aqbaligh of Cathay, which is 真定府 Chen-ting fu (Pelliot, *Marco Polo* 1:7).

ing access to him, and to encourage him to bow down before idols and burn incense in the temples. **[674]** Rejecting their message, Ananda refused to listen and said, "Idols are made by humans. How can I bow down to such a thing? The sun, which is a creation of the great God, the soul of the corporeal world and the sustainer of life and animal and plant growth—even to that I do not consider it licit to bow down. How could I bow before a graven image made by a human? [B601] I bow down to the one who created me and the Qa'an."

The qa'an was highly enraged by this speech and ordered Ananda imprisoned, but he continued firm in his faith and belief and kept saying, "Our fathers were monotheists. They considered God to be one and worshipped Him. It was due to that good belief that the eternal God rewarded them with the entire face of the earth and made them leaders and rulers of human beings that became exalted and noble. They never bowed before an idol."

The qa'an summoned him and asked, "If you had a dream or an inspiration or were shown something or someone led you to be a Muslim, tell me so that he can guide me too."

"The great God guided me to knowledge of Him," said Ananda.

"That way was shown to you by a demon," said the qa'an.

"If a demon guided me," he said, "who guided Ghazan Khan, my elder brother?"

The qa'an fell silent and thought for a moment. Kökächin Khatun advised him, saying, "You have been on the throne for two years, and your kingdom has not yet been consolidated. Ananda has many troops, and all those soldiers and people of the province of Tangqut are Muslims and opposed to this state of affairs. They are also close to enemy territory. Let them not be alienated. It is not wise to make him recant. He knows best about his religion and community."

The qa'an realized that her advice was given in compassion. He released Ananda, gave him much consolation, won him over, and showed him honor, and then he sent him back to head the army and rule Tangqut and awarded him the kingdom of Tangqut.

Although Ananda had believed in and practiced Islam from childhood, he went to great extremes when he heard that the Padishah of Islam—may God extend his kingship forever—had truly become a Muslim, a monotheist, and a man of pure religion, that he had converted all the Mongols in this land to Islam, and smashed all the idols and destroyed all the temples. Like him, Ananda too strove to propagate the religion of Islam. From the situation of Ananda and his soldiers one can estimate how Islamism in those provinces will soon reach perfection and—as God says, **[675] Thou shalt see the people enter into the religion of God by troops**[1]—they will enter in droves and become believers, monotheists, Muslims, and of pure religion.

The sons and grandsons of the Mihtar Hasan mentioned above, Hindu, Dawlatshah, Hamid, Jamal Aqa, and Muhammad Aqtachi, are all greatly influential and powerful. Some of them are in the confidence of Temür Qa'an's mother, and they strive to propagate the religion of Islam.

Sometime during the last several years Ananda went to the qa'an's court for a *quriltai*. The qa'an honored him greatly, and he made a great show of being a Muslim. When the qa'an heard of the Padishah of Islam's conversion—may God extend his kingship forever—he approved and said, "Ananda has become a follower of Ghazan in being a Muslim. Let him practice his religion however he wants, for I have thought about it and see that Islam is a good

[1]Kor. 110:2.

way and religion." On that account Ananda made great efforts to spread Islam. Once again he returned to the head of Tangqut province and his troops, and he commands them overall. Despite the fact that the qa'an's deputies and *bitigchis* officiate over the *tamghas* [customs imposts], most of the revenue raised there is spent on his troops and little gets to the divan. At present Sartaq, who was so opposed to Islam and informed on Ananda, has also become a Muslim.

One of his great commanders is ___. Another is Mängli, who is also a Muslim.

Ananda is thirty years old at present. His complexion is wheaten, and he has a black beard. He is tall and full-bodied. He has a son named Örüg Temür, and he sits in power and might on the ruling throne over his *ulus*. He has built houses of worship and mosques in his *ordus* and *yurts* and is constantly engaged in reciting the Koran and acts of devotion.

Four years after Temür Qa'an's auspicious enthronement, Baraq's son Dua set out to attack the princes and officers mentioned above who were manning Temür Qa'an's frontier. As is the custom of the military, there is a *qaravul* resident on every *sübä*.[1] From Ajiqi's and Chübäi's *sübä*, which is in the extreme west, to Muqali's *sübä*, which is in the east, *yams* [post stations] have been established and heralds are available. At that time they sent word to each other that an army had been spotted. By chance, Princes Kököchü, Jungqur, and Nankiyadai[2] [B605] had assembled for a banquet and were enjoying conviviality and wine. Word arrived by night, and they were too dead drunk to mount. Temür Qa'an's son-in-law Görgüz Gürägän did get to horse with his troop, and the enemy arrived immediately. Since they had not assessed the situation, and some of the troops of the Right and Left Wings were unaware and far away, they were unable to join. Baraq's son Dua [676] and his troops fell upon Görgüz, who had no more than six thousand men and could not offer resistance to Dua. He was routed and headed for a mountain, with the foe hot on his trail. They caught him and were about to kill him when he said, "I am Görgüz, the Qa'an's son-in-law." Dua's commander-in-chief ordered that he not be killed but held. The routed troops went before the qa'an. Kököchü, the qa'an's uncle, was afraid because he had not reached the troops through negligence, and so he stopped and hid in an out-of-the-way place. He was summoned several times, but he didn't appear. Finally the qa'an sent Prince Ajiqi to mollify him and bring him to court. When the routed troops reached the qa'an's court he was offended by the officers' actions and had Jungqur and Nankiyadai seized and imprisoned. "How could you be so negligent and allow such a waste of time?" he asked them.

The princes Yobuqur and Ulus Buqa and Amir Dordaqa had fled and gone over to Qaidu during Qubilai Qa'an's reign, and Qaidu had sent them to Dua. At this time they conspired to desert Dua and go over to Temür Qa'an's side with twelve thousand soldiers. When the qa'an heard that they were coming, he put no trust in them because Dordaqa had already come back once during Qubilai Qa'an's time and taken the above-mentioned princes away. Therefore he sent Chirtaqu, Mubarakshah Damghani, and Satuq with Ajiqi to bring them. Yobuqur and Dordaqa both arrived, having left Ulus Buqa with their families in Qaraqorum with the understanding that he would follow along behind at a slower pace. He had pillaged Qaraqorum and plundered the market and storehouses. When he came

[1]Reading سوبه *(sübä)* for the text's سونيه; see text p. 658 above, note 1.

[2]See above, text p. 647.

before the qa'an he was accused of the crime and asked, "How could you take such a hostile action against the resting-place of Genghis Khan?" He was thrown into chains and imprisoned. As a justification he said, "I came there as a refugee, and Dua's troops were on my heels. They mingled in with us, and they did the pillaging." His excuse was not accepted.

Tarmabala's wife Taiki, with whose son Khaishang the qa'an was on extremely good terms, interceded on behalf of Ulus Buqa, who was Tarmabala's cousin, and got him released, but the qa'an no longer trusted him and did not send him on the campaign. "Let him be in attendance upon the throne," he said.

He treated Yobuqur well and said, "He committed no crime."

He was, however, very angry with Amir Dordaqa and said, "Let him be executed, for he has fled twice."

Weeping, Amir Dordaqa said, "I fled in fear of Qubilai Qa'an. **[677]** [B609] The whole time I was there I never fought with or attacked the Qa'an's troops. Since Temür has become qa'an, and now that an opportunity has presented itself, I have come on these princes' advice, bringing back more troops than I took with me, and intending to fight on your behalf. If I am pardoned, I will take the soldiers I have brought and others I also command, and go after Dua to make up for what I have done. Perhaps I can get Görgüz back." The amirs reported these words and interceded on his behalf. The qa'an pardoned him and said to let him go. He even sent a regular troop with him.

However, he ordered Yobuqur [not] to go. [Amir Dordaqa] interceded on his behalf, saying, "We have come in order to fight. Let all our retainers remain here, but let us go because we know that land and the military. We are obliged to make amends to the Qa'an." Yobuqur was also given honors and consolation and set off with him.

Dua, complaisant after having attacked the troop, was proceeding at a leisurely and slow pace, intending to head for his own *ordu*s and to dispatch troops to the *sübä*s and frontiers of Ananda, Ajiqi, and Chübäi, who were on the frontier at Qara Khocho, to attack them, give them a whipping, and send them packing. At this point, when the soldiers were about to disperse, on the banks of a large river they were about to cross, Yobuqur, Ulus Buqa, and Dordaqa appeared from nowhere and attacked Dua and his men. Many were killed, and many were drowned. No matter how hard they tried, however, they could not get hold of Görgüz, but they did seize Dua's son-in-law named ___ and returned victorious and triumphant to be rewarded by the qa'an.

After that, the officers had an idea to release Dua's son-in-law in order that he might send back the qa'an's son-in-law. Within a few days envoys came from Dua and delivered a message, saying, "We have perpetrated an act for which we have been requited. Now we have Görgüz, and you have our son-in-law." Görgüz also sent one of his servants with them with a message, saying, "I am well, but I have no servants and am destitute. Send me two or three servants and some wherewithal." Four of his officers were sent with abundant money and food along with Dua's son-in-law. By the time they got there, however, Görgüz had been put to death. As an excuse, they said, "We sent him to Qaidu, but he died en route." **[678]**

The Qa'an's troops do battle twice with Qaidu's and Dua's army; Qaidu is wounded during the fighting and dies of that wound.

After that, Qonchi's son Nayan, who is of Orda's offspring and is presently ruler of that *ulus*, reported that one of his cousins,

Küilük, had rebelled and taken refuge with Qaidu and Dua. Several times battles had been fought between them. As was related in the section on Jochi Khan, Nayan sent an envoy to the qa'an, saying, "Let your troops mount at once from there, and let the Army of Badakhshan, which is constantly being harassed by them, march from the east. From the west the army of the Padishah of Islam will of course assist, and from all sides we can trap Dua and Qaidu in the middle and be done with them once and for all."

When this was discussed in private, Kökächin Khatun, the qa'an's mother, said, "In the realms of Cathay and Nankiyas, our *ulus* is numerous, and Qaidu's and Dua's realm is distant. If you mount an expedition it will take a year or two before it is accomplished. Be careful that in the meantime no damage occur that cannot be repaired in the long run. For now, it is necessary to be patient and send a message saying, 'We agree; wait for further instructions.' "

They therefore delayed, and two or three years later, in the year ___, the qa'an's army equipped itself for an expedition against Qaidu and Dua and set forth in the direction that was nearer to Qaidu. They armies clashed, and a fierce battle was fought. Qaidu was wounded, and his army was routed. [B613] Since Dua was farther away, he arrived several days later, and another fierce battle was fought. Dua was also wounded. Qaidu died of the wound he had suffered.

The fraud perpetrated by the Qa'an's officers and viziers over jewels and gem-studded ornaments they purchased from merchants; Tanba Bakhshi intercedes by means of a stratagem, and they obtain release.

Tanba the Tibetan *bakhshi* who was mentioned in the section on Qubilai Qa'an had enormous influence with Temür Qa'an. One of the stories of his influence is as follows.

Some merchants had brought a lot of gem-studded ornaments and jewels they sold to the qa'an. Officers, viziers, and brokers were present. **[679]** The amount of sale was determined to be 600,000 bars, and that amount was taken from the treasury. Nearly 150,000 of that amount was paid by the merchants to the officers and viziers.

Now there was an officer called Muqbal Finjan, who had previously been dismissed from office because of a report made by those other officers. The qa'an had made him a *totqavul* [highway patrol], which is called *ling qish* in Cathaian. There were also two brokers the other brokers did not allow to participate. These two said to the officer, "Those gems are not worth more than 300,000." Muqbal reported this to the emperor, and an order was given for a re-evaluation. Shihabuddin Qunduzi, who had been the *chingsang* of the city of Khingsai [Hang-chou] but was then out of office, was summoned, and he evaluated them at 300,000. The qa'an ordered the merchants and brokers arrested. They confessed how much they had given to every officer, and therefore the officers and viziers were also arrested. They were twelve in all: Dashman Chingsang, Toba, Sarban, Yighmish, Yäkä Finjan, Isa Kalimachi, Bayanchar, Bayan Finjan's brother, Shamsuddin Qunduzi, and three other *finjans*. They were imprisoned in the *divankhana* in the *shing*, and it was decreed that they would all be put to death.

Their wives and dependents went to Kökächin Khatun for intercession. She did her best to get them released but failed. After that, they besought Tanba Bakhshi. By chance, that very day a comet had appeared, and therefore Tanba Bakhshi sent a message to Temür Qa'an telling him to make *yalbarmishi* [prayer] for the comet. Temür Qa'an went there. The bakhshi said, [B617] "Forty prisoners must be released." Then he said,

"A hundred prisoners must be pardoned." By this means they obtained release. After that he told the emperor that he should send a decree through the realm. The qa'an did *yalbarmishi* for seven days in a temple and then came out. All the members of the group were reinstated to their posts, and their followers and adherents rejoiced. However, 300,000 bars, the amount overcharged on the jewels, were taken back. ~

ℭ SECTION TWELVE

THE HISTORY OF HÜLÄGÜ KHAN, IN THREE PARTS.

Part One is on his offspring, his wives, and his sons and grandsons who have branched off, and the names of his sons-in-law; a portrait of him and a genealogical table of his sons' branches.

Part Two is on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; stories of events that occurred during his imperial reign; some of the battles he fought and the conquests he achieved.

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons. **[A6]**

Part One, on his offspring, his wives, and his sons and grandsons who have branched off, and the names of his sons-in-law; a portrait of him and a genealogical table of his sons' branches.

Hülägü Khan was the fourth son of Tolui Khan, Genghis Khan's fourth son. Hülägü Khan's mother was Sorqaghtani Beki, the daughter of Jagambu, the brother of Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit tribes. Jagambu's name was Kerayidai, but when he fell into Tangqut territory and attained status there, the rulers of Tangqut gave him the title Jagambu, which means magnificent and great commander of a realm. Since Genghis Khan and Ong Khan were friendly and had a father-son relationship, he proposed marriage between his sons and Ong Khan's brother's daughters, Begtutmish for Jochi Khan and Sorqaghtani Beki for Tolui Khan. Tolui Khan had five sons and one daughter by Sorqaghtani Beki, as has already been mentioned in the section on him.[1] Genghis Khan took for himself another of Jagambu's daughters, **[678]** Ibaqa Beki by name. One night he had a dream, and that very night he gave her to Kähätäi Noyan.[2]

A detailed account of his wives.

Hülägü Khan had many wives and concubines. The names of those who are known, both those he inherited by custom from his father and those he married of his own accord, are as follows.

His chief wife was Doquz[3] Khatun of the great "bone" of the Kerayit, the daughter of Ong Khan's son [Abaqu].[4] **[A7]** Since she had been his father's wife, she was greater than the other wives, even though he had married some of them before her. He mar-

[1] See text p. 552.

[2] See text pp. 148 and 226 above.

[3] Doquz Khatun's name varies throughout as Doquz ~ Toquz. We will opt for Doquz.

[4] Reading ابقو (Abaqu, as on text p. 91 above) for the text's ايقو, which Arends (p. 16) reads as Уйку.

ried her after crossing the Oxus River. Tolui Khan had not yet touched her. She had influence and was extremely domineering. Since the Kerayit tribes were originally Christian, she constantly favored Christians, and during her time that group became strong. For her sake Hülägü Khan also favored them and held them in honor, so much so that they built churches throughout the realm. A church was always made at the gate to Doquz Khatun's *ordu*, and the *naqus* was sounded.[1] Her death occurred after Hülägü Khan's, four months and eleven days before Abaqa Khan's enthronement. The date will be mentioned in the proper place. Abaqa Khan awarded her *ordu* to her brother's daughter Tuqitani Khatun,[2] who had been Hülägü Khan's concubine and was attached to that *ordu*. She maintained the same customs, as will be told in the section on Abaqa Khan. She died on Thursday the 2nd of Ikindi Ay in Luy Yil corresponding to the last day of Safar 691 [February 21, 1292], and the *ordu* was given to Kökächi Khatun, who had been brought from the qa'an's court on account of the kinship she had with the senior Bulughan Khatun, the Padishah of Islam's wife. She died in Sha'ban 695 [June 1296], and the *ordu* was given to Kärämün Khatun, daughter of Abatai Noyan's son Qutlugh Temür Noyan and the junior Bulughan Khatun's cousin.[3] She too died quite suddenly in the summer pastures at Hula'an Müran in the vicinity of Sarai Juma on Tuesday the 12th of Jumada II 703 [January 21, 1304], and now the Sultan of Islam has married, in her stead, Qutlughshah Khatun, **[A8]** the daughter of Sarucha's son Irinjin, the nephew of Doquz Khatun, and installed her there. At present the *ordu* is still maintained. **[679]**

Another wife was Güyük Khatun of the "bone" of the rulers of the Oyirat tribes. She was the daughter of Törälchi Gürägän by Genghis Khan's daughter Chächäyigän. (Öljäi Khatun was also Törälchi Gürägän's daughter, but by a different mother.) He married her in Mongolia before he married any of the other wives.

Another wife was Qutui Khatun, daughter of ___ of the "bone" of the rulers of the Qunqirat tribes. When Güyük Kha[tu]n died in Mongolia, he married [Qutui Khatun] and gave [Güyük Khatun's] *ordu* to her.

Another wife was Öljäi Khatun, daughter of Törälchi Gürägän of the "bone" of the rulers of the Oyirat tribes. He married her in Mongolia too.

Another wife was Yesünjin Khatun of the Suldus clan. He also married her in Mongolia. She was from Güyük Khatun's *ordu*. She and Qutuqui remained together in Mongolia, and later she came here.

His sons and grandsons.

Hülägü Khan had fourteen sons and seven daughters. Following are their names and a summary account of them and their offspring. **[A9]**

(1) Abaqa Khan.

Hülägü Khan's first son was Abaqa Khan by Yesünjin Khatun. He was born in Mongolia. He and his father came to Iran together. He was the eldest and best of the brothers and, as his father's designated heir and successor, he inherited the throne and rule of the *ulus* and the army. An account of his wives and children will come in the

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[1]The *naqus* is the clapper used instead of bells in eastern Christian churches to summon for worship.

[2]See text p. 91 above.

[3]There are two Bulughan Khatuns. The name is variously spelled بولغان ~ بولغان. The senior Bulughan Khatun was a Baya'ut (see text p. 138 above), and she was later married to Abaqa Khan (see text p. 740 below). The junior Bulughan Khatun was a Qunqirat (see text p. 122 above). Both Bulughans were married to Arghun Khan (see text p. 806 below).

section on him.[1]

(2) Jumghur.

Hülägü Khan's second son was Jumghur,[2] who was born of Güyük Khatun in Mongolia one month after Abaqa. When Hülägü Khan set out for Iran, he left him and his *ordus* with Mänggü Qa'an. The other *aghruqs* he took with him he left in the vicinity of Almalyk in Turkistan. **[680]** At the time of Ariq Bökä's dispute with Qubilai Qa'an, since Jumghur was in Mänggü Qa'an's *ordus* and Ariq Bökä was there and Qubilai was far away, Jumghur was forced to take Ariq Bökä's part, and that is the reason he fought on Ariq Bökä's behalf against Qubilai's soldiers. After Ariq Bökä did battle with Alghu and was defeated, Jumghur separated himself from Ariq Bökä in the vicinity of Samarqand on the pretext of being ill because Hülägü Khan was not pleased by his rebelliousness against Qubilai Qa'an and sent him a message to stand down. From there he joined Qutui and set out to join his father, but he died en route, an account of which will be given in the proper place.[3]

Jumghur had two wives. The elder was Tolun Khatun, daughter of the Buqa Temür who was Güyük Khatun's brother. The other was Cha'urchi Khatun, the senior Bulughan Khatun's elder sister.

He had two sons. (1) One was Jüshkäb, who was born of a concubine. After his father's death he took Cha'urchi Khatun in accordance with the Yasa. (2) The other was Kingshü,[4] born of a concubine. **[A10]** He had a son named Shirämün who is still alive.

Jumghur also had two daughters. The elder was Orghutaq, who was born of Tolun Khatun. She was married to Su'unchaq's son Shadai Gürägän. By her he had children, a son named Habash and two daughters,[5] Gunjishkäb, who is the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's first wife,[6] and Toghachaq,[7] who was born of a concubine named El Qutlugh,[8] who was married to Ahmad during his reign. She put a *boqtaq* on her head.[9] And the younger...[10]

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[1]See text pp. 739ff. below.

[2]The spelling varies, Jumghur ~ Jumqur.

[3]See text p. 745f. below.

[4]Here spelled كينكشر (Kingshü). Later in the text it is generally spelled كينشر (Kinshü).

[5]The name occurs thus in the text (حبش), but it is very doubtful.

[6]She is not included in the list of Ghazan Khan's wives on text p. 849 below.

[7]Reading, with JT_{AZ}'s variant, the diminutive Toghachaq for JT_K's Toghan. See text p. 783 below.

[8]El Qutlugh appears in the list of Ahmad Tägüdär's wives (text p. 783 below) as the "daughter of Kingshü and mother of Toghachaq." That El Qutlugh "put a *boqtaq* on her head" would seem to imply that she was not born a princess but assumed the position of a lady. The name of the second daughter is missing. Perhaps there were two El Qutlughs.

[9]The *boqtaq (boghtaq)* was the Mongolian lady's headdress. See p. 740 below. Ruy González de Clavijo, the ambassador from Don Henry III of Castile and Leon who was present at Amir Temür's court at Samarkand in 1404, has left the following description of the *boghtaq* worn by Saray Malik Khanïm: "The rest of her head-dress was very like the crest of a helmet, such as we men wear in jousting in the tilt yard: but this crest of hers was of red stuff and its border hung down in part over her shoulders. In the back part this crest was very lofty and it was ornamented with many great round pearls all of good orient, also with precious stones such as balas rubies and turquoises, the same very finely set. The hem of this head covering showed gold thread embroidery, and set round it she wore a very beautiful garland of pure gold ornamented with great pearls and gems. Further the summit of this crest just described was erected upon a framework which displayed three large balas rubies each about two finger breadths across, and these were clear in colour and glittered in the light, while over all rose a long white plume to the height of an ell, the feathers thereof hanging down so that some almost hid the face coming to below the eyes. This plume was braced together by gold wire, while at the summit appeared a white knot of feathers garnished with pearls and precious stones. As she came forward this mighty head-gear waved backwards and

(3) Yoshmut.

Hülägü Khan's third son was Yoshmut. His mother was a concubine from Qutui Khatun's *ordu* named Noqachin Egächi of Cathaian "bone."

He had three sons, Sögäi, Qara Noqai, and Zambu. Zambu died in Jaghatu one month before Toqiyatai Khatun.[1] Sögäi and Qara Noqai were executed for rebelling.

(4) Täkshin.

Hülägü Khan's fourth son was Täkshin, born of Qutui Khatun. He suffered from flaccidity of the bladder, and expert physicians treated him for a long time but without success. In the end he died. He had married Tolun Khatun after Jumghur's death and had a son by her named Saqi. He also had a daughter by Tolun Khatun named Esän Bur. When Orghutaq died they gave her to Shadai Gürägän, and after him his son Arab took her. She died before him, and she had a son named ___. **[681, A11]**

(5) Taraghai.

Hülägü Khan's fifth son was Taraghai, born of a concubine named Boraqchin from Qutui Khatun's *ordu* in Mongolia. While en route to Iran he was struck by lightning and died. His *ordu* came here with Qutui.

He had a son named Baidu who disputed the rule for a few months after Gaikhatu Khan. His story will come in the proper place. [Baidu] had a son named Qipchaq, who was killed along with his father. He had two other sons. One was by Shah-i-Alam and was named Qipchaq. The other was by Doladai Idächi's daughter and was named Muhammad. Baidu's mother was named Qaraqchin.

Taraghai also had a daughter named Eshil. She was married to Abdullah Aqa's son Tuq Temür, and after his death to his brother. She is still alive.

(6) Tübshin.

Hülägü Khan's sixth son was Tübshin, born of Noqachin, the mother of Yoshmut. He had a son named Sati.

(7) Tägüdär Ahmad.

Hülägü Khan's seventh son was Tägüdär Ahmad, born of Qutui Khatun. His name was originally Tägüdär, and he became padishah after Abaqa Khan. His sons will be mentioned in the section on him.[2]

(8) Ajai.

Hülägü Khan's eighth son was Ajai. His mother was a concubine named Arighan Egächi, daughter of Tänggiz Gürägän. She was in Qutui Khatun's *ordu*. When Hülägü Khan came to the land of Iran he assigned him as head of Qutui Khatun's *ordu*. He died ten days after Hülägü Khan. **[A12]** He had a son named Ildär, who was executed in Anatolia during the first part of the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's reign.[3]

(9) Qonqurtai.

Hülägü Khan's ninth son was Qonqurtai.[4] His mother was a Cathaian concubine named Ajuja Egächi from Doquz Khatun's *ordu*. After a time she put a *boqtaq* on her

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forwards, and the Princess was wearing her hair all loose, hanging down over her shoulders.... To keep this crest and the other adornments steady on her head the Princess was attended by many dames who walked beside her" (González de Clavijo, *Narrative*, 258).

[10]Text missing. Jumghur's younger daughter seems to be implied, but the entire section is highly problematic, particularly the identity of El Qutlugh and her daughter Toghachaq.

[1]He died on Sunday the 28th of Muharram 691 [December 31, 1291]. See text p. 832 below.

[2]See text pp. 783–800 below.

[3]See text p. 919.

[4]His name is variously spelled, Qonqurtai ~ Qongqurtai ~ Qongghurtai.

head. She lived to be very old and died only recently.

Qonqurtai had six sons: (1) Esän Temür, who had a son named Pulad; (2) Ildär, who had a son named Aq Temür; (3) Chärig Temür, (4) Gäräi, (5) Tash Temür, and (6) Ashigh Temür. Esän Temür was called Kharbanda, and he and Ildär were born during a single month. He and his brother Ildär were executed during the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's reign for rebelliousness they harbored in their hearts.[1] The other sons, Gäräi, Chärig Temür, and the others, died in infancy.

(10 Yesüdär.

Hülägü Khan's tenth son was Yesüdär. His mother was a concubine from Qutui Khatun's *ordu* **[682]** named Yeshichin, the sister of Qara Yangi (?) of the "bone" of the Kürlü'üt.[2] He had a daughter who was married to Esän Buqa Gürägän, son of Noqai Yarghuchi.[3] One year and two months after his death [his wife] produced a son who was named Habash, and the child was attributed to Yesüdär.

(11) Mänggü Temür.

Hülägü Khan's eleventh son was Mänggü Temür, born of Öljäi Khatun. He was born on the eve of Sunday the 2nd of Shawwal 654 [October 23, 1256], corresponding to the 24th of Onunch Ay of Luy Yil, in ___, with Gemini in the ascendant. He died on Sunday the 16th of Muharram 681 [April 26, 1282]. His life span was twenty-six years and two months.

He had three sons: (1) Anbarchi, who had two sons, Esän Temür and Qonchi, each by a different mother, (2) Taichu, who had a son named Pulad and rebelled during Ghazan Khan's reign and was executed, (3) Gäräi, who had a son named ___ that died in childhood; he himself died during Gaikhatu's reign. The mother of these sons was Alinaq Egächi.

Mänggü Temür had three wives. **[A14]** First was Öljäi Khatun, daughter of Buqa Temür and "sister" of Öljäi Khatun.[4] Second was Abish Tärkän, daughter of Sa'd the Atabeg of Fars and mother of Kürdüchin. Third was Nojin Khatun, daughter of Dorbai Noyan.

As for Mänggü Temür's daughters, they were many. One, the eldest, was the Princess Kürdüchin who was first the wife of Jalaluddin Soyurghatmish the sultan of Kirman; when he died she was given to Amir Buralghi's son Satalmish and then after him to his cousin. He had another daughter named Buyan Agha, who was given to Amir Sutai Akhtachi. Another was named Ara Qutlugh, and she was given to Taraqai Gürägän; when he died she was given to Doladai Idächi. Mänggü Temür's chief wife was Öljäi. After her was Abish Khatun, daughter of Atabeg Sa'd, son of Atabeg Abubakr of Fars, and granddaughter of Mahmudshah of Yazd.

(12) Hulachu.

Hülägü Khan's twelfth son was Hulachu. His mother was a concubine in Doquz Khatun's *ordu* named El Egächi of Qunqirat "bone." In the end a *boqtaq* was placed on her head.

He had four sons and three daughters as follows: (1) Sulayman, who was killed after his father; (2) Köchik, who died of a chronic illness; (3) Khwaja, who passed away; and (4) Qutlugh Buqa, who also died.

(13) Shiba'uchi.

[1] See text p. 920 and 924.

[2] There is a Qara Yurtchi of the Kürlü'üt mentioned on text p. 75; it may be the same person.

[3] For Noqai Yarghuchi, see text p. 138 above.

[4] I.e. a second Öljäi Khatun, daughter of the elder Öljäi Khatun's brother Buqa Temür. "Sister" is used here, as often, in the sense of niece.

Hülägü Khan's thirteenth son was Shiba'uchi. He was born of Hulachu's mother, El Egächi. He died the same winter as Abaqa Khan, but before him.

(14) Taghai Temür.

Hülägü Khan's fourteenth son was Taghai Temür. His mother was a concubine from Qutui Khatun's *ordu* from the "bone" of the ___. He had two sons, Qurumshi and Hajji.

Now that the names and lineages of Hülägü Khan's sons and grandsons have been given, insofar as they are known, **[683]** we will begin the section on his daughters and sons-in-law.

Hülägü Khan's daughters and sons-in-law.

Hülägü Khan had seven daughters as follows.

The first was Buluqan Aqa, born of Güyük Khatun. She was married to Joma Gürägän, son of Jochi of the Tatar nation, who was the brother of Nuqdan Khatun,[1] the mother of Gaikhatu Khan and chief wife of Abaqa Khan. Jochi had come here with Hülägü, and he too was a *gürägän*, for he was married to Genghis Khan's brother Otchi Noyan's daughter Chechägän, and she was Joma Gürägän's mother.

The second daughter was Jamai (?), born of Öljäi Khatun. After her sister Buluqan Aqa died she was given to Joma Gürägän in her stead.

The third daughter was Mänggügän, born of Öljäi Khatun. She was married to Buqa Temür's son Jaqir Gürägän of the Oyirat nation. This Buqa Temür had come with Hülägü, and he was Öljäi Khatun's brother [born] of Güyük Khatun's mother, Chächäyigän, **[A16]** [Genghis Khan's] daughter. Jaqir Gürägän's son was Taraqai Gürägän, and he was Mänggü Temür's son-in-law who fled to Syria.[2]

The fourth daughter was Tödögäch. Her mother was a concubine from Doquz Khatun's *ordu* named ___. She was married to the Tänggiz Gürägän of the Oyirat tribe who had formerly been married to Güyük Khan's daughter, ___ by name, but she died.[3] [When] Tänggiz Gürägän died, his son Sülämish married her, and at present Tänggiz's grandson Chechäk has married her.

The fifth daughter was Taraqai, born of Irqan Egächi. She was married to Musa Gürägän of the Qunqirat tribe, Genghis Khan's grandson, the son of ___.[4] His name was Taghai Temür, but a learned man who was his tutor named him Musa. He was the brother of Martai Khatun.[5]

The sixth daughter was Qutluqqan, born of Mängligäch Egächi. She was married to Yesü Buqa Gürägän, the son of Urughtu Noyan of the Dörbän tribe. When he died his son Tükäl took her. **[684]**

The seventh daughter was Baba, born of Öljäi Khatun. She was given to Lagzi Gürägän, son of Amir Arghun Aqa of the Oyirat tribe. Arghun Aqa came here in the capacity of a *bitigchi* with Hülägü Khan by order of Mänggü Qa'an.

The histories of some of these wives, sons, daughters, and sons-in-law who have been mentioned may have to be given again in certain other sections in more detail; however, in general they are as has been

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[1]For Joma Gürägän and Nuqdan Khatun, see text p. 67 above.

[2]The son-in-law who fled was Taraqai (see text p. 79 above). He was first married to Mänggü Temür's daughter Qutlugh and, after her death, to this Mänggügän.

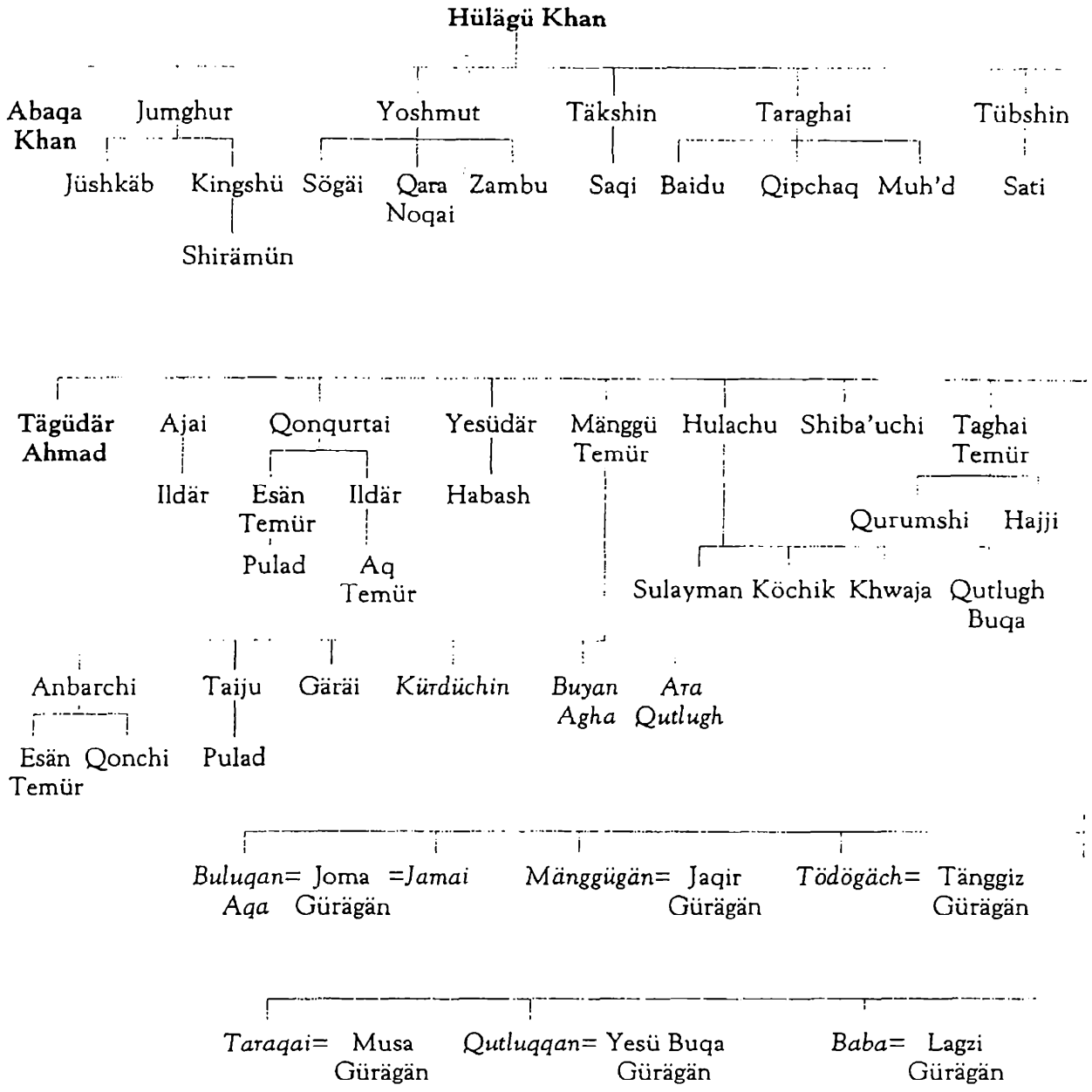
[3]Reading, with JT_{AZ}'s MS A, Güyük Khan for the text's Güyük Khatun. See text p. 78 above.

[4]He should be the son of Genghis Khan's daughter Tümälün, who was married to "Gürägän" of the Qunqirat. See text p. 225 above.

[5]Martai Khatun was one of Abagha Khan's wives. See text p. 740 below.

reported.

The genealogical chart of the sons, other than those who became rulers, who will be treated separately, is as follows: [A20]



Part Two, on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; stories of events that occurred during his imperial reign; some of the battles he fought and the conquests he achieved.

When Mänggü Qa'an mounted the throne with the agreement of all the *aqa-inis* and the commanders in Qaraqorum and Kerulen, the original *yurt* and capital of Genghis Khan, and after his mind was at ease concerning weighty matters of *yarghu* [investigation], he turned his attention to regulating and arranging affairs of state. He dispatched soldiers to the borders in all directions, and he gave leave to depart to those in need and those who tended to the affairs of Turk and Tajik who had gathered from far and near, after granting their wishes and requests, as will be mentioned in his history.

He sent Baiju Noyan of Besüt "bone" with a large force to protect the realm of

Iran, and after he arrived here he sent a messenger to complain of the Heretics and the Caliph of Baghdad. At that time the late chief cadi Shamsuddin Qazwini had gone to the court. **[685]** One day he appeared before the qa'an clad in chain mail and said, "I always have to wear this chain mail beneath my clothing in fear of the Heretics."[1] He then reported something of their hegemony and domination.

Inasmuch as the qa'an had perceived signs of world domination in his brother Hülägü's character, **[A21]** it occurred to him that since some realms had been conquered during Genghis Khan's time while others remained unconquered still, and the expanse of the world was vast without limit, he would assign each of his brothers to one part of the kingdom for them to bring into submission while he dwelt in ease in the midst of the territory of the ancient *yurts*, passing his time in comfort and dispensing justice—and even conquering some nearby rebellious provinces with the help of the soldiers that were around the throne.

After formulating this idea, he assigned his brother Qubilai to the eastern realms of Cathay, Machin, Qarajang, Tangqut, Tibet, Jürcha, Solanqa and Kauli [Korea], and the part of India that was adjacent to Cathay and Machin. To Hülägü were assigned the western lands of Iran, Syria, Egypt, Anatolia, and Armenia, for him to hold each of them with the soldiers he commanded in his right and left wings. After a large *quriltai* Qubilai was dispatched to Cathay and the territories mentioned above, and forces were assigned to him. He assigned Hülägü to the land of Iran and the countries mentioned with the agreement in council of all the *aqa-inis*. He ordered that the soldiers he had previously dispatched with Baiju and Chormaqan as *tamma* [garrisons] should remain in Iran, and the forces he had sent with Dayir Bahadur to Kashmir and India should all be under Hülägü's command. (The soldiers Dayir Noyan held **[A22]** were commanded after his death by ___, and after him by ___, and then they were given to Sali Noyan of the Tatar nation. It was he who took Kashmir and brought out several thousand captives. All the soldiers who were with Sali Noyan, wherever they are, have gone at present by inheritance as *enchü* to the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan.) After assigning these forces, he ordered that of all Genghis Khan's troops that had been divided among the brothers and nephews, two of every ten individuals who had not entered the count should be taken out and given as *enchü* to Hülägü in order that they might come with him and attend him here. Therefore, they all assigned some of their sons, relatives, and liege men and sent them off with their troops in Hülägü's service. For this reason there have been and are amirs in this land from the offspring and kin of every one of Genghis Khan's commanders, **[686]** each one following his hereditary rank and post.

When this assignment had been made, he sent messengers to Cathay to bring a thousand households of Cathaian catapult men, naphtha throwers, and crossbow men. In advance of the army envoys were sent to reserve all the meadows and grasslands from Qaraqorum to the banks of the Oxus that had been calculated as lying in the path of Hülägü's army and to build strong bridges across deep canals and rivers.

An order was given for Baiju Noyan and the troops that had come previously with Chormaqan to go to Anatolia. From all lands for every individual one *taghar* of flour and one skin of wine as troop provisions were to be made ready. After the princes and *noyans* who were appointed set

[1]Rashiduddin's "Heretics" are the Ismailis of Alamut, whose tactics for eliminating their enemies have given the world the word assassin, generally thought to be derived from the Arabic *hashsháshín*, 'users of hasheesh.'

out with their units of thousand and hundred, in the vanguard was dispatched Ket Buqa Noyan of the Naiman, who held the post of *ba'urchi*, as a *yäzäk* [advance troop] with twelve thousand men **[A23]** to come as an attack force. When he reached Khurasan, while waiting for the arrived of the imperial banners, he set about conquering the province of Quhistan. When Hülägü's travel preparations had been completed, as was customary he gave valedictory banquets in his *ordus*. Accompanied by his younger brother Ariq Bökä and the other princes, similar banquets were held in Qaraqorum during the spring, and they made merry and indulged in various pleasures.

Out of fraternal affection Mänggü Qa'an gave advice to Hülägü, saying, "You are to go with a large army and innumerable force from the borders of Turan to the country of Iran.

From Turan pass strutting into Iran and raise your name to the shining sun.

Observe Genghis Khan's customs and *yosun* and *yasa* in all matters large and small. From the River Oxus to the farthest reaches of the land of Egypt, treat kindly and affectionately and reward sufficiently whoever obeys and submits to your orders. Grind beneath the feet of your wrath those who resist, along with their wives, children, and kith and kin. Begin with Quhistan and Khurasan, and destroy the fortresses and castles. **[687]**

Rip up Gird Koh and Lambasar fortress and turn them upside down. / Neither let any bastion remain in the world nor leave a pile of dust standing.

When you are finished there, head for Persia and eliminate the Lurs and Kurds who constantly practice brigandage along the highways. If the Caliph of Baghdad comes out to pay homage, harass him in no way whatsoever. If he is prideful and his heart and tongue are not one, let him join the others. In all cases make your clear-sighted intelligence and golden mind your guide and leader, and be awake and sober in all situations. **[A24]** Let the subjects be free of excessive taxes and impositions. Return devastated lands to a flourishing state. Conquer the realm of the rebellious through the might of the great god so that your summer and winter pastures may be many. Consult Doquz Khatun on all matters."

Now, although Mänggü Qa'an imagined that Hülägü would always remain in the realm of Iran as a mighty monarch with the soldiers he had given him and that this kingdom would be his and his descendants' as it is now, nonetheless he apparently said, "When you have accomplished these tasks, return to your original camp site." After these pieces of advice and instructions he sent Hülägü and his wives and children, each and every one separately, much gold, clothing, and herds, and he rewarded all the *noyans* and amirs who were going with him. Among the princes he sent his younger brother Sö[gä]täi Oghul with him.

Hülägü arrived at his own *ordu* toward the end of the Hükär Yil that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 650 [February 1253]. In the autumn of Bars Yil, the Year of the Leopard that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 651 [January 1254], in accordance with his brother's command, after leaving his *aghruqs* there, he set out for this land with an enormous army. The commanders of various frontiers had arranged *tuzghus* [provisions] and placed them station by station, and to the width that the passage of his army had been calculated, they cleared the road of debris and had boats ready at crossings of rivers and large canals. **[688]** The princes and commanders that had been assigned from all directions to accompany Hülägü to Iran got busy making preparations for their forces. Their names are as follows: ___.

Hülägü set out with his chief wives, Doquz Khatun and Öljäi Khatun, **[A25]** and

his elder sons Abaqa, Yoshmut, and ___.[1] After traversing the distances, when they arrived in the vicinity of Almalyk, Orghina Khatun came out to greet them and hosted a round of banquets and presented suitable gifts. Then, when the imperial banners were hoisted and passed from there, the lord of Turkistan and Transoxiana, Amir Mas'ud Beg, and the amirs of that territory came to pay homage. In the year 652 they spent the summer in that area, and in Sha'ban 653 [September 1255] they camped in the Kan-i-Gil meadow at the gates of Samarkand. There Mas'ud Beg had erected a tent of gold-spun brocade, and for nearly forty days they were there, indulging in constant drinking. During that time, due to the workings of spiteful fate, Prince Sö[gä]täi passed away. It was also at this point that Malik Shamsuddin Kurt was the first of the rulers of Iran to attain the felicity of coming to greet the entourage, and he was received favorably and given all sorts of rewards.

From there they decamped and moved on, not drawing their reins until they reached the edge of Kish.[2] There Amir Arghun Aqa arrived with the grandees and nobles of Khurasan to pay homage. For one month they remained there, issuing decrees to the monarchs and sultans of Iran, saying, "We are on campaign to eradicate the strongholds of the Heretics by command of the Qa'an. If you come yourselves and assist us with soldiers, weapons, and provisions, your territories, troops, and homes will remain yours and your efforts will be appreciated. If you allow any negligence of this command to take place, when by God's grace we are finished with them, we will head straight for you—and no excuse will be accepted—and the same thing will happen to your territories and homes that will have happened to them."

Swift-traveling messengers were dispatched on this mission, and when the news of the arrival of the world-conquering banners was spread abroad, the sultans and maliks of every part of Iran set out for court. From Anatolia went the sultans Izzuddin and Ruknuddin; **[A26]** from Fars went Atabeg Sa'd son of Atabeg Muzaffaruddin; from Persia, Khurasan, Azerbaijan, Arran, Shirvan, and Georgia went maliks, *sadr*s, and grandees, all bearing suitable gifts. **[689]**

After all boatmen's ships and barques had been commandeered and a bridge had been fashioned, they set out to cross the Oxus. The crossing was effected on the first of Dhu'l-Hijja 653 [January 1, 1256] with the invincible army. The boatmen were rewarded, and the toll that had been taken from boats was abolished. After crossing the river Hülägü took a sight-seeing tour along the river bank. From the forests appeared ferocious lions, and an order was given for the horsemen to form a circle around the perimeter. Since the horses were shy of the lions, they mounted Bactrians in rut and hunted down ten lions.

The next day they decamped from there and camped in the meadow of Sheberghan, not intending to remain long. It was the day of the Adha Feast [January 10, 1256]. Without warning it began to snow and hail, and it continued without let-up for seven days and nights. It was so cold that many animals perished. Hülägü Khan remained there the whole of that winter, constantly engaged in pleasure and enjoyment.

When spring came Arghun Aqa erected a thousand-pegged tent of gold-on-gold stuff equipped with all the accoutrements of such a monarch's court. Easily moveable and transportable, it had an appropriate assembly hall with vessels of gold and silver studded with precious gems. It was erected one

[1] Name missing in the text. It should be Taraghai; see text p. 681 above.

[2] Kish (~ Kash), the modern Shahrisabz in Uzbekistan.

particularly auspicious day, and an assembly with all luxuries was held. Hülägü was pleased and mounted the throne of good fortune under favorable auspices. All the assembled princes, commanders, and all the ministers of state, **[A27]** court dignitaries, and rulers of the surrounding regions performed the customary rituals. After the banquets were finished, Amir Arghun Aqa set out as ordered for the qa'an's court, appointing his son Gäräi Malik, Ahmad Bitigchi, and Sahib Ala'uddin Ata-Malik Juwayni to administer Iran and leaving them to attend Hülägü until he returned.

Ket Buqa Noyan goes to the fortresses of the Heretics in advance of Hülägü Khan and conquers them; Ala'uddin is killed, and Khwarshah takes over his father's position.

In Jumada II 650 [August 1252] Ket Buqa Noyan set out from Mänggü Qa'an's court in advance of Hülägü to attack the lands of the Heretics. **[690]** Around the beginning of Muharram 651 [March 1253] he crossed the river and began to attack the province of Quhistan, conquering some of the region. From there he and five thousand cavalry and infantry arrived at the foot of Gird Koh in Rabi' I 651 [May 1253]. He ordered a ditch dug around the fortress and around that a strong wall erected, stationing his soldiers behind the wall in a *järgä* circle. Around the camp another very high wall and another extremely deep ditch were made so that the soldiers would be safe between the two and so that there would be no skirmishes between the two sides. He stationed Büri there.

Then he went to the foot of Mihrin Fortress, laid siege, and placed his catapults. Then, on the 8th of Jumada II [August 5, 1253] he came to Shah Diz, where he killed a number of people, and withdrew. Märkitäi went with a troop to the province of Tarum [A28] and Rodbar and wrought much destruction. From there they came to the foot of Mansuriyya and Aluhnishin, where they killed for eighteen days. On the 9th of Shawwal 651 [December 2, 1253] they made a surprise attack on Gird Koh. The [defenders] broke the *järgä* and killed a hundred Mongols, the leader Amir Büri being among those slain. Ket Buqa Noyan attacked Quhistan again, driving everyone from Tun, Turshez, and Zerkoh, and massacring, pillaging, and taking captives. On the 10th of Jumada I of the [next] year [June 28, 1254] they took Tun and Turshez. Around the beginning of Sha'ban [mid-September 1254] they took Mihrin fortress. On the 27th of Ramadan [November 20, 1253] they took Kamali Fortress.

From Gird Koh, Ala'uddin Muhammad, the ruler of the Heretics, was informed that pestilence had broken out in the citadel, most of the fighting men had died, and they were about to lose the stronghold. Mubarizuddin Ali Turan and Shuja'uddin Hasan Astarabadi were dispatched with a hundred ten renowned warriors to reinforce the inhabitants of Gird Koh. With each was two maunds of henna and three maunds of salt, for there was no salt left in the fortress. (It has never been recorded in books that henna is a deterrent for the pestilence. Nonetheless, an amir's daughter was being married there, and her hands and feet had been hennaed and then washed. Since water was scarce, some people had drunk it, and none of them had died. They took this as proof and asked for henna.) In short, those hundred ten men threw themselves against the beleaguers and got through without suffering a single wound—save only one person who fell in the ditch and sprained his ankle, and he was picked up and carried into the fortress. With this, things were looking up for Gird Koh.

On Wednesday eve the last day of Dhu'l-Qa'da 653 [December 31, 1255], in Gird Koh, Hasan Mazandarani, **[691]** Ala'ud-

din's chamberlain, with the connivance of Ala'uddin's own son Khwarshah, [A29] struck Ala'uddin with a battle axe during the night while he was in a drunken stupor and killed him. Khwarshah was then elevated to the throne in his father's place. Several persons were accused of killing Ala'uddin. Khwarshah could not trust Hasan Mazandarani, albeit he had killed his father in connivance with him. He wrote him a letter and gave it to a devotee to take to him. While he was reading it the devotee struck him down and killed him. Khwarshah then announced, "I had him killed because he killed my father." He also ordered Hasan's sons to be burned in the playing field.

Battle was engaged on Sunday the 26th of Dhu'l-Hijja [January 26, 1256], and after three days of fighting [the Mongols] took it.

Nasiruddin, the Muhtasham of Quhistan, comes to Hülägü Khan's court accompanied by Malik Shamsuddin Kurt, who had also gone before him on a mission.

Hülägü sent Malik Shamsuddin Kurt on a mission to the pinnacle of Sartakht to Nasiruddin Muhtasham, who was then very old and weak. He obeyed the command and came to court on the 17th of Jumada I [June 12, 1256], accompanied by Malik Shamsuddin and bearing all sorts of gifts and presents and prostrating himself before the throne. The gifts were received with regal acceptance, and Hülägü said, "Since you have had mercy on your wife and children by coming, why do you not have the defenders of the citadel come down?"

"Khwarshah is the ruler," he replied, "and they listen only to him."

Hülägü gave him a *yarligh* and a *paiza* and sent him off as governor of Tun. He died in Safar 655 [February 1257].

From there, Hülägü proceeded, stage by stage. When he came to the vicinity of Zawa and Khwaf, he came down with a slight illness. He assigned Kökä Elgäi, Ket Buqa Noyan, and other commanders to conquer the remaining provinces. When they reached the borders of Quhistan, some rabble staged a little resistance, but within a week they had seized them all and pulled down their defensive walls. [A30] They killed, pillaged, and took captives. On the 7th of Rabi' II [May 4, 1256] they came to the gates of Tun, set up catapults, and started fighting. On the 19th of the month they took the town and killed everyone other than the craftsmen. Returning triumphant and victorious to Hülägü's court, they set out for Tus. [692]

Hülägü arrives in Tus and the vicinity of Quchan; he orders rebuilding; he sets out for Damghan and destroys Alamut and Lammasar; Khwarshah surrenders.

When Hülägü reached Tus, a tent of brocade was pitched for him by order of the qa'an in a garden Arghun Aqa had made, and there he camped. From there they went to the garden of Mansuriyya, which Arghun Aqa had ordered after the razing of the buildings there. Amir Arghun's wives and Khwaja Izzuddin Tahir presented *tuzghu* there. The next day they moved to the Radkan meadow, where he stayed for a while in order to enjoy the scenery. Wine was brought from Merv, Yazir, Dehistan, and other places, and abundant fodder was brought in.

After that, they went to Khabushan, which the Mongols call Quchan, a town that had lain in neglect and ruin since the initial advent of the Mongols. Hülägü ordered it rebuilt and appropriated an amount for it from the treasury so that no imposition would have to be made on the peasants. The canals began to flow again, and workshops were built. Next to the congregational mosque a garden was made. Sayfuddin Aqa, a vizier and administrator, gave money for restoring the congregational

mosque. [A31] An order was given for the amirs and dignitaries of court to build houses there, each in accordance with his rank and ability. Then he decamped from there.

Beg Temür Qorchi, Zahiruddin Sipahsalar Bitigchi, and Shah Amir, whom he had dispatched on a mission to Khwarshah, the ruler of the Heretics, had delivered the edict and returned on the 29th of Jumada II [July 24, 1256]. That very day the army reached the Heretics' fortresses and began their attack. On the 10th of Sha'ban 654 [September 2, 1256] he reached Kharraqan and Bistam, and he sent the *shahna* of Herat, Märkitäi, with Beglämish on a mission to deliver threats of violence to Ruknuddin Khwarshah. At that time Mawlana Sa'id Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi, the most learned and most intelligent man in the world, and a group of great physicians like Ra'isuddawla, Muwaffaquddawla, and their sons, who were trapped involuntarily in that land, when they saw how erratic Khwarshah's behavior was and that aggression and tyranny were part of the very fibre of his being and his madness was quite apparent, not only had wearied of but actually began to detest serving the Heretics and were desirous of helping Hülägü Khan. Prior to this they had been supportive of such an action, and they had discussed in secret amongst themselves how easy it would be for the kingdom to fall to him. [693] Many poor people and Muslims had joined them, and they were all in full agreement in making efforts to encourage Khwarshah to surrender or to make him fear the consequences if he did not. He gave in, honored the leader of the emissaries, and sent his younger brother Shahanshah and Khwaja Asiluddin Zozani to Hülägü's court with a group of dignitaries of the realm. To encourage them to submit [A32] Hülägü ordered them shown honor and favor. Once again he assigned emissaries to go to Khwarshah with Sadruddin, Zahiruddin, Tüläk Bahadur Bakhshi, and Mazuq to say that if he was really in obedience, he should destroy his fortresses and come to court himself. In reply Khwarshah said, "If my father rebelled, I will be obedient," and he had parts of several strongholds like Maymun Diz, Alamut, and Lammasar destroyed, their battlements thrown down, their gates taken away, and the rampart walls razed. For coming out, however, he requested a one-year respite.

Since Hülägü knew that the time for Khwarshah's downfall had come and that exchanges of emissaries would not serve to threaten him further, he mounted in Bistam on the 10th of Sha'ban 654 [September 2, 1256] and set out for their lands and castles. He also gave an order for the troops in Persia and other parts to ready themselves. In the right wing went Buqa Temür and Kökä Elgäi via Mazanderan, and in the left went Tägüdär Oghul and Ket Buqa Noyan via Khwar and Simnan. Hülägü Khan was in the center, which the Mongols call *qol*, with ten thousand renowned warriors.

They set forth, and the face of the earth turned dark. By the dust of horsemen the celestial sphere was blinded.

Once again emissaries were sent in advance to announce that the expedition was in motion. If Khwarshah would come out, his offenses notwithstanding, he would be pardoned.

When the imperial banners passed by Firozkoh, the emissaries returned accompanied by the vizier Kayqubad, who accepted to have the fortresses destroyed and begged that Khwarshah be given a year's respite to come out [A33] and that Alamut and Lammasar, which were ancient seats, be spared destruction. All other fortresses would be surrendered, and anything that was commanded would be obeyed. [694] He sent a missive for the governor of Gird Koh and Quhistan to come to court, think-

ing that by that means he could stave off the inevitable.

When the imperial forces arrived in Lar and Damavand, Shamsuddin Gilaki was sent to Gird Koh to bring the commandant to court. Proceeding to Qasran, they besieged Shah Diz, which lay on the way, and conquered it in two days. Once again emissaries were dispatched for Khwarshah to come out. He sent the emissaries back, having accepted to send his son with three hundred levies and to allow all the fortresses to be destroyed.

Hülägü Khan stopped in Abbasabad in Ray and waited. A boy seven or eight years old who had been born of a concubine was sent in the company of the emissaries and a group of dignitaries and grandees, arriving on the 17th of Ramadan 654 [October 8, 1256]. Hülägü received him honorably and gave him permission to return because he was so young. [Now a message was sent saying that] if Ruknuddin could delay coming out, he would send another brother provided that Shahanshah, who had been at court for several years, be allowed to return home. Ruknuddin did send another brother, Sheranshah, along with Khwaja Asiluddin Zozani and three men, on the 5th of Shawwal [October 26, 1256], and they arrived at court in the vicinity of Ray. On the 9th of Shawwal he withdrew with a writ that said, "On account of your display of submission and obedience, we have pardoned the offenses of your father and those attached to him. During this period no offense on the part of Ruknuddin himself, who is seated in his father's place, has been committed. Let him raze the fortresses, and on all counts he will be safe from our might." It was ordered that the soldiers who were stationed on the perimeter proceed in a *järgä* circle. Suddenly they were attacked from all sides. Buqa Temür and Kökä Elgäi arrived from Aspedar. Khwarshah sent them a message **[A34]** saying, "Now that we are in submission and busy razing the installations, what has caused you to come?"

"Since on both sides the path of unity is trod, we have come to graze our horses," they replied.

[Maymun Diz is taken.]

On the 10th of Shawwal 654 [October 31, 1256], Hülägü Khan set out from Pishkila via Talaqan and started attacking the border. Had it not rained so much that night, Khwarshah would have been taken at the foot of the fortress. On the 18th of Shawwal [November 8, 1256], the "sky-scraping" imperial parasol was opened on the northern side, in a place opposite Maymun Diz. The next day he made a circumference of the stronghold to observe and study it from a strategic point of view, marking the entrances and exits. The next day soldiers poured down on the fortress from all directions in an indescribable onslaught. They encircled the fortress, **[695]** which was nearly six leagues around, and since it was too strong to be breached, he held council with the princes and commanders on the advisability of continuing the siege or withdrawing and waiting until the next year.

"It is winter," they said, "and the horses are lean. Fodder has to be transported from Armenia to Kirman. It would be better to withdraw." Buqa Temür, Sayfuddin Bitigchi, and Amir Ket Buqa insisted on continuing the siege. Hülägü Khan sent more emissaries with messages couched in mixed terms of coaxing and threats of violence. "If he comes out," he had said, "it will mean the lives of all the weak and helpless. If he does not come within five days, let him raise his fortifications and get ready for battle!"

Khwarshah consulted his commanders and ministers. Every one had something different to say, and he was left perplexed. Since he realized that he did not have the

capability to resist, he sent out first another of his brothers, Iranshah, and his son Tarkiya accompanied by Khwaja Nasîruddin [A35] and Khwaja Asiluddin Zozani and a group of viziers, dignitaries, grandees, and army commanders bearing innumerable gifts. They arrived at the court on Friday the 27th of Shawwal [November 17]. They were settled in widely scattered places and questioned. On Sunday the 1st of Dhu'l-Qa'da [November 20], upon the advice of the ministers Khwarshah himself came down from the fortress accompanied by Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi, Khwaja Asiluddin Zozani, the vizier Mu'ayyiduddin, and the sons of Ra'isuddawla and Muwaffaquddawla. He thus bade farewell to a two-hundred-year-old home and kissed the ground before His Majesty. Khwaja Nasîruddin composed a chronogram for the event:

When the Arabian year was six hundred fifty and four, at dawn on Sunday the first of the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, / Khwarshah, the Padishah of the Ismailis, arose from his throne and stood before the throne of Hülägü.

When Hülägü saw Khwarshah and realized what a child he was, how inexperienced and unwise he was, he soothed him and promised him good things. He sent Sadruddin to supervise the handing over of all the strongholds and fortifications his fathers and forefathers had acquired over time in Quhistan, Rodbar, and Qumis, and which were filled to the brim with vessels and treasures. The number came to a hundred. The castellans were made to come out, and all the fortresses were razed except for Gird Koh and Lammasar. His kinsmen and adherents held Lammasar for a year. After that, pestilence broke out and many died. Those who were left came out and joined the others. [A36] They held Gird Koh for nearly twenty years, but in the end, during Abaqa Khan's reign, they came out and were killed, and it too was taken over. [696]

In short, Khwarshah had all his adherents come out of Maymun Diz, and he presented all the hoards of buried treasure he had inherited and acquired, although they did not measure up to their reputation. The padishah distributed them among the commanders and soldiers.

Then the imperial banners proceeded from there to the foot of Alamut. Ruknuddin was sent to the foot of the fortress to get them out. The commandant resisted at first. Hülägü Khan stationed Balagha at the perimeter, and there were skirmishes for two or three days. After that, a writ of amnesty was sent, and on Saturday the 26th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [December 15] the commandant came down and surrendered the fortress. The Mongols went up, broke the catapults, and removed the gates. The inhabitants requested a three-day respite in order to remove their belongings. On the fourth day the soldiers went in and pillaged. Hülägü Khan went up on top to study Alamut, and he was amazed by the enormity of the mountain. After looking at it, he came down and decamped.

He settled in for the winter in the vicinity of Lammasar. Several days later he assigned Dayir Buqa and a troop to lay siege. On the 16th of Dhu'l-Hijja 654 [January 4, 1257], he withdrew. On Monday the 25th [January 13] he dismounted in the great *ordu* seven leagues from Qazwin to celebrate the new year *(künyanglamishi)*. Banquets were held for a week, and the princes and commanders were rewarded.

Since the allegiance of Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi and the sons of Ra'isuddawla and Muwaffaquddawla, who were great and influential physicians originally from Hamadan, was patent and tested, he rewarded them all and gave them pack horses [A37] so that they could get all their family, dependents, relatives, and retinue, along with all their servants and followers, and

move them to the court. Until now they and their offspring have always been and still are attendants and confidants at the court of Hülägü Khan and his illustrious offspring.

On Thursday the 10th of Muharram 655 [January 28, 1257] he gave Khwarshah a *yarligh* and *paiza* and honored him by giving him a Mongol girl and settling his retinue and herds in Qazwin. He and two or three of his men were sent with emissaries to the fortresses in Syria so that they would surrender when the imperial banners arrived there.

After the wedding was over, Hülägü Khan, having pledged his word and given Khwarshah amnesty, did not want to break his oath and assassinate him, **[697]** so he maintained him in honor for a while because the many strongholds the [Ismailis] held in Syria would capitulate at a word from him—otherwise it would take many years to conquer them. Thereafter he sent him to the qa'an's court. There are many versions of how he died, but the truth is that when the news reached the qa'an that Khwarshah was coming, he said, "Why are they bringing him and tiring a horse uselessly?" With that, he dispatched envoys to do away with him along the way.

Back on this front, as soon as Khwarshah was set on the road, his kith and kin, including men and women down to babes in cradles, were all put to death between Abhar and Qazwin, with no trace remaining.

The Ismailis ruled in these areas for one hundred seventy-seven years, beginning in 477 [1084], for which the word Alamut is a chronogram,[1] and ending on the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da 654 [November 20, 1256]. **[A38]** The number of their rulers was seven, as follows: (1) Hasan b. Ali b. Muhammad al-Sabbah al-Himyari, (2) Kiya Buzurg-Ummed (he and Hasan were both *da'is*), (3) Muhammad Buzurg-Ummed, who is known as 'Ala Dhikrihi's-salam,[2] (4) Hasan b. Muhammad Buzurg-Ummed, (5) Jalaluddin Hasan b. Muhammad, who was also called Hasan Nawmusalman, (6) Ala'uddin Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Muhammad, (7) Ruknuddin Khwarshah b. Ala'uddin, with whom the dynasty became extinct.[3]

The victory over those fortresses and installations is irrefutable proof of the felicity and fortune of Mänggü Qa'an and his brother Hülägü Khan, who easily accomplished such a great task in a short period of time. Had it not been for such good fortune, the territories in submission would have been totally ruined by transport of food and drink. Here ends the section on the conquest of the Heretics.

Hülägü Khan proceeds to Quhistan after conquering the Heretics' strongholds; Baiju Noyan arrives from Anatolia; Hülägü Khan calls him on the carpet and sends him back to Anatolia to complete the conquest.

When Hülägü Khan had completed his conquest of the lands and fortresses of the Heretics, **[A39]** he set out from the vicinity of Qazwin in Rabi' I 655 [March 1257] and headed for Hamadan.

Baiju Noyan arrived from Azerbaijan. Hülägü, angry with him, shouted, "Since Chormaqan Noyan died, what have you done in Iran in his place? What battle line have you broken? What rebel have you brought into submission? Other than frightening the Mongol army with tales of

[1] الموت (Alamut) yields 477 by numerical value of the letters.

[2] The epithet 'Ala Dhikrihi's-salam belongs to the next ruler, Hasan II, not Muhammad I.

[3] The reigns of these are as follows: Hasan al-Sabbah, 1090–1124; Kiya Buzurg-Ummed, 1124–1138; Muhammad I, 1138–1162; Hasan II, 1162–1166; Nuruddin Muhammad II, 1166–1210; Jalaluddin Hasan III, 1210–1221; Ala'uddin Muhammad III, 1221–1255; Ruknuddin Khwarshah, 1255–1256.

the Caliph's might and grandeur, what have you done?"

He knelt and said, "It isn't my fault. I did what I could. [698] I have taken from the gates of Ray to the border of Anatolia and Syria. The only thing I haven't done is to take Baghdad because there are too many people and soldiers with too many arms, and the roads are too difficult to get the army there. It is the padishah's to command, whatever he orders I will obey."

With these words Hülägü's wrath subsided and he said, "You must go and take the lands from the edge of the western sea from the hands of the sons of the Roi de France and the infidels."[1]

Baiju Noyan immediately returned and led his army to Anatolia. At that time the sultan of Anatolia was Ghiyasuddin Kaykhusraw, the son of Ala'uddin. He did battle with Baiju Noyan at Kösä Dagh and was defeated. Baiju took all of Anatolia, massacring and pillaging.

Hülägü Khan and the princes Quli, Balagha, and Tutar and the great amirs Buqa Temür, Qutusun, Qata, Su'unchaq, and Kökä Elgäi camped in the plains of Hamadan near Jatmabad, a meadow in Kurdistan, where they began outfitting the army. [A40]

Unrest breaks out in Baghdad; a dispute between Dawatdar and the vizier; the beginning of the Caliph's demise.

Toward the end of the summer of 654 [1256], a huge flood came and so inundated the city of Baghdad that the lower part of the inhabited section disappeared under water. For fifty days the flood increased, and then it began to subside. Half the outlying districts of Iraq were destroyed. The "Musta'simid flood" is still proverbial in the mouths of the people of Baghdad.

During the catastrophe, rabble took over, and every day they killed people. Mujahiduddin Aybak the Dawatdar[2] called the rabble to himself, and in a short time he had become very powerful. When he was strong, and since he knew the Caliph Musta'sim to be indecisive and simple-hearted, he conspired with a group of his henchmen to depose the caliph and put another of the Abbasids in his place.

The vizier Mu'ayyiduddin Ibn Alqami learned of the plot and informed Musta'sim in secret, saying, "It is imperative that they be dealt with." The caliph immediately summoned the Dawatdar and repeated to him the vizier's report, saying, "Because of the trust I have in you I did not listen to the vizier's calumny of you and have told it to you. You should not be beguiled in any way, and you must not swerve from the path of obedience."

When Aybak perceived the caliph's kindness and affection, [699] he replied, "If a crime is proven against me, here is my head and here is a sword. What then of the Caliph's forgiveness and clemency? The deceitful vizier has been led astray by a demon: he has it in his dark mind to support Hülägü and the Mongol army, and his calumny of me is to divert suspicion from himself. [A41] He is against the caliph, and spies are constantly being exchanged between him and Hülägü."

The caliph pardoned him and said, "Henceforth be awake and aware." Mujahiduddin Aybak left the caliph and gathered a large force of rabble around himself with which to attack the caliph. They were with him day and night. The caliph became apprehensive and gathered his army to repulse him. There was much unrest in Baghdad, and the inhabitants, sick and tired of the

[1]For the garbled version of *roi de France*, see text p. 607 (trs. p. 418, note 7). "Infidels" is a guess at the reading of a practically indecipherable word.

[2]The *dawatdar*, the inkpot holder, was a high court office under the late Abbasids.

Abbasids, considered this a sign of the end of their reign as varying allegiances appeared among them.

The caliph became fearful and told Fakhruddin Damghani, his divan chief, to quell the disturbance. In his own handwriting he gave him a letter saying, "What has been said concerning the Dawatdar is calumny and slander. We have complete faith in him, and he is under our protection." This letter he sent by Ibn Durnus. The Dawatdar appeared before the caliph and was placated and withdrew with honor. Heralds were sent throughout the city to proclaim that what had been said about the Dawatdar was false, and in the *khutba*, after the mention of the caliph, the Dawatdar's name was mentioned. With this, the unrest subsided.

Hülägü Khan heads for Baghdad; emissaries are exchanged between him and the caliph; what happened in the end.

On the 9th of Rabi' II 655 [April 26, 1257] Hülägü Khan arrived in Dinawar on his way to Baghdad. From there he withdrew and went to Tabriz. On the 12th of Rajab of that year [July 26] and also on the 19th of Ramadan [September 21] he went to Hamadan.

An emissary was sent to the caliph bearing threats and promises, saying, "When the Heretics' fortresses were conquered we sent emissaries to request assistance from you. **[A42]** In reply you said that you were in submission, but you did not send troops. Now, a token of submissiveness and allegiance is that you assist us with troops when we ride against foes. You have not done so, and you send excuses. No matter how ancient and grand your family may be, and no matter how fortunate your dynasty has been, **[700]** 'is the brightness of the moon such that it can eclipse the brilliance of the sun?' Talk of what the Mongol army has done to the world and those in it from the time of Genghis Khan until today may have reached your hearing from common and elite, and you may have heard how, through God's strength, they have brought low the dynasties of the Khwarazmians, the Seljuqs, the Daylamite kings, the Atabegs, and others, all of whom were families of might and majesty. The gates of Baghdad were not closed to any of those groups, and they kept thrones there. With the might and power we possess, how shall they be closed to us?

"Previously we have given you advice, but now we say you should avoid our wrath and vengeance. Do not try to overreach yourself or accomplish the impossible, for you will only succeed in harming yourself. The past is over. Destroy your ramparts, fill in your moats, turn the kingdom over to your son, and come to us. If you do not wish to come, send all three, the vizier, Sulaymanshah, and the Dawatdar, that they may convey our message word for word. If our command is obeyed, it will not be necessary for us to wreak vengeance, and you may retain your lands, army, and subjects. If you do not heed our advice and dispute with us, line up your soldiers and get ready for the field of battle, for we have our loins girded for battle with you and are standing at the ready. When I lead my troops in wrath against Baghdad, even if you hide in the sky or in the earth, **[A43]** 'I shall bring you down from the turning celestial sphere; I shall pull you up like a lion. / I shall not leave one person alive in your realm, and I shall put your city and country to the torch.'

"If you desire to have mercy on your ancient family's heads, heed my advice. If you do not, let us see what God's will is."

When the emissaries arrived in Baghdad and delivered this message, the caliph sent back Sharafuddin Ibn al-Jawzi, an eloquent man, and Badruddin Muhammad Dizbaki Nakhjiwani in the company of the emis-

saries. In reply the caliph said, "Young man, you have just come of age and have expectations of living forever. You have seen your 'ten days' pass prosperously and auspiciously in dominating the whole world. You think your command is absolute. [701] Since you are not going to get anything from me, why do you seek? 'You come with strategy, troops, and lasso, but how are you going to capture a star?' Does the prince not know that from the east to the west, from king to beggar, from old to young, all who are God-fearing and God-worshipping are servants of this court and soldiers in my army? When I motion for all those who are dispersed to come together, I will deal first with Iran and then turn my attention to Turan, and I will put every one in his proper place. Of course, the face of the earth will be full of tumult, but I do not seek vengeance or to harm anyone. I do not desire that the tongues of my subjects should either congratulate or curse me because of the movement of armies, especially since I am of one heart and one tongue with the Qa'an and Hülägü. If, like me, you were to sow seeds of friendship, do you think you would have to deal with my moats and ramparts and those of my servants? Adopt the path of friendship and go back to Khurasan. If you are intent upon war and battle, [A44]

Tarry not, hasten away, and abide not. If you have a moment's thought of war, / I have thousands and thousands of cavalry and infantry worthy of the battlefield,

and when they wreak vengeance they can stir up dust from the water of the sea."

Giving them a message like this, he sent the emissaries off with a few gifts and presents. When they got outside the city, the entire plain was filled with common people, who cursed the envoys and then attacked them, tearing their clothing and throwing mud at them, hoping to provoke them into saying something that would allow them to injure them. The vizier was informed, and he immediately dispatched several military slaves to get the emissaries away.

When the envoys reached Hülägü Khan's court and reported what they had seen, the padishah said angrily, "The caliph is a total incompetent. He is as crooked as a bow; but if God the eternal assists me, [702] I will make him straight as an arrow through chastisement."

Then the caliph's envoys, Ibn al-Jawzi and Badruddin Dizbaki, entered and delivered their message. Hearing the caliph's ill-considered words, Hülägü Khan flew into a rage and said, "God's will for these people is other than the thoughts He puts in their minds." And in the month of ___ in Luy Yil, corresponding to the year 655 [1256], at Panj Angusht in Hamadan, where his *ordu* was, he gave the caliph's envoys leave to withdraw and sent a message saying, "God the eternal elevated Genghis Khan and his progeny and gave us all the face of the earth, from east to west. Anyone whose heart and tongue are straight with us in submission retains his kingdom, property, women, children, and life. [A45] He who contemplates otherwise will not live to enjoy them." Chastising the caliph severely, he said, "Love of status and property, conceit, and pride in transitory fortune have so seduced you that even the words of your well-wishers have no effect on you. Your ear cannot hear the advice of the compassionate, and you have deviated from the path of your fathers and forebears. You must get ready for battle, for I am coming to Baghdad with an army as numerous as ants and locusts. Be the turning of the celestial sphere how it may, the power to command is God's."

After arriving, the envoys reported the world-conquering padishah's message to the vizier, and he relayed it to the caliph, who asked, "What is your idea to repel this omnipotent and wrathful foe?"

"We should trip the foe up by spending money," he replied, "for accumulated treasure is to be spent on protecting one's honor and life. A thousand loads of precious items, a thousand choice camels, and a thousand Arabian horses with accoutrements must be made ready, and gifts and presents must be sent by envoys to the princes and amirs according to their ranks. An apology must be made, and it must be accepted that the *khutba* and coinage be in his name."

The caliph approved of the vizier's plan and gave an order for it to be carried out.

Mujahiduddin Aybak, who was called the "Little" Dawatdar, and who bore an implacable hatred for the vizier, sent a message, in league with other amirs and the rabble of Baghdad, to the caliph, saying, "The vizier has thought up this plan in his own interests in order to ingratiate himself with Hülägü Khan and to undo us and the soldiers. We will block the roads, and we will seize the envoys carrying the tribute and bring calamity down on them."

After receiving this message, the caliph changed his mind about sending tribute and audaciously sent word to the vizier saying, [703] "Do not fear the future, and do not talk fables, for there is friendship and unity, not enmity and hostility, between me and Hülägü and Mänggü Qa'an. [A46] Since I am their friend, they are of course friendly and benevolent toward me. The envoys' message is false. Even if these brothers contemplate opposition to or treachery against me, what has the Abbasid dynasty to fear, when the monarchs of the face of the earth stand as our army and obey our every command? If I request an army from every country and mount to repulse the foe, I can incite Iran and Turan against these brothers. Be of stout heart, and do not fear the threats of the Mongols, for although they are powerful upstarts, they pose nothing but an empty threat to the House of Abbas."

Hearing such rambling, the vizier knew that the Abbasids' fortune was about to end, and since it was going to end during his term of office, he writhed like a snake and tried in every way possible to think up a strategy.

The amirs and grandees of Baghdad like Sulaymanshah Ibn Barjam, Fathuddin Ibn Kurd, and Mujahiduddin Aybak the "Little" Dawatdar assembled in the presence of the vizier and loosed their tongues in revilement of the caliph. "He is a friend of jesters and singers," they said, "and an enemy of soldiers. We commanders of the army have had to sell during his time what we accumulated during his father's."

"If the caliph does not undertake to repulse this powerful foe," said Sulaymanshah, "soon the Mongol army will overrun Baghdad, and they will have compassion on no one. Just as they have done to every other country, they will leave neither nomad nor city dweller, neither strong nor weak, and they will ravish those they take captive. Had the Mongols not taken the surroundings in all directions, it would have been easy to gather forces, and I could have made a surprise attack and scattered them. If things turn out not as expected, it is better for a cavalier to be killed in the field of battle with a good name." [A47]

When these words were reported to the caliph, they met with his approval. "Sulaymanshah's words are like balm to my wounded soul," he said to the vizier. "Muster the army as he says, and I will make them rich with dirhems and dinars. Turn the army over to Sulaymanshah, and let him put his words into action."

The vizier knew the caliph would not give any money, but he did not show his opposition to his enemies right away and told the officer of the muster to assemble the army little by little so that the news of the gathering of the army at the caliph's court would

reach everyone far and near and thus the foe would be slow to attack. **[704]**

Five months later the officer of the muster informed the vizier that a large number of soldiers had been assembled and it was time for the caliph's promised gold to be given. When the vizier reported this, the caliph excused himself. The vizier despaired of his promises totally and, giving in to fate, sat waiting patiently to see what turn fortune would bring.

Since the Dawatdar was on hostile terms with the vizier at that time and the city rabble was under the Dawatdar's command, rumors spread among the people that the vizier was at one with Hülägü and that he was hoping for Hülägü's victory and the caliph's demise.

The caliph, once again, sent a few gifts by Badruddin Dizbaki and Qazi Bandinjan with a message saying, "Although the padishah may not be aware of it, you can ask those who know history. Until now every monarch who has attacked the Abbasid dynasty and Baghdad has met a sad doom. Despite all the mighty and powerful kings and princes who have attacked us, the foundation of this palace is extremely strong and will last until Doomsday. In times past Ya'qub Layth the Saffarid attacked the caliph of the age and set out for Baghdad with a huge army; before reaching his goal he died of a pain in his belly. So also did his brother Amr set forth, but Isma'il ibn Ahmad the Samanid seized him, threw him into chains, and sent him to Baghdad for the caliph to fulfill his destiny. Basasiri came to Baghdad from Egypt with a large army. **[A48]** He seized the caliph, imprisoning him in Haditha, and for two years he put the *khutba* and coinage in Baghdad in the name of Mustansir, the Ismailis' caliph in Egypt. In the end Toghril Beg the Seljuq was informed and came from Khurasan. He attacked Basasiri with a well-equipped army, seized and killed him, released the caliph from prison, and restored him to the throne in Baghdad. Sultan Muhammad the Seljuq also attacked Baghdad, but he retraced his steps in rout and died along the way. Muhammad Khwarazmshah brought a large army to exterminate this dynasty, but he was trapped by God's wrath in the form of snow and hail in a pass in Asadabad, most of his army perished, and he turned back the worse for his attempt and got from your grandfather Genghis Khan what he got on an island in the Caspian. It is not politic for the padishah to think of attacking the Abbasid dynasty. You should worry about the evil eye of adverse fortune." **[705]**

These words served only to increase Hülägü Khan's anger, and he sent the envoys back, saying, " 'Go build a city and ramparts of iron; raise towers and walls of steel. / Assemble an army of demons and fairies, and then come before vengeful me. / If you are above the celestial sphere, I shall bring you down miserably into the jaws of a lion.' "

Hülägü Khan arrays and equips his army to conquer Baghdad, and the surrounding areas are taken.

When Hülägü sent the envoys back, he contemplated the numerousness of the Baghdad army and began to array his troops. Since he wanted to take first the environs of Baghdad, **[A49]** which are high, forbidding mountains, he sent a messenger with a summons to Husamuddin Akka, who was governor of Dartang and that area on behalf of the caliph and who had been humiliatingly demoted by Musta'sim. Without hesitation Husamuddin turned Dartang over to his son, Amir Sa'd, and immediately went to Hülägü, who showed him much favor, rewarded him amply, and gave him permission to withdraw. Husamuddin handed over the fortresses of Dizh Zar, Dizh Marj, and several others and then

withdrew. Hülägü sent a troop to every fortress, and they all surrendered.

When Husamuddin got what he had long been wishing for and Sulaymanshah's troops were gathered near him, he became overbearing and proud and sent a messenger to the governor of Arbela, Ibn Salaya Alavi, to make peace between him and the caliphal divan, saying, "I have weighed Hülägü in the scales of competence and intelligence and, his violence and terror notwithstanding, have found him wanting. If the caliph encourages me and sends a mounted troop, I will assemble a force of nearly a hundred thousand Kurds and Turcomans and take the road against Hülägü Khan. I will not allow a single soldier of his to enter the province of Baghdad."

Ibn Salaya informed the vizier of the situation, and he reported it to the caliph, who paid little attention, attributing it to rumors. When this reached Hülägü's hearing he flew into a rage and sent Ket Buqa Noyan with thirty thousand horsemen to repulse them. **[706]** When he was near he summoned Husamuddin and said, "The campaign against Baghdad is under way, and there is need of your consultation." Oblivious, Husamuddin came, and Ket Buqa put him under guard, saying, "If you want to be released and remain the governor of these installations, get your women and children and all your retainers and soldiers out of the fortresses so that I can make a count **[A50]** and impose a tribute and *qubjur* tax." There was nothing Husamuddin could do. He summoned them all, and Ket Buqa said, "If your heart is right with the Padishah, order all the fortresses destroyed as proof." Realizing that his ill-guarded words had reached them, he despaired of his life and had all the fortresses destroyed. After that, he and all his followers were killed except for the inhabitants of the one fortress where his son Amir Sa'd was. He was summoned with threats, but he did not comply and said, "Your word is not to be trusted, and I cannot rely on it." He wandered around the mountains for a while in disguise, and in the end he went to Baghdad and was rewarded by the caliphal divan. He was killed in the Battle of Baghdad.

Ket Buqa Noyan came back to court victorious and triumphant from those areas, and Hülägü consulted with his ministers and advisers on the expedition. Every one had something different to say according to his own beliefs. He summoned Husamuddin the astrologer, who had accompanied him at the qa'an's order to choose auspicious times for mounting and dismounting, and said, "Tell me, without dissimulation, everything that appears in the stars."

Since the astrologer held an intimate enough position to be bold, he said in absolute terms to the padishah, "Neither to attack the house of the caliphate nor to lead an army to Baghdad is auspicious, for until now no ruler who has attacked Baghdad and the Abbasids has enjoyed either kingdom or life. If the padishah does not heed my words and goes there, six catastrophes will befall—first, all the horses will die and the soldiers will fall ill; second, the sun will not rise; third, rain will not fall; fourth, a cold, destructive wind will arise, and the world will be destroyed by earthquake; fifth, the plants will not grow from the ground; sixth, a great ruler will die within the year." **[A51]**

Hülägü asked him for proof of his claims and got a *möchälgä* [written pledge] from him.

The bakhshis and commanders, however, were unanimous in saying that going to Baghdad was the very best policy.

Then he summoned Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi and consulted with him. The khwaja was apprehensive and thought that it was some sort of test. "None of these things will happen," he said.

"Then what will happen?" Hülägü asked.

"Hülägü Khan will take the caliph's place," he replied.

After that, Hülägü summoned Husamuddin and had him debate with Khwaja Nasîruddin. [707]

"All Islamic peoples are agreed that some of the great companions of the Prophet were martyred," the khwaja said, "and no catastrophe appeared. If it is claimed that this is some special characteristic of the Abbasids, Tahir came from Khurasan by order of Ma'mun and killed his brother Amin, the amirs conspired and killed one of Mutawakkil's sons, and Muntasir and Mu'tazz were killed by amirs and slaves. Several other caliphs were also killed by various persons, and no catastrophe befell."

From the wise man's speech the prince's heart lit up like a tulip in spring.

Hülägü Khan rides against Baghdad and leads his armies from all directions to the City of Peace; the city is taken, and the rule of the Abbasid caliphs comes to an end.

Having set out on the march to Baghdad, Hülägü said, "Let Chormaqan's and Baiju Noyan's soldiers, whose *yurt* is in Anatolia, enter Mosul in the right wing from the direction of Arbela, cross the bridge at Mosul, and camp west of Baghdad [A52] so when our banners arrive from the east they can enter from that direction." To enter in the right wing under Sönitäi Noyan on Hülägü Khan's side were Prince Balagha,[1] the son of Jochi's son Shiban; Prince Tutar, the son of Jochi's son [Boqal's son Minqadur];[2] and Prince Quli, the son of Jochi's son Orda, together with Buqa Temür and Su'unchaq Noyan. Ket Buqa Noyan, Qudusun, and Elgäi were to enter in the left wing from Luristan, ___,[3] Khuzistan, and Bayat as far as the shore of the gulf. Hülägü stationed his *aghruq*s at Zaki meadow near Hamadan and assigned Qiyaq Noyan to head them.

Around the beginning of [Dhu'l-Qa'da] 655,[4] he and his soldiers set forth in the center, which the Mongols call the *qol*, via Kirmanshahan and Hulwan. The great commanders Kökä Elgäi, Uruqtu, and Arghun Aqa, the *bitigchi*s Qaraqai, Sayfuddin Bitigchi, who was the administrator of the kingdom, Mawlana Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi, and Sahib Sa'id Ala'uddin Ata-Malik with all the sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran were at court. When they arrived under favorable auspices in Asadabad, once again he sent a messenger to summon the caliph, but the caliph refused. At Dinawar, Ibn al-Jawzi arrived again from Baghdad bearing a message filled with entreaties for Hülägü to turn back, in exchange for which the caliph would remit whatever would be agreed upon to the treasury annually. [708]

Hülägü Khan thought the caliph wanted the troops to turn back and thus incite them to disobedience. "Since we have come all this way," he said, "how can we turn back without having seen the caliph? After we have had an audience with him and seen and spoken with him, we will withdraw with his permission." [A53]

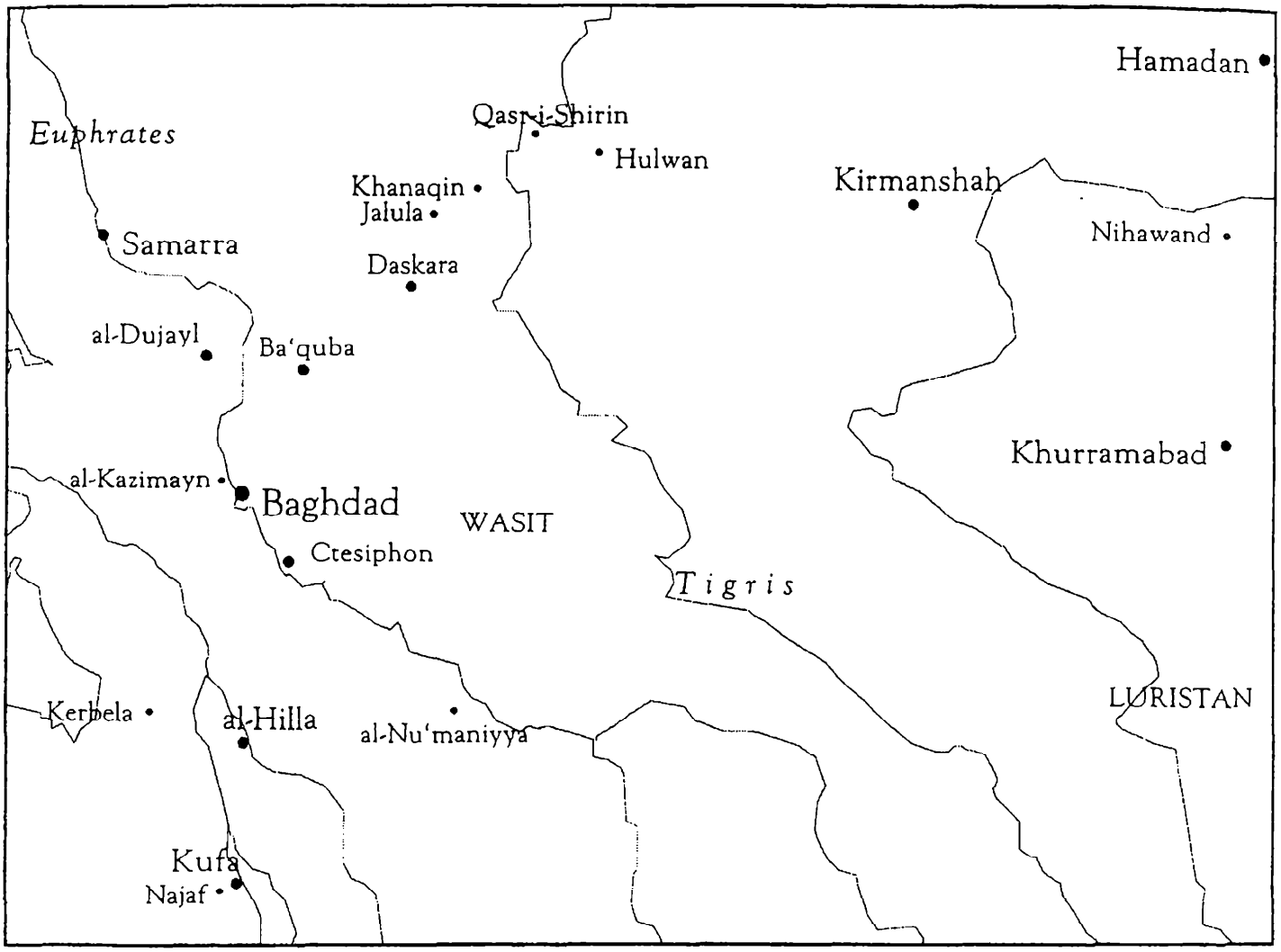
From there they went to the mountains of the Kurds. On the 27th of the month [December 6, 1257] he camped in Kirmanshahan, where they massacred and pillaged. A messenger was dispatched for the

[1]Balagha ~ Balaqan. See text p. 516 above.

[2]Reading Minqadur (see text p. 518 above) for the text's سنقور, and inserting Boqal, whose name is omitted.

[3]JT_{AZ} has كريت, unknown. JT_K has تكريت (Tikrit), but that can scarcely be correct, for Tikrit lies far to the north of Baghdad and certainly does not belong here. Whatever the name is, coming as it does between Luristan and Khuzistan, it should indicate the area around Dizful.

[4]Text has Muharram 655 (January 1257), which cannot be correct. It must be a mistake for Dhu'l-Qa'da 655, which began on November 10, 1257.



princes, Su'unchaq, Baiju Noyan, and Sönitäi to come quickly. They joined the padishah at Ctesiphon. Aybak Halabi and Sayfuddin Qilich, who were advance scouts in that area, were captured and taken to court. Hülägü spared Aybak's life, in return for which he undertook to convey his words verbatim. Hülägü made them liege men to the Mongol *yäzäk* and sent them back well rewarded to cross the Tigris and head for the area west of Baghdad. They burned sheep shanks as was their custom, turned back, crossed the Tigris, and headed for Baghdad's western frontier.

The Baghdad advance guard was commanded by a Qipchaq named Qara Sonqor. In the Mongol *yäzäk* was Sultanchuq, a descendant of the Khwarazmians, and he sent a letter to Qara Sonqor, saying, "You and I are of one race. After running from pillar to post in despair and poverty, I succeeded in joining His Majesty's court and surrendering, and he maintains me well. You too have mercy on your own soul, be kind to your children, and surrender so that your life, family, and property may be spared by these people."

In reply Qara Sonqor wrote, "How dare the Mongols attack the House of Abbas, for that family has seen as much good fortune as Genghis Khan's, and their foundations are too firm to quake with every passing breeze. They have been ruling for more than five hundred years, and no creature who has attacked them has been spared by fate. It is far from perspicacious of you to invite me to join the young sapling of Mongol fortune. If he were in amity and friendship, when Hülägü Khan finished conquering the Heretics' lands and fort-

resses, he should not have gone past Ray but should have returned to Khurasan and Turkistan. The caliph's feelings have been hurt by his onslaught. This being so, if Hülägü Khan regrets what he has done **[A54]** and turns back to Hamadan with his troops, we will have the Dawatdar intercede and plead with the caliph on his behalf. Perhaps he may overlook the offense and accept a truce so that the gates of fighting and contention may be closed."

When Sultanchuq reported the contents of the letter to Hülägü Khan, he laughed and said, "My reliance is on the Creator, not on dirhems and dinars. **[709]** If God the eternal befriends me, what do I have to worry from the caliph and his troops?"

To me what are ants, mosquitoes, elephants?
What is a spring, a canal, the river Nile? / If
God commands a thing, who other than Him
knows what the outcome will be?

Another emissary was sent to say, "If the caliph is in submission, let him come out. Otherwise, this means war. Let the vizier, Sulaymanshah, and the Dawatdar come first to hear our words."

Decamping the next day, he stopped by the banks of the river in Hulwan, where he remained from the 9th of Dhu'l-Hijja 655 until the 22nd [December 18–31, 1257]. During that time Ket Buqa Noyan took much territory in Luristan both by truce and by force. On the 11th of Chaqshapat Ay of Moghai Yil, corresponding to the 9th of Muharram 656 [January 16, 1258] Baiju Noyan, Buqa Temür, and Su'unchaq crossed the Tigris at the agreed-upon place on the Dujayl[1] road and arrived in the vicinity of Nahr Isa. Su'unchaq Noyan begged Baiju for the vanguard to be west of Baghdad, and, receiving permission, he set off and went to Harbiyya.[2]

Mujahiduddin Aybak the Dawatdar, who was head of the caliph's army, and Ibn Kurd had first made camp between Ba'quba and Bajisra. **[A55]** When they heard that the Mongols were coming to the west and had crossed the Tigris in the vicinity of Anbar, they did battle with Su'unchaq and Buqa Temür at the gate to Mansur's kiosk above Midrafa, nine leagues from Baghdad. The Mongol troops fell back and went to Bashiriyya in the Dujayl district. When Baiju joined them, they turned back. In that vicinity was a large lake. The Mongols opened the dykes and flooded the entire plain behind the backs of the Baghdad army. At sunrise on Thursday morning, the day of Ashura [January 17], Baiju and Buqa Temür attacked the Dawatdar and Ibn Kurd, defeating them and throwing the Baghdad army into rout. Fathuddin Ibn Kurd and Qara Sonqor, the leaders of the army, and twelve thousand Baghdadis were killed—aside from those who were drowned or got stuck in the mud. The Dawatdar and a few escaped to Baghdad. Others fled to Hilla and Kufa.

The eve of Saturday the 15th of Muharram [January 22] Buqa Temür, Baiju Noyan, and Su'unchaq Noyan came to Baghdad and took control of the western side. They camped in the city quarters alongside the Tigris. Ket Buqa Noyan and the others arrived from the direction of Nahasiyya **[710]** and Sarsar with an enormous army. Hülägü Khan left his *aghruq* in Khanaqin and set out, camping on the eastern side on the 17th of Chaqshapat Ay of Moghai Yil, corresponding to the 15th of Muharram [January 22].

The Mongol army swarmed in like ants and locusts from all directions, forming a

[1]The district of Dujayl (mod. Dijeyl and other various spellings) lies west of the Tigris between Baghdad and Samarra. See Mehmet Hurşid, *Seyâhatnâma*, 147, where it is transcribed as Diceyl Mukâta'ası.

[2]The al-Harbiyya Quarter lay just north and northwest of the Round City of Baghdad on the west bank of the river.

circle around the ramparts of Baghdad and setting up a wall. On Tuesday the 22nd [January 29], with Aries in the ascendant, they began to fight. From the direction of the Khurasan road the Padishah of the World was in the center to the left of the city, opposite the Ajami Tower; Elgäi Noyan and Quya were at the Kalwadha Gate; Quli, Balagha, Tutar, Shirämün, and Uruqtu **[A56]** were at the city gates at the Suq Uthman Gate; Buqa Temür came from the direction of the citadel toward the *qibla* in Dolab Baql; Baiju and Su'unchaq came from the west, where the Azudi Hospital is. They prosecuted the battle in unison, set up catapults opposite the Ajami Tower, and breached it. The caliph sent out the vizier and the catholicos, saying, "The Padishah said I should send the vizier out. I have kept my promise and am sending him. Let the Padishah also keep his word."

Hülägü Khan said, "We made that stipulation at the gates of Hamadan. Now that we have come to Baghdad and an ocean of tumult and strife has been stirred up, how can we be content with only one? All three must be sent" (by which he meant that the Dawatdar and Sulaymanshah would also have to be sent).

Envoys went to the city, and the next day the vizier, the divan chief, and a group of well-known citizens came out, but they were sent back. Fierce battle was fought for six days and nights. Hülägü Khan ordered six decrees written, saying, "The lives of cadis, scholars, shaykhs, Alids, and Nestorian priests, and persons who do not combat against us are safe from us." The proclamations were fastened to arrows and shot into the city from six sides. Since there was no stone in the Baghdad vicinity, they brought rocks from Jalula and Jabal Khamrin, and date palms were cut down and hurled instead of stones.

On Friday the 25th of Muharram [February 1] the Ajami Tower was destroyed. On Monday the 27th [February 3] the Mongol soldiers proceeded overwhelmingly against the ramparts opposite the Ajami Tower in the direction the padishah was. They emptied the tops of the walls of people, but they still had not gone on the walls in the direction of Suq Sultan, where Balagha and Tutar were. Hülägü Khan chastised them. Their liege men went up, and by evening they had secured the whole of the tops of the eastern walls. **[A57, 711]**

When bridges were being made, Hülägü had ordered bridges built above and below Baghdad, boats made ready, catapults installed, and guards stationed. Buqa Temür and a *tümän* of soldiers were patrolling the routes to Madayin and Basra to prevent anyone from escaping by boat.

When the battle of Baghdad became intense, and the people were being pressed, the Dawatdar got in a boat to escape down river. When he passed the village of al-'Uqab, Buqa Temür let loose a barrage of catapult stones, arrows, and vials of naphtha. Three boats were taken, and the people were killed. The Dawatdar turned back in rout.

When the caliph was apprised of the situation he despaired totally of his rule of Baghdad. Seeing no escape route, he said, "I will surrender." He sent Fakhruddin Damghani and Ibn Durnus out with a few gifts, thinking that if he sent too much it would indicate how afraid he was and the foe would be further emboldened. Hülägü Khan paid no attention to the embassy, and they returned in failure.

On Tuesday the 29th of Muharram [February 5] the caliph's middle son, Abu'l-Fadl Abdul-Rahman, came out, and the vizier went into the city. The Sahib-Divan and a group of dignitaries were with Abu'l-Fadl, and they had brought a large tribute, but it was not accepted either. The next day, the last of Muharram [February 6], the caliph's eldest son, the vizier, and a group of

courtiers came out to intercede. It was to no avail, and they returned to the city. In their company Hülägü Khan sent Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi and Ay Temür on an embassy to the caliph.

On the first of Safar [February 7] they came out. The padishah sent Fakhruddin Damghani, who was the Sahib-Divan, Ibn al-Jawzi, and Ibn Durnus into the city to bring Sulaymanshah and the Dawatdar out. In order to win them over he sent a decree and a *paiza* and said, "The caliph can do what he wants. If he wants, let him come out; if not, let him not come out. But the Mongol troops will remain on the walls where they are until *they* come out." **[A58]**

On Thursday the first of Safar they both came out. They were sent back into the city to get their retainers out to ride on an expedition to Egypt and Syria. With them, the army of Baghdad decided to come out, as did an innumerable host, hoping to find safety, but they were divided into units of thousands, hundreds, and tens and killed to the last. Those who remained in the city fled into nooks and crannies.

A group of dignitaries came out and asked for amnesty, saying, "Many people are surrendering. Let them have a respite, for the caliph will send his sons and will come out himself." During this an arrow hit Hindu Bitigchi, one of the great commanders, in the eye. **[712]** Hülägü Khan flew into a rage and ordered all haste to be made in taking Baghdad. He commanded Khwaja Nasîruddin to take up residence at the Halaba Gate for the purpose of granting amnesty to the people, and they began to get them out of the city.

On Friday the 2nd of Safar [February 8] the Dawatdar and his followers were killed. Sulaymanshah and seven hundred of his relatives were brought in, hands bound, and questioned.

"Since you are a star-gazer and astrologer and know about good and ill portents in the heavens, how is it you didn't see your own day of doom and didn't advise your lord to come before us in peace?" he was asked.

"The caliph was headstrong and ill-starred," he replied. "He did not listen to the advice of his well-wishers." An order was given for him and all his followers to be martyred. Amir Hajjuddin, the son of the "Big" Dawatdar, was also killed. The heads of all three were sent to Mosul by Malik Salih, Badruddin Lu'lu's son. Badruddin, having been a friend of Sulaymanshah's, wept, but in fear for his own life he hung the heads on the gibbet.

After that, when the Caliph Musta'sim saw that it was all over, he summoned the vizier and asked, "What's to be done?" **[A59]**

In reply he quoted this line of poetry: " 'They think the matter is simple, but it is a sword whose edges have been sharpened for meeting.' "

After Basra was destroyed, the caliph and his three sons, Abu'l-Fadl Abdul-Rahman, Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad, and Abu'l-Manaqib Mubarak, came out on Sunday the 4th of Safar 656 [February 10, 1258]. With him were three thousand sayyids, imams, cadis, grandees and dignitaries of the city. He approached Hülägü Khan, and the padishah did not exhibit any anger but asked after his health kindly and pleasantly. After that he said to the caliph, "Tell the people of the city to throw down their weapons and come out so that we may make a count." The caliph sent word into the city for it to be heralded that the people should throw down their weapons and come out. The people disarmed themselves and came out in droves, and the Mongols killed them. It was then ordered that the caliph and his sons and followers should pitch tents at the Kalwadha Gate at Ket Buqa Noyan's camp. Several Mongols were set over them as guards. The caliph wept over his imminent

doom and regretted having abandoned the battlefield and having rejected good advice.

In his heart he said, "My enemy has succeeded: I have fallen into a snare like a clever little bird."

[713] On Wednesday the 7th of Safar [February 13] the pillage and general massacre began. In one fell swoop the army went into the city and burned everything except a few houses belonging to Nestorians and some foreigners.

On Friday the 9th of Safar [February 15] Hülägü Khan went into the city to see the caliph's palace. He settled into the Octagon Palace and gave a banquet for the commanders. Summoning the caliph, he said, "You are the host, and we are the guests. Bring whatever you have that is suitable for us." The caliph, thinking he was speaking seriously, trembled in fear. **[A60]** He was so frenzied that he couldn't tell the keys to the treasuries one from another and had to have several locks broken. He brought two thousand suits of clothing, ten thousand dinars, precious items, jewel-encrusted vessels, and several gems. Hülägü Khan paid no attention and gave it all away to the commanders and others present.

"The possessions you have on the face of the earth are apparent," he said to the caliph. "Tell my servants what and where your buried treasures are." The caliph confessed that there was a pool full of gold in the middle of the palace. They dug it up, and it was full of gold, all in hundred-mithcal ingots.

An order was given for the caliph's harem to be counted. There were seven hundred women and concubines and a thousand servants. When the caliph was apprised of the count of the harem, he begged and pleaded, saying, "Let me have the women of the harem, upon whom neither the sun nor the moon has ever shone."

"Of these seven hundred, choose a hundred," he was told, "and leave the rest." The caliph selected a hundred women from among his favorites and close relatives and took them away.

That night Hülägü Khan went to the *ordu*. The next morning he ordered Su'unchaq to go into the city, confiscate the caliph's possessions, and send them out. The items that had been accumulated over six hundred years were all stacked in mountainous piles around the *kiriyäs*. Most of the holy places like the caliph's mosque, the Musa-Jawad shrine, and the tombs in Rusafa were burned.

The people of the city sent Sharafuddin Maragha'i, Shihabuddin Zanjani, and Malik Dilrast to request amnesty. An order was given, saying, "Henceforth the killing and pillaging will cease, for the kingdom of Baghdad is ours. Let them dwell as they were, and let everyone get on with his business. Sheathe your swords, for they are granted quarter."

Hülägü Khan decamped from Baghdad on Wednesday the 14th of Safar [February 20] on account of the foul air and camped in the village of Waqaf-u-Jalabiyya. **[A61]** Amir Abdul-Rahman was dispatched to conquer Khuzistan.

The caliph was summoned. Having been subjected to such bad commands before, he was extremely afraid and said to the vizier, "What are we to do?"

"*Lihyatunâ tawîla* [our beard is too long]," he replied, **[714]** by which he meant that at first, when the plan was to send a lot of tribute to ward off the threat, the Dawatdar had said, "The vizier's beard is too long,"[1] and prevented it from happening. The caliph had listened to him and put the vizier's plan aside.

In short, the caliph despaired of his life

[1]The Arabic idiom means to be deficient in mental acumen. Cf. the Arabic proverb, *man ṭâlat liḥyatuhu qaṣarat fiṭnatuhu* 'whose beard is long, his comprehension is short' (Sa'id al-Khuri al-Shartuni, *Aqrab al-Mawarid* 2:1135).

and requested permission to go into the bath to renew his ablutions. Hülägü Khan said he could go in with five Mongols.

"I don't want the companionship of five myrmidons of hell," he said as he recited two or three lines of an ode, the first line of which is as follows:

We woke up in the morning in a palace like paradise, but we went to bed without a palace with which we could not dispense yesterday.

At the end of the day on Wednesday the 14th of Safar 656 [February 20, 1258], the caliph, his eldest son, and five of his attendants were executed in the village of Waqaf. The next day the others who had camped with him at the Kalwadha Gate were also martyred, and no Abbasid who could be found was left alive, save only a few who did not count and Mubarak Shah, the caliph's youngest son, who was given to Öljäi Khatun, who sent him to Khwaja Nasíruddin in Maragha. He was married to a Mongol woman who bore him two sons.

On Friday the 16th of Safar [February 22] the caliph's middle son was dispatched after his father and brother, and the reign of the House of Abbas, which had mounted the throne after the Umayyads, came to an end. Their caliphate lasted five hundred twenty-five years, and there were thirty-seven of them, as follows: (1) Saffah, (2) Mansur, (3) Mahdi, (4) Hadi, (5) Rashid, (6) Amin, (7) Ma'mun, (8) Mu'tasim, (9) Wathiq, (10) Mutawakkil, (11) Muntasir, (12) Musta'in, **[A62]** (13) Mu'tazz, (14) Muhtadi, (15) Mu'tamid, (16) Mu'tadid, (17) Muktafi, (18) Muqtadir, (19) Qahir, (20) Radi, (21) Muttaqi, (22) Mustakfi, (23) Muti', (24) Tayi', (25) Qadir, (26) Qayim, (27) Muqtadi, (28) Mustazhir, (29) Mustarshid, (30) Rashid, (31) Muqtafi, (32) Mustanjid, (33) Mustadi, (34) Nasir, (35) Zahir, (36) Mustansir, and (37) Musta'sim, who reigned for seventeen years.

The very day the caliph was martyred, his vizier, Mu'ayyiduddin Ibn Alqami, and Fakhruddin Damghani were sent into the city as vizier and chief of administration respectively. Ali Bahadur was made *shahna* and head of the corps of *ortaq*s [merchants] and *uz*es [artisans]. Imaduddin Umar Qazwini was appointed as Amir Qaraqai's deputy, and he restored the caliph's mosque and the Musa-Jawad shrine. Najmuddin Abu-Ja'far Ahmad Imran, who was called Malik Rastdil,[1] was appointed to the districts of East Baghdad, viz. the Khurasan Road, Khalis, and Bandinjin. Nizamuddin Abdul-Mu'min Bandinjin [was made] chief cadi. Elgäi Noyan and Qara Buqa were sent into Baghdad with three thousand Mongol cavalry to undertake reconstruction. **[715]** Everyone buried his dead, the dead animals were cleared from the roads, and the markets were restored.

On Thursday the 29th of Safar [March 7] the vizier's son Sharafuddin and the Sahib-Divan came to court to inquire after certain matters and then returned.

On Friday the 23rd [March 1] Hülägü Khan left and camped at Shaykh Makarim's Dome. From there he proceeded stage by stage to his *ordu*s at Khanaqin.

When Baghdad was besieged, several learned Alids had come from Hilla to request a *shahna*. Hülägü Khan sent Tükäl and Amir Nahli Nakhjiwani there, **[A63]** and on their heels he dispatched Öljäi Khatun's brother Buqa Temür to test the people of Hilla, Kufa, and Wasit. The inhabitants of Hilla came out to greet the army, made bridges over the Euphrates, and rejoiced at the army's arrival. Buqa Temür saw that they were committed [in their support]. On the 10th of Safar [February 16, 1258] he decamped and set out for Wasit, arriving on the 17th [February 23]. The

[1]Rastdil ~ Dilrast. See text p. 713 above. He is known as Ibn Imran. See Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:96f.

people did not surrender, so he camped and took the city, massacring and plundering. Nearly forty thousand people were put to death.

From there he went to Khuzistan, taking Sharafuddin Ibn al-Jawzi with him to get the city of Shushtar to surrender. Some of the caliph's soldiers and Turks fled and others were killed. Basra and that area also surrendered. Amir Sayfuddin Bitigchi pleaded with the court to send a hundred Mongols to Najaf to guard the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful Ali and the inhabitants there.

On the 12th of Rabi' I [March 19] Buqa Temür arrived at the camp, and on the 19th [March 26] the emissaries from Aleppo who had come to Baghdad were sent home carrying a letter Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi had written in Arabic at Hülägü Khan's order. A copy of that letter follows: "We stopped in Baghdad in the year 656, and **an evil morning it was unto those who were warned in vain**.[1] We called upon its lord, but he refused, so he suffered what the text says: **We chastised him with a heavy chastisement**.[2] Now we call upon you to obey us. If you come, well and good; if you refuse, woe betide you. Do not be like one who digs his own grave or bloodies his own nose lest you be one of **those whose works are vain, whose endeavor in the present life hath been wrongly directed, and who think they do the work which is right**.[3] **Neither will this be difficult with God**.[4] And peace be with him who follows the right path." **[A64]**

On Wednesday the 11th of Rabi' II [April 17] Hülägü Khan reached his *aghruq* in the vicinity of Hamadan and Siyah Koh and dismounted from the expedition. He had been unwell, but he recovered.

On the 16th of Rabi' II [April 22] Kökä Bitigchi died. **[716]** On Wednesday the 20th of Rabi' II [April 26] Elgäi Noyan and some commanders arrived at court. On Thursday the 2nd of Jumada II [June 6] Mu'ayyiduddin the vizier of Baghdad died, and his son Sharafuddin was appointed in his stead.

The city of Arbela is conquered by Uruqtu Noyan, and he lays siege to the citadel there.

When Hülägü Khan set out to conquer Baghdad, he assigned the Arbela fortress to Uruqtu Noyan. It is a bastion set firmly upon a glacis and has no like in the inhabited quarter of the globe. When Uruqtu Noyan laid siege, the Kurds began to fight from the citadel, and Tajuddin Ibn Salaya, the lord of Arbela, came to surrender and performed good services. Uruqtu said, "The sign of your true surrender will be the turning over of the citadel." Tajuddin went to the citadel gate, but the Kurdish soldiers would not let him in. After much insistence he gave up and came away, returning to Uruqtu, who sent him to Hülägü Khan. He was found guilty at a trial and executed.

Uruqtu besieged the citadel for a time, but the defenders refused to give in. Then he requested reinforcements from Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu'. He sent a few soldiers. One night the defenders of the citadel came down and launched a surprise attack on the Mongols, killing all they could find, setting their catapults ablaze, and retreating into the citadel. Uruqtu was stunned and summoned Badruddin Lu'lu' for consultation. Badruddin Lu'lu' said, "The best plan is to postpone this until summer, when the Kurds will flee from the heat and go into the mountains, for now the weather is nice and they have plenty of supplies. **[A65]** The citadel is highly impregnable and impossible to take except by stealth." Uruqtu stationed Sultan Badruddin there and went to his

[1] Kor. 37:177.
[2] Kor. 73:16.
[3] Kor. 18:103f.
[4] Kor. 14:20.

summer pastures in Tabriz. When the weather turned hot, the Kurds came down, turned the citadel over to Sultan Badruddin, and went to Syria. Sultan Badruddin destroyed the ramparts, and thus the citadel was also conquered.

The riches of Baghdad and the Heretics' fortresses are taken to Azerbaijan and deposited in the mountain stronghold by Lake Salmas; Badruddin Lu'lu' and the sultan of Anatolia come to the padishah's court.

Hülägü Khan sent the abundant treasuries he had obtained in Baghdad to Azerbaijan with Amir Nasiruddin Ala'uddin, the lord of Ray. The riches he had garnered in the Heretics' fortresses, Anatolia, Georgia, Armenia, Luristan, and Kurdistan were likewise sent. He ordered Malik Majduddin of Tabriz to construct a lofty building of great strength on the mountain called Tala on the shore of Salmas and Urmia Lake. **[717]** All the cash was melted down and turned into bars and deposited there. Some of the rare objects he sent to Mänggü Qa'an to announce his victory and triumph. He also informed him of his conquest of Iran and his intention to go to Egypt and Syria. On this mission went Amir Hulachu. The qa'an was jubilant over the news.

That same year Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu' set out in haste for court by order of the qa'an, arriving at Maragha on the 29th of Rajab 656 [August 1, 1258]. He was more than ninety years old. Hülägü Khan showed him great honor and sent him home on the 6th of Sha'ban [August 8].

On the 7th of Sha'ban [August 9] **[A66]** Atabeg Sa'd, the son of Atabeg Abubakr of Fars, came to court to offer congratulations on the conquest of Baghdad. He was rewarded and allowed to depart.

On the 4th of Sha'ban [August 6] Sultan Izzuddin of Anatolia arrived at court in Mu...q in the environs of Tabriz. On Wednesday the 8th of the month [August 10] Sultan Ruknuddin arrived on his heels. Hülägü Khan had been offended by Sultan Izzuddin's inattention to Baiju Noyan and his having done battle with him, and after the conquest of Baghdad Sultan Izzuddin became very apprehensive and tried to save himself by ruse from the brink of the disaster occasioned by his offense. He ordered a pair of very fine, regal boots made, and on the soles he had his portrait painted. During his *tägishmishi* he gave them to the padishah, and when his gaze fell upon the portrait, the sultan kissed the ground and said, "Your slave hopes the padishah will elevate this slave's head with his royal foot." Hülägü Khan had mercy on him. Doquz Khatun undertook to patronize him and asked that he be pardoned. Hülägü Khan forgave him.

Just then Khwaja Nasíruddin Tusi reported that when Sultan Jalaluddin Khwarazmshah had been defeated by a superior Mongol force and arrived in Tabriz, his soldiers were aggressive toward the peasantry. The khwaja's opinion was asked. "We are at present conquerors, not potentates," he said. "In times of conquest maintenance of the peasantry is not obligatory. When we become potentates we will dispense justice to those who ask for it."

"We, thank God, are both conquerors and potentates," said Hülägü. "With foes we are conquerors, and with our subjects we are potentates. We are not afflicted with weakness and inability like Jalaluddin." **[718]**

Mawlana Nasíruddin builds an observatory in Maragha at Hülägü Khan's order.

On the above-mentioned date an order was given **[A67]** for Khwaja Nasíruddin Tusi to construct an observatory in any place he considered appropriate. He chose the city of Maragha and had a very fine observatory built there. The reason for this is as follows.

Mänggü Qa'an was distinguished among Mongol rulers for his intelligence, perspicacity, sharp wit and mind, and he even solved some problems left by Euclid. In his regal highmindedness he had thought that a star catalogue should be made during his reign and that it should be undertaken by Jamaluddin Muhammad Tahir b. Muhammad al-Zaydi of Bukhara, but some of his observations were faulty. Since Khwaja Nasíruddin's reputation for excellence had spread throughout the world, when Mänggü Qa'an was bidding his brother farewell, he said, "When the Heretics' fortresses are conquered, send Khwaja Nasíruddin here." However, since he was occupied with the conquest of Manzi at the time and was far from his capital, Hülägü Khan ordered the khwaja to construct an observatory here since he was aware of his good character and wanted him in attendance. Seven years after Hülägü Khan mounted the khan's throne the Ilkhanid catalogue was completed with the collaboration of four scholars, Mu'ayyiduddin Urzi, Fakhruddin Maraghi, Fakhruddin of Akhlat, and Najmuddin Dabiran Qazwini.[1]

Hülägü Khan goes to Syria and conquers Aleppo and the realm of Damascus.

The sultan of Aleppo had sent his vizier, Sahib Zaynuddin Hafizi with regal gifts and presents to the qa'an's court, and he had acquired a great reputation there and was awarded a *yarligh* and *paiza*. When Hülägü arrived in Iran, **[A68]** he secretly pledged his allegiance to him, and he was accused of this before the sultan of Syria and an attempt was made on his life. He fled and took refuge with Hülägü Khan, and no sooner had he arrived than the padishah's desire for an expedition to Aleppo increased. In advance he sent emissaries to Badruddin Lu'lu', saying, "Since you are over ninety years old, I exempt you from participating militarily, but you must send your son Malik Salih to ride with the imperial banners to conquer Syria and Egypt." **[719]** In accordance with this command he sent his son, and when he arrived at Hülägü Khan's court he was given one of Sultan Jalaluddin's daughters in marriage.

In the vanguard was dispatched Ket Buqa Noyan with a large army. In the right wing was Shiktür and Baiju, and in the left wing were Su'unchaq and other commanders. Hülägü himself set out for Syria in the *qol* [center] on Friday the 22nd of Ramadan 657 [September 12, 1259] with Scorpio in the ascendant.

When he reached Bala Tagh, he liked the meadow there and named it Labna Saghut. Then he entered Akhlat and the mountains of Hakkari, which were nests of outlaw Kurds, and they killed all they found.

When he reached Diyarbekir, first he conquered Jazira[2] and assigned his son Yoshmut in the company of Sönitäi Noyan to lay siege to the fortress at Mayyafariqin. He sent Malik Salih with a contingent to conquer Amid, and he himself set out for Ruha,[3] which he conquered. From there he went to Dunaysir, Nasibin, and Harran, all of which he took in battle and then massacred and plundered. Crossing the Euphrates, he surrounded Aleppo without warning. The inhabitants, trusting in the impregnability of their citadel, refused to surrender **[A69]** and continued to do battle.

At the Jews' Gate was Uruqtu Noyan, at the Anatolia Gate was Ket Buqa Noyan, at the Damascus Gate was Su'unchaq, and Hülägü Khan camped at the Antioch Gate.

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[1]This is the famous *Zij-i Ilkhani*, the star catalogue that was revised and enhanced in the fifteenth century by Mirza Ulughbeg at Samarkand.

[2]Jazira, the modern Cizre in Turkey.

[3]Ruha (~ Urhay) is Edessa, the modern Urfa (Şanlıurfa) in Turkey.

A *chapar* [stockade] was assembled around the city, and catapults were installed. For a full week the battle was fought hard by both sides, but in the end, in Dhu'l-Hijja 657 [November 19–December 17, 1259], it was taken from the Iraq Gate and a full week of massacre and pillage ensued, during which many people were killed. For forty days and nights they battled against the defenders in the citadel, and catapult stones and arrows rained from both sides. Amir Qorchan, Achu Sükürchi, and Sadun Gurji were wounded several times in the face, for which the padishah gave them large rewards, saying, "Just as rouge is an adornment to women's faces, red blood is a cosmetic adornment to the faces and beards of men."

In the end the citadel was also conquered. Many artisans were made prisoner, and untold *olja* [booty] was taken. For a long time they were occupied with a siege of the Harim Fortress,[1] but in the end the defenders asked for quarter. When Fakhruddin, known as "Saqi," swore an oath, they came down under amnesty, but Hülägü Khan was extremely angry with them and ordered them killed at once along with their wives and children. **[720]** Only an Armenian goldsmith was spared.

When the Aleppo citadel was taken, Hülägü Khan turned it over to Fakhruddin Saqi and installed Tükäl Bakhshi as *shahna*.

After he departed from Aleppo, the people complained of Fakhruddin and an order was given for him to be executed, and the governance of Aleppo was transferred to Zaynuddin Hafizi.

The people of Damascus were apprehensive over attack by the Mongol army, and since they knew that everything surrounding Syria **[A70]** was entirely under Hülägü Khan's control, the dignitaries and grandees came to court bearing all sorts of gifts and the keys to the city gates as a show of surrender. Hülägü Khan ordered Ket Buqa Noyan to go to Damascus and test them. The inhabitants turned out to greet him and asked for amnesty. Ket Buqa sent the nobles and dignitaries to Hülägü Khan, who had mercy on them and granted their requests. The Mongols entered the city without having to lay siege or do battle. A Mongol *shahna* and three Tajik liege men were assigned. Ala'uddin Hashi, Jamaluddin Qaraqai Qazwini, and Qazi Shamsuddin Qummi were appointed to consolidate Damascus. In brief, in a short time Baghdad, Diyarbekir, Diyar Rabi'a,[2] and Syria were completely conquered and brought under the control of Hülägü Khan's deputies.

He also took over the realms of Anatolia, and while he was engaged there emissaries arrived from the east with Shiktür Noyan at their head. He had set out from here in all haste to announce Mänggü Qa'an's death. Hülägü Khan was sorely grieved, but he did not show it. Stationing Ket Buqa Noyan to protect Syria, he withdrew from Aleppo and arrived in Akhlat on Sunday the 24th of Jumada II 658 [June 6, 1260].

When Hülägü Khan had arrived in Aleppo, Malik Nasir, the sultan of Aleppo and Syria, had fled to the fortress at Karak. Ket Buqa wanted to lay siege, but he asked for quarter and came down. Ket Buqa sent him to court, and the padishah promised that when he took Egypt he would give him the governorship of Syria.

In the Bechin Yil that corresponds to 658 [1260] a number of great commanders passed away. **[A71]** Among them were Torji Gürägän, Buqa Temür, Qubai Noyan, ...l...na Noyan, Borungtai Noyan, and Salji'udai Noyan.

Hülägü Khan was distressed by Mänggü Qa'an's death and Ariq Bökä's rebellion.

[1]Harim, a small town two stages west of Aleppo and one stage from Antioch (Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 258f.).

[2]Diyar Rabi'a, the upper Tigris region.

[721]

Ket Buqa Noyan goes to Egypt, does battle with the Egyptian army, and is killed.

When Hülägü Khan departed from Syria, he sent a Mongol emissary with forty liege men on a mission to Egypt, saying, "God the great has elevated Genghis Khan and his progeny and given us the realms of the face of the earth altogether. Everyone who has been recalcitrant in obeying us has been annihilated along with his women, children, kith and kin, towns, and servants, as has surely reached the hearing of all. The reputation of our innumerable army is as well known as the stories of Rustam and Isfandiar. If you are in submission to our court, send tribute, come yourself, and request a *shahna*; otherwise be prepared for battle."

At that time there was no one left of Kamilite lineage worthy of ruling, and a Turcoman had become ruler. When he died he left an infant child named Muhammad, who was elevated to his father's position with Quduz as his *atabeg*. Muhammad died suddenly, and Quduz became ruler. He curried favor with the people through largesse. Most of the soldiers of Syria and Egypt were the defeated troops of Sultan Jalaluddin who had fled from the gates of Akhlat and gone to Syria. Their leaders and commanders were Barakat Khan and Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Khan son of ...,[1] and Malik Sayfuddin Sadiq **[A72]** Khan son of Mingbuqa, Malik Nasiruddin Güshlü[2] Khan son of Beg Arslan, Atlas Khan, and Nasiruddin Muhammad Qaymari. When Hülägü Khan set out for Syria, they went into hiding in the surrounding areas, and after he pulled out, they reassembled and headed for Cairo in Egypt, where they told their sad story to Quduz. He showed them favor, sympathized with them, and gave them much money. They all became wholehearted supporters of Quduz' rule.

When the emissaries arrived, Quduz summoned them and consulted with them on what to do, saying, "Hülägü Khan has proceeded from Turan with a huge army into Iran, and no one, caliph, sultan, or malik, has the ability to withstand his onslaught. Having conquered all lands, he has come to Damascus, and were it not for the news of his brother's death he would have added Egypt to his conquests too. In addition, he has stationed in this area Ket Buqa Noyan, who is like a raging lion and fire-breathing dragon lying in ambush. If he attacks Egypt, no one will be able to contend with him. Before we lose all power of self-determination, we must come up with a strategy."

"In addition to being Genghis Khan's grandson, **[722]** Tolui Khan's son, and Mänggü Qa'an's brother," said Nasiruddin Qaymari, "Hülägü Khan has power and might beyond description. At present he holds from the gates of Egypt to the borders of China in his mighty grasp, and he has been singled out for heavenly assistance. If we go before him under amnesty, it will not be blameworthy. However, willingly to drink poison and to go out to greet one's own death are far from the path of wisdom. A human being is not a grape vine that doesn't mind having its head cut off. He does not keep his word, for with no warning he killed Khwarshah, Musta'sim, Husamuddin Akka, and the lord of Arbela after having made promises to them. If we go to him he will do the same to us." **[A73]**

"At the present time," said Quduz, "everywhere in Diyarbekir, Diyar Rabi'a, and Greater Syria is filled with lamentation. The land from Baghdad to Anatolia lies in ruins, devoid of farmers and seed. If we don't make a pre-emptive strike and try to repulse them, soon Egypt will be destroyed like the others. Given the multitudes with

[1] JT_{AZ}: ^LTRK; JT_K: MKRL.
[2] Reading, with JT_K, كشلو (Güshlü) for JT_{AZ}'s كلشو.

which he is proceeding in our direction, one of three things must be done: we must make a truce, offer resistance, or go into exile. Exile is impossible, for there is nowhere we can go other than North Africa, and a bloodthirsty desert and vast distances lie between us and there."

"A truce is also imprudent," said Nasir-uddin Qaymari, "for their word is not to be trusted."

The other commanders said, "We do not have the power to resist either. You must say what you think the best plan is."

"My opinion," said Quduz, "is that we go out to battle together. If we win, fine; otherwise, we will not suffer blame from the people."

After that, the amirs agreed, and Quduz consulted with Bunduqdar, his chief amir, in private. "My opinion," said Bunduqdar, "is that we should kill the emissaries and ride as one to attack Ket Buqa. Win or die, in either case we will not be blamed, and we will have people's gratitude."

Quduz approved this plan, and by night he had the emissaries crucified. The next morning they perforce committed themselves to battle and mounted. Amir Baidar, who was the leader of the Mongol *yäzäk* [advance troop], sent a man named Aghlabak to Ket Buqa Noyan to inform him of the movement of the Egyptian troops. Ket Buqa sent in reply, "Stay where you are and wait for me." **[A74]**

Before Ket Buqa arrived, Quduz attacked Baidar and drove him to the banks of the Orontes. Ket Buqa Noyan, his zeal stirred, flared up like fire with all confidence in his own strength and might. Quduz stationed his troops in ambush and, himself mounted with a few others, stood waiting. He clashed with Ket Buqa and his several thousand cavalry, all experienced warriors, at Ayn Jalut. **[723]** The Mongols attacked, raining down arrows, and Quduz pulled a feint and started to withdraw. Emboldened, the Mongols lit out after him, killing many of the Egyptians, but when they came to the ambush spot, the trap was sprung from three sides. A bloody battled ensued, lasting from dawn till midday. The Mongols were powerless to resist, and in the end they were put to flight.

Ket Buqa Noyan kept attacking left and right with all zeal. Some encouraged him to flee, but he refused to listen and said, "Death is inevitable. It is better to die with a good name than to flee in disgrace. In the end, someone from this army, old or young, will reach the court and report that Ket Buqa, not wanting to return in shame, gave his life in battle. The padishah should not grieve over lost Mongol soldiers. Let him imagine that his soldiers' wives have not been pregnant for a year and the mares of their herds have not folded. May felicity be upon the padishah. When his noble being is well, every loss is compensated. The life or death of servants like us is irrelevant." Although the soldiers left him, he continued to struggle in battle like a thousand men. In the end his horse faltered, and he was captured. **[A75]**

Near the battlefield was a reed bed in which a troop of Mongol cavalrymen was hiding. Quduz ordered fire thrown into it, and they were all burned alive. After that, Ket Buqa was taken before Quduz with his hands bound.

"Despicable man," said Quduz, "you have shed so much blood wrongfully, ended the lives of champions and dignitaries with false assurances, and overthrown ancient dynasties with broken promises. Now you have finally fallen into a snare yourself."

When the one whose hands were bound heard these words, he reared up like a mad elephant / And replied, saying, "O proud one, do not pride yourself on this day of victory."

"If I am killed by your hand," said Ket Buqa, "I consider it to be God's act, not

yours. Be not deceived by this event for one moment, for when the news of my death reaches Hülägü Khan, the ocean of his wrath will boil over, **[724]** and from Azerbaijan to the gates of Egypt will quake with the hooves of Mongol horses. They will take the sands of Egypt from there in their horses' nose bags. Hülägü Khan has three hundred thousand renowned horsemen like Ket Buqa. You may take one of them away."

Quduz said, "Speak not so proudly of the horsemen of Turan, for they perform deeds with trickery and artifice, not with manliness like Rustam."

"As long as I have lived," replied Ket Buqa, "I have been the padishah's servant, not a mutineer and regicide like you!

Let the malevolent retain neither head nor body, for he deprives his prince of life.

Finish me off as quickly as possible." Quduz ordered his head severed from his body.

They then attacked throughout Syria as far as the banks of the Euphrates, overthrowing everyone they found, **[A76]** plundering Ket Buqa's camp, taking captive his wife, child, and retainers, and killing the tax collectors and *shahnas* of the provinces. Those who were warned escaped, and when the news of Ket Buqa Noyan's death and his last words reached Hülägü Khan, he displayed his grief over his death and the fire of his zeal flared up. "Where will I find another servant who will show such devotion and allegiance in the face of death?" he said as he showered those left behind by Ket Buqa with favor.

One day prior to that, he had rewarded Malik Nasir of Aleppo. Then he gave him the governorship of Damascus and sent him off with three hundred Syrian cavalrymen. After the news of Ket Buqa arrived, a Syrian said, "Malik Nasir of Aleppo is not with you wholeheartedly. He wanted to flee to Syria and assist Quduz, and it was his plan to attack Ket Buqa."

Hülägü Khan dispatched three hundred Mongol horsemen after him. The lead men caught up with him and got him to dismount by saying, "We are ordered to give you a banquet so that you may receive a full reward." As was the Mongol custom, they got him dead drunk. Suddenly the rest of the three hundred horsemen arrived, and they killed Malik Nasir and his three hundred Syrians. Of the entire troop only Muhyiddin Maghribi was left alive, and he escaped by claiming to be an astrologer.

Hülägü Khan sent Elgäi Noyan to Syria with a large army. When they arrived the soldiers began to plunder. Bunduqdar, who had become the ruler of Egypt in the meantime, learned of it and went out to repulse them. When Elgäi Noyan learned of his approach, he left for Anatolia with the Mongols who remained in Syria. **[A77, 725]** In Damascus the *khutba* and coinage were put in Bunduqdar's name.

Hülägü Khan wanted to lead his army back to Egypt and Syria in revenge for Ket Buqa, but on account of Mänggü Qa'an's death and the dispute that had sprung up between him and his relatives, time and circumstances would not allow it. Therefore he put it off.

At the same time Shiban's son and Jochi's grandson Prince Balagha died suddenly during a banquet, and after him Tutar Oghul was accused of sorcery and alienation. After proving his guilt, Hülägü Khan sent him escorted by Su'unchaq to Bärkä. When his crime was reported, Bärkä sent him back to Hülägü Khan, in accordance with Genghis Khan's Yasa, and he was executed on the 17th of Safar 658 [February 2, 1260]. Sadruddin Sawaji was also martyred on a charge of having written a charm for him. After that, Quli also died.

After the princes mentioned above died, their trains dispersed in flight to Qipchaq territory via Derbent and the Caspian Sea.

Prince Yoshmut and the commanders Elgäi Noyan and Sönitäi go to Diyarbekir, where they conquer Mayyafariqin and kill Malik Kamil.

Prince Yoshmut and the great commanders Elgäi Noyan and Sönitäi Noyan had set out at Hülägü Khan's command, and when they reached the vicinity of Mayyafariqin they sent an envoy to Malik Kamil calling upon him to submit and surrender. Malik Kamil replied, "The prince should not 'beat cold iron' and expect something that is not possible, [A78] for there is no reliance on your word, and neither am I going to be taken in by your sweet talk nor am I worried by the Mongol army. As long as I am alive I will wield the sword, for you are the son of that father who made promises and pacts with Khwarshah, the caliph, Husamuddin Akka, and Tajuddin of Arbela. In particular, Malik Nasir came under your promise of amnesty, but in the end he got what he got. I too will of course suffer what they did."

When the envoys delivered this message, the prince and commanders committed themselves to battle. Malik Kamil encouraged the people of the city, saying, "I will not withhold from you any of the silver, gold, or grain in the treasury and storehouses, and I will give it all away to those who need it. Thank God, I am not a slave to dirhems and dinars like Musta'sim, who lost his head and the kingdom of Baghdad through his stinginess and miserliness." The citizens all allied themselves with him, and the next day Malik Kamil went out with his retinue of horsemen, skirmishes were held, and a few on both sides were killed. [726] There were two brave riders with Malik Kamil. One was Sayfuddin Lukili, and the other was Ambar Habashi. They both killed several men and fought hard. After a time they went into the city and began to fight from the battlements.

On the second day the same two riders came out and killed nearly ten brave horsemen. On the third and fourth days they performed likewise. From this side a Georgian *aznaur* [knight] went opposite them, attacked a unit by himself, fought for a moment, and was killed. When he was killed,

The mounted Turks rose up, clapping their hands in vengeance. [A79]

They went back into the city. There was someone there manning a catapult who was extremely accurate and had killed many with his projectiles. The commanders were helpless to do anything about him. Badruddin Lu'lu' also had an extremely good catapult engineer he summoned. He set up a catapult directly opposite the catapult in the city, and the two shot stones from the pan at the same time. The stones collided in midair and shattered. The people on both sides were astonished by the mastery of the two catapult engineers. In the end, the catapult outside was burned.

The defenders of the city fought hard. When Hülägü Khan was apprised of the situation, he sent Uruqtu and a troop to reinforce Elgäi Noyan and a message saying, "Stay where you are until the city runs out of money." Uruqtu arrived to deliver the message, and while he was speaking the same two riders came out and threw the Mongol troops into disarray. Uruqtu, who was drunk at the time, turned to do battle with them. They clashed, and suddenly Elgäi was set upon and unhorsed. Mongol horsemen rushed in from all directions and got Elgäi saddled again. Once again the riders broke some ranks and pulled back.

The Turks were amazed by the champions, every warrior biting his lip in vengeance.

Thereafter, the two riders came out every day, killing some and wounding others, and this continued for two years. There was neither food nor fodder left in the city, and the animals were dead. They began to eat carrion. They even ate dogs, cats, and mice.

Then they started being cannibals, [727] devouring each other like fish. [A80] Since the two riders had no straw or barley, they killed their horses and ate them. Then they wanted to go out on foot and fight until they were killed, but Malik Kamil did not allow it. The few who were left sent a letter to the prince in which they said, "There is no one left in the city with any strength. There are only a few, and they are alive in spirit but dead in body. Sons are eating their fathers, and mothers their children. If the army comes now, there is not a single creature to resist."

The prince sent Uruqtu, and when he went into the city he found everyone lying dead on top of each other. He discovered only seventy persons hidden in the houses, and they were half dead. Malik Kamil and his brother were taken captive and brought before Yoshmut. When the soldiers began to plunder, the two brave riders went up on the roof of a house and shot every Turk that passed. Uruqtu came and ordered a few brave Turks to kill them. They came down from the roof, put their shields in front of their faces, and fought hard until they were finally killed.

Malik Kamil was taken to Hülägü Khan's court at Tall Bashir on the other side of the Euphrates. He had previously gone to the qa'an's court, where he was favorably received, and come back with a *yarligh* and *paiza*. After that, at the time of Hülägü Khan's expedition to Baghdad, he went to Malik Nasir of Syria and said, "It would be best for us to assist the caliph with a large army," but Malik Nasir pretended not to understand and failed to heed. After the conquest of Baghdad, Kamil grew afraid and was in rebellion for two years, as has already been mentioned. This time, when he was captured and taken to court, Hülägü Khan counted off his offenses and said, "Didn't my brother show you favor and kindness along with your whole family and peoples? Is that kindness to be repaid with rebellion?" [A81]

After that he ordered his flesh cut off and stuffed in his mouth until he died in the year 657 [1259]. He was an ascetic and religiously observant man, and he made his living by tailoring.

Prince Yoshmut goes to Mardin and takes the fortress there.

When Prince Yoshmut and the commanders were finished with Mayyafariqin, Hülägü Khan ordered them to go together to conquer Mardin. When they arrived there and laid siege, they were baffled by the height and impregnability of the fortress. Uruqtu Noyan sent an envoy to Malik Sa'id, the lord of the fortress of Mardin, with a message saying, "Come down from your stronghold and gird your loins in service to the lord of the world so that you may retain your head and your wife and children. [728] 'Be your castle strong and high, do not pride yourself on your battlements or the loftiness of your bastion,' for although its head may scrape the sky, it will be reduced to dust by the Mongol forces. Even if fortune smiles upon you, heed my advice. If you do not, and if you act contrary, God the eternal knows what will happen."

Malik Sa'id replied, "I entertained the notion of surrendering and appearing at the padishah's court, but I cannot trust you since you made pacts with others, and when they came out under your guarantee, you killed them. Thank God, our fortress is replete with supplies and provisions and full of Turkish warriors and Kurdish fighters."

Uruqtu ordered catapults placed, and battle ensued with arrows and stones. For eight months the fight was hard fought by both sides, and Malik Sa'id relied on the strength of his fortress. [A82] Since the Mongols were unable to reduce the fortress, they plundered the city of Mardin

and the nearby Dunaysir and Arzan.[1] In the end shortages, famine, and pestilence appeared inside the fortress, and every day people were dying in droves. Malik Sa'id also fell ill. He had two sons. The elder was Muzaffaruddin, who was an intelligent young man. He said to his father, "It would be best to go down from the fortress since resistance to this army is impossible." The father refused to hear of it. The son then gave his father medicine of which he died, and he sent a message to Uruqtu, saying, "The one who opposed you is dead. If it be ordered that the soldiers stand down from fighting, I will come down and turn over the fortress." Uruqtu ordered the fighting to cease, and Muzaffaruddin and his brother and people came down.

The padishah took him to task for his father's murder, saying, "Has anyone ever legally taken his father's life?"

"I did it," he replied, "because no matter how much I begged and pleaded with him to surrender the fortress and not to spill the people's blood, he refused. I undertook this individual action for the public good. I knew that eventually the fortress would be taken through the padishah's good fortune and a hundred thousand innocent men would be put to death. In any case, the sacrifice of one life is better than a hundred thousand, particularly since he was a tyrant who had killed his own son and the people were discontent with him. I admit my guilt. If the padishah pardons me and awards me my father's place, it is his to command." Hülägü Khan pardoned him and gave him the realm of Mardin.

Muzaffaruddin ruled there until 695 [1295–96] and never rebelled against his Mongol overlords. **[729]** When he died his son Shamsuddin Daud took his place. [A83] When he died, Muzaffaruddin's other son, Sultan Najmuddin, who was known as Malik Mansur, took his place. He was a highly intelligent ruler with great perspicacity, and he conducted himself with the padishah so well that he was awarded a parasol and a regal crown and made a peer. He was also awarded some of the realms of Diyarbekir and Diyar Rabi'a.

The death of Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu'; the history of his son Malik Salih, who was favorably received and then rebelled; the destruction of Mosul.

Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu' ruled for fifty years in great prosperity. He died in Mosul in the year 659 [1261], when he had returned from Hülägü Khan. He was ninety-six years old. Hülägü Khan awarded the rule of Mosul to his son, Malik Salih. After a time he left Mosul and went to Syria and Egypt, where he fell from the height of power to the depths of servitude. Ruknuddin Bunduqdar patronized him and sent him back with a thousand Kurdish horsemen to gather his treasuries and buried hoards and bring them to Egypt. When his wife, Tärkän Khatun, the daughter of Sultan Jalaluddin Khwarazmshah, was apprised of his going to Egypt and Syria, she sent a message to Hülägü Khan's court, and an order was issued for the army that was in Diyarbekir to block his path.

In the year 659 [1261] Sandaghu Noyan was assigned to take a division of Mongol soldiers to take Mosul and deal with Salih. **[A84]** On his heels was sent Malik Sadruddin of Tabriz with a expeditionary force of Tajiks. When Salih arrived in Mosul, the Mongols blocked all roads against him. He camped in Jusaq and started indulging in revelry. When he was dead drunk he heard the sound of battle drums and trumpets. The people of Mosul were filled with indescribable terror, and Salih went into the city and shut the gates. His forces consisted of Kurds, Turcomans, and Shuls. He paid

[1] Arzan, also known as Arzan al-Rum, is the modern Erzurum in Turkey.

them to encourage them to fight, saying, "When Bunduqdar learns of this, he will send us reinforcements from Egypt."

The Mongol troops arrived and camped in the environs of the city, throwing up a *chapar* [stockade]. On both sides catapults were constructed, and battle began. The citizens started fighting at Salih's word, and from both side catapult stones and arrows rained down. A troop of Kurds fought bravely, and for nearly a month the furnace of war blazed hot. One day eighty Mongol champions got up on the walls, but the Mosulis killed them all and, **[730]** emboldened by this victory, threw their heads from the ramparts into the midst of the Mongol army.

During the battle Malik Sadruddin took his helmet off, and an crossbow arrow grazed the top of his head, causing blood to flow. For this reason he obtained permission from Sandaghu Noyan to go to Tabriz. He reached Hülägü Khan's court at Ala Tagh, where he reported the struggles of the citizens of Mosul. Another army was sent to reinforce Sandaghu.

When Bunduqdar learned of what Salih had done, he sent Aghush Arbuzlur with troops to assist him. **[A85]** When he got to Sinjar he wrote a letter announcing his arrival, tied it to a currier pigeon, and sent it off. The pigeon came but, by chance, landed on the Mongols' catapult. The catapult engineer caught it and sent the letter to Sandaghu. When he read it, he realized that it was a sign of his good fortune and immediately dispatched a division of soldiers at the gallop to deal with him. Near Sinjar they divided into three units, laid an ambush, and attacked the Syrians. The Syrians stood their ground and resisted the Mongols. Suddenly a strong wind arose and blew sand and grit into the Syrians' eyes, and they had to stop fighting. The Mongols attacked and killed most of them, the rest taking flight. The Mongols also put many of the Sinjaris to death and took their women and children captive. Then they put on Syrian garments, let their hair down Kurdish style, and set out for Mosul. Sandaghu was informed that they would arrive the next morning with the booty they had taken in their victory.

The next day, when they were near, the people of the city, thinking they were Syrians coming to help them, went out to greet them rejoicing. The Mongol army surrounded them on all sides and left not a single one alive.

After the battle had gone on for six months, and the sun had entered Cancer and the weather turned very hot, both sides wearied of war. When the sun entered Leo, famine and pestilence hit the city, and the people went out into the fields from hunger, where they became morsels for Mongol swords. Malik Salih sent a message to Sandaghu Noyan saying, "I regret what I have done. I will come out in order to make reparations for what has passed. However, this is on two conditions. One is that you not take me to task for my past offenses. The other is that you send me to Hülägü Khan and request that my life be spared." Sandaghu gave him a guarantee of safety, and he came out bearing *tuzghu* and tribute. **[A86]** Sandaghu did not partake of the food and did not even allow him to come before him but put him under guard by several Mongols.

In Ramadan 660 [July–August 1262] the city of Mosul was taken, and those citizens who remained were put to the sword. Some artisans were taken captive, **[731]** and not a soul remained in Mosul. When the Mongols left, nearly a thousand persons crept out of the mountains and caves and assembled.

When Sandaghu Noyan came to court, Hülägü Khan was extremely angry with Salih and ordered that he be covered with sheep fat, trussed with felt and rope, and

left in the summer sun. After a week, the fat got maggoty, and they started devouring the poor man. He died of that torture within a month. He had a three-year-old son who was sent to Mosul, where he was cut in two on the banks of the Tigris and hung as an example on two sides of the city until his remains rotted away to nothing.

Rotted and disintegrated—isn't this enough for you? You nurtured that lovely one with kindness and then turned him over to the teeth of maggots.

A dispute breaks out between Hülägü Khan and Bärkä; Noqai comes hither in Bärkä's vanguard to do battle; he is defeated at Derbent.

When Hülägü Khan had taken most of the territory of the realm of Iran and taken care of foes and opponents in every quarter, he turned his attention to administration and matters of state.

He was sick and tired of Bärkä's overbearing demeanor. **[A87]** Batu had sent [Bärkä] in the company of Mänggü Qa'an to the capital at Qaraqorum to seat Mänggü on the throne among his *aqa-ini*, and for a while he had been in attendance upon Mänggü Qa'an's throne. Relying on this position, he was constantly sending emissaries to Hülägü Khan and barking orders on every front. Because Bärkä was an elder relative, Hülägü Khan tolerated him, but when his relatives Tutar, Balagha, and Quli died, his enmity and nastiness surfaced and grew day by day. In the end Hülägü Khan said, "Even if he is an elder, since he knows nothing of shame or modesty and addresses me with threats and violence, I will no longer treat him with forbearance."

When Bärkä was apprised of Hülägü's anger, he said, "He has destroyed all Muslim cities and overthrown the dynasties of all the rulers of Islam. He makes no distinction between friend and foe. He annihilated the caliph without consulting the *aqa-ini*. If God the eternal assists me, I will requite of him the innocent blood he has shed." With this, he dispatched Noqai, his general **[732]** and a relative of Tutar's,[1] with thirty thousand horsemen in his vanguard. Passing Derbent, they camped outside Shirvan. When Hülägü Khan learned of their approach, he ordered troops to proceed from all corners of Iran, and in Säkisinch Ay, corresponding to the 2nd of Shawwal 660 [August 20, 1262], he ordered a march from Ala Tagh with Shirämün Noyan in the *manqlai* [vanguard].

Samaghar Noyan and Abatai Noyan arrived in Shemakha in Dhu'l-Hijja [mid-October]. Bärkä's army attacked Shirämün and massacred them. Sultanchuq they killed in the river. On Wednesday the last day of Dhu'l-Hijja [November 15], Abatai Noyan arrived and attacked Bärkä's troops one league from Shabaran, **[A88]** killing many of them. Noqai fled. When Hülägü Khan was apprised of the flight of the enemy, he mounted on Tuesday the 6th of Muharram 661 [November 20] in the vicinity of Shemakha to do battle with Bärkä. At that stage a group of *ayqaqs* attacked Sayfuddin Bitigchi, the personal vizier, Khwaja Aziz, who was a governor of Georgia, and Khwaja Majduddin of Tabriz, captured them, and took them to Shabaran. After a trial all three were executed.

On the eve of Thursday the 8th of Muharram [November 22], Husamuddin the astrologer was tried, and after his guilt was proven, and on account of the *möchälgä* he had given in Baghdad,[2] he too was executed. Malik Sadruddin of Tabriz and Ali Malik, who was the governor of Persia and part of Khurasan, both escaped with only a few lashes.

On Friday the 23rd of Muharram 661

[1] Noqai s/ Tatar was a first cousin to Tutar s/ Mingqadur. See text p. 517f. above.

[2] See text p. 706 above.

[December 7, 1262] a call for arms was given. They arrived in Derbent on the Caspian at sunup. There was an enemy troop on the walls of Derbent, but they were driven away by arrows from this side. The walls were taken from the foe, and Derbent was conquered. On the other side of Derbent they kept on fighting, but defeat finally befell the enemy. The killing continued until the end of Saturday.

On the first of Safar [December 15] Noqai and his army went to crushing defeat, and Hülägü Khan's army was triumphant. Abaqa Khan had been sent with a large troop to reinforce them. After Noqai's defeat Shirämün and Abatai said to him, "Let the prince return to his father. We will go in all haste on the heels of the foe." In his zeal and chivalry he gave no reply.

A command was issued on behalf of Hülägü Khan for Elgäi Noyan, **[A89]** Tödä'ün Bahadur, Salji'udai, Chaghan, Balarghu, and Doghuz to go in pursuit of the enemy. They captured Bärkä's soldiers' tents and crossed the Terek River as ordered, where the tents of all Bärkä's commanders and soldiers **[733]** glittered like stars in the night. The Qipchaq Steppe was filled from one end to the other with tents and pavilions, horses, camels, oxen, and sheep, and not one of the soldiers was in his tent. All had taken flight, abandoning their wives and children, and our soldiers settled into their tents, where they spent three days reveling and carousing with lovely girls.

When Bärkä and his soldiers learned of the fate of their tents, families, possessions, and flocks, they banded together as one and poured from the plain like ants and locusts down on the heads of the commanders and soldiers. On the first of Rabi' I of that year [January 13, 1263] a fierce battle raged on the banks of the Terek from dawn until the end of the day. Since the enemy's reinforcements kept coming in, our soldiers turned in flight. The Terek was frozen, and they were crossing when suddenly the ice broke and many soldiers were drowned. Abaqa Khan reached Shabaran in safety. Bärkä and his army withdrew to Derbent.

On the 11th of Jumada II [April 22, 1263] Hülägü Khan reached Tabriz, crushed by this humiliating defeat, and began to make plans for revenge. He ordered all realms to send weapons, and once again troops were armed and arrayed. The next year news arrived that Noqai was approaching, having emerged from Derbent. Hülägü Khan sent Shaykh Sharif Tabrizi as a spy to the mountains of Lagzistan, but he ran into Noqai's forces and was captured and taken before Noqai, who questioned him on all fronts. "What news do you have of Hülägü?" he was asked. "Is he still killing in his rage and wrath our nobles, dignitaries, ascetics, religious men, and merchants or not?" **[A90]**

"Before now the padishah was enraged by his brothers' opposition and was 'burning wet and dry,' but now 'he is so just that fire does not burn silk and fawns drink lion's milk. / From his equity the people are at ease, and all tyrants are miserably downtrodden.' "

Around then emissaries arrived from Cathay to announce that Qubilai Qa'an was on the throne and that Ariq Bökä was in obedience to him. Alghu was dead, and Hülägü was commanded to rule from the Oxus to the farthest reaches of Syria and Egypt. Thirty thousand Mongol horsemen had been sent to reinforce him. **[734]** Noqai took fright at these words and turned pale. Tucking his tail between his legs, he said nothing more. Shaykh Sharif came to Hülägü Khan's court and reported, and Hülägü Khan rewarded him and filled the world with justice and equity.

The history of the end of Hülägü Khan's reign; Abaqa Khan is sent to Khurasan; the provinces are transferred to the com-

manders and governors; Hülägü's illness and death.

Hülägü Khan loved to build, and many of the edifices he had constructed still remain. He built a palace in Ala Tagh and a temple in Khoy. In that year he occupied himself with construction projects and civil and military administration. When autumn came he set out for his winter quarters at the Zarina, which the Mongols call Jaghatu and Naghatu.[1] He went to Maragha, where he was insistent that the observatory be completed. A great lover of wisdom, he encouraged the learned to debate the basic sciences **[A91]** and rewarded them all with stipends and salaries. His court was adorned by the presence of philosophers and scientists. He was exceptionally fond of the science of alchemy, and its practitioners received extraordinary patronage from him. According to their own delusions and fancies they lit fires, burned innumerable potions, and spouted a lot of useless hot air to young and old alike about making "pots of the clay of wisdom," but the benefit of it reached nothing but their nostrils and palates. In transmutation they had no luck, but they were miracles of cheating and fraud, squandering and wasting the stores of the workshops of lordly power. In supplying them, meeting their demands, and paying their salaries, more was spent than Qarun made by alchemy in his whole life.[2]

The entire realm of Persia, Khurasan, and Mazanderan as far as the Oxus he turned over to Abaqa, his eldest and best son. Arran and Azerbaijan to the limits of the *sibä*[3] he entrusted to Yoshmut, and Diyar Rabi'a to the banks of the Euphrates he gave to Amir Tödä'ün. Anatolia was given to Mu'inuddin Parvana; Tabriz went to Malik Sadruddin; Kirman to Tärkän Khatun; and Fars to Amir Vangianu. When Sayfuddin Bitigchi was martyred, Sahib Shamsuddin Muhammad Juwayni was elevated and promoted to the office of chief of administration with full discretionary powers. Baghdad he gave to Sahib Shamsuddin Muhammad's brother Sahib Ala'uddin Ata-Malik. **[A92, 735]**

[Hülägü] reorganized the bureaucracy, deplored the rapacity of his greedy relatives, and occupied himself with arranging matters to make up for what had passed. He reorganized the army. Jalaluddin, the son of the "Little" Dawatdar, was elevated to a grand position and made himself appear as the most compassionate person in the whole nation in the padishah's eyes. He said to the padishah, "Inasmuch as an expedition to the Qipchaq Steppe has been decided, there are still in the caliph's territory several thousand Qipchaq Turks who know the roads in Qipchaqbashi well. If it is so ordered, I'll go assemble them to be an advance front for the war with Bärkä."

Hülägü Khan approved this and gave him a *paiza* and a decree saying, "Let the governors of Baghdad give Jalaluddin whatever gold, arms, and implements he wants, and let no one interfere with him so that he can execute the mission with which he is charged."

In 662 [1264] he went to Baghdad as ordered and got everyone he saw and liked of the officer corps. Occasionally he made hints and allusions, saying, "The padishah will take you to make you a shield against the onslaught of the foe, and you will either die there or make a name for yourselves. If you are not killed in that battle, you will suffer that fate in another. You all know what my lineage and worth are. I am of the same race as you, and no matter how much

[1]The text's نغاتو (Nagatu) should probably be يغاتو (Yaghatu), a normal variant of Jaghatu, although an initial *j* ~ *n* is not unknown (cf. *järgä* ~ *närgä*).

[2]Qarun, whose name is derived from the Biblical Korah (Num. 26:10, e.g.), is the Islamic equivalent of Croesus, whose touch turned everything to gold.

[3]For *sibä* ~ *süba*, see trs. p. 455, note 1, and trs. p. 519.

Hülägü Khan favors me, I will not allow you to be 'sword fodder.' I am thinking of abandoning the fortune and state of the Mongols and extricating myself and you from the Mongol yoke. You must be at one with me." That group was seduced by his words, and after he assembled the dispersed soldiers he mounted with drums and banners, crossed the Tigris at Baghdad, and attacked the Khafaja Arabs,[1] plundering a few oxen and camels. **[A93]** He took from the Baghdad treasury the horses, weapons, and money the soldiers needed and ordered his men to decamp with their women, children, followers, goods, and possessions. Crossing by bridge, he said, "Let us take our families and dependents along in order to visit the shrines, for henceforth we will be living in Derbent, Shirvan, and Shemakha. We soldiers will go and get provisions for the road from the Khafaja Arabs, who are enemies." Then, once he was across the Euphrates he told his soldiers, "I am going to Syria and Egypt. Anyone who wants to may come with me; otherwise let the rest turn back here." In fear of their heads they could say nothing, and so they accompanied him **[736]** via Ana and Haditha heading for Syria and Egypt. When this news reached the padishah's hearing, he was extremely angry, for in the meantime he had been making delicate plans for dealing with his enemies, and now this was added to his list of worries.

When the Year of the Ox began in Rabi' II 663 [February 1264], Hülägü Khan spent several days in banquets and hunting. Without warning, after a bath, he was afflicted with an illness with which he felt a heaviness in himself and took to bed. On the eve of Saturday the 7th of Rabi' II [February 7, 1264] he took a laxative prescribed by Cathaian physicians, and as a result he lost consciousness and had a heart attack. Skilled physicians tried their best by giving him purgatives, but since the span of his life had reached the point of death, nothing could be done and no medicine had any effect. Just then a comet shaped like a cone appeared. It reappeared every night, and when it disappeared in [Ikindi] Ay corresponding to Sunday eve the 19th of Rabi' II [February 19, 1264], he gave up the ghost. **[A94]** He was forty-eight full solar years old. His final journey to the next world was begun next to the Jaghatu, and Khwaja Nasíruddin Tusi composed the following elegy on him:

When Hülägü went from Maragha to his wintering place, destiny brought his life to an end. / The year was six hundred sixty and three, the eve of Sunday, which was the eve of the nineteenth of Rabi' II.

His great *ghoruq* was made on Shahu mountain, which is opposite the village of Khwarakan. Mourning was held in his *ordus*, and his coffin was buried in the *ghoruq*.

On the first day of Ikindi Ay, corresponding to the 8th of Rabi' II [February 8], Arighan Khatun, the mother of Ajai, died. Around the same time, Amir Alghu Bitigchi also died. On the 2nd of Shün Ay of Hükär Yil, i. e. the first of Ramadan 663 [June 27, 1264] Doquz Khatun died. She had been inherited by Hülägü Khan from Tolui Khan. Her death occurred four months and eleven days after Hülägü's, three days before Abaqa Khan's accession.

May God grant many years of life and countless generations of prosperity to the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan. **[A95, 737–39]** ~

[1]There were still Khafaja tribes in Basra and Jazira in the mid-nineteenth century. See Mehmed Hurşid, *Seyâhatnâme*, 32, 38f.

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IV

REŞİDEDDIN FAZLULLAH

Câmi'ü't-Tevârîh

(Dünya Tarihi)

Moğul Tarihi
III. Kısım

Açılamalı İngilizce Tercüme
W. M. Thackston

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A History of the Mongols
Part Three

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W. M. Thackston

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ℭ SECTION THIRTEEN

THE HISTORY OF HÜLÄGÜ KHAN'S SON ABAQA KHAN, IN THREE PARTS.

Part One is on his progeny with details of his wives, sons, daughters and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, the names of his sons-in-law, and a genealogical table of his sons' branches.

Part Two is on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; [A96] stories of events that occurred during his reign; a mention of the rebellions and events that occurred.

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons.

Part One, on his progeny with details of his wives, sons, daughters and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, the names of his sons-in-law, and a genealogical table of his sons' branches.

Abaqa[1] Khan was the eldest and best of Hülägü Khan's sons. He was born of Yesünjin Khatun of [740] the Suldus. He had many wives and concubines.

After his father's death he took Öljäi Khatun. He took Tuqtani[2] Khatun as well, who had been his father's concubine, and installed her in Doquz Khatun's place. He placed a *boghtaq* on her head, and she became a *khatun*.

The first wife he married was Dorji Khatun. When she died he took Nuqdan Khatun of the Tatar and installed her in [Dorji Khatun's] place. When she passed away, he married Eltüzmish Khatun, daughter of Qutlugh Temür Gürägän and sister of Taraqai Gürägän of the Qunqirat, and installed her in her place.

After that he married Padishah Khatun, [A97] daughter of Sultan Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan of Kirman, and installed her in the place of his mother, Yesünjin Khatun.

After that, he married Martai Khatun of the Qunqirat; she was the sister of Musa Gürägän, the son of Genghis Khan's daughter. Musa's mother was also the mother of Qutui Khatun, and they were cousins. Martai Khatun died during Arghun Khan's reign. Arghun Khan placed a *boghtaq* on Tödäi Khatun, also of the Qunqirat, and installed her in her place.

After that he married the senior Bulughan Khatun, a relative of Noqai Yarghuchi's. Since he loved her very much, he seated her above Martai and Täspinä. When Abaqa Khan passed away, Arghun Khan took her, and when she died he installed in her place the Bulughan Khatun who is alive now.

Another wife was Täspinä Khatun, daughter of the king of Trebzon who is

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[1] The spelling of Abaqa's name varies, ابغا ~ ابقا.
[2] See text p. 91 above.

called *βασιλεύς*.[1]

One of his concubines was Qaitmish Egächi. Another was Kawkabi, the mother of Toghanchuq, who was the wife of Nawroz. Another was Bulughanchin Egächi. Another was Bulujin Egächi. Another was Shirin Egächi, who later became the wife of Amir Pulad. Another was Altai Egächi. There were many others whose names are not known. **[A98]**

His sons, daughters, and sons-in-law.

Abaqa Khan had two sons, both of whom became monarchs. One was Arghun Khan, whose mother was Qaitmish Khatun. He became khan of the age after his father's brother. The other was Gaikhatu Khan, who became padishah after Arghun. His mother was Nuqdan Khatun. Their sons and grandsons will be detailed in separate sections.

Abaqa Khan's daughters were seven, as follows.

The first was Yol Qutlugh. Her mother was Tödäi Khatun. She was married to Eljitäi Qushchi and after him to Elbasmish. **[741]** She died at Gavbari in Arran.

The second was Taghai. Her mother was also Tödäi. [She was married to Ahmad brother of Qunchuqbal. After him] she was married to Doladai Idächi. She died ___.

The third was Malika. Her mother was Bulughan Khatun. She was married to Noqai Yarghuchi's son Toghan Buqa of the Baya'ut tribe. She also died ___.

The fourth was Toghanchuq. Her mother was Kawkabi Khatun. She was married to Arghun Aqa's son Amir Nawroz of the Oyirat tribe. She died in 690 [1291]. **[A99]**

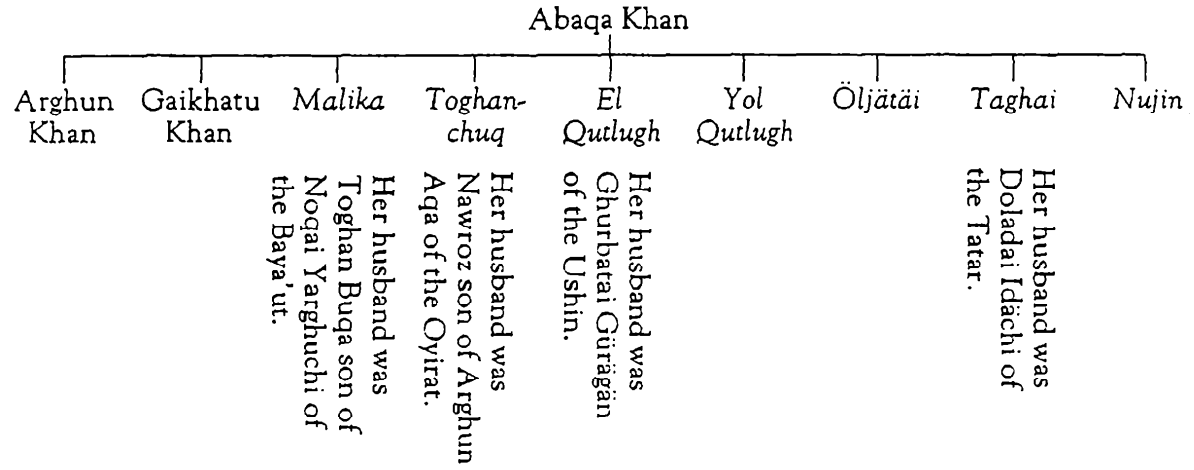
Fifth was El Qutlugh. Her mother was Bulujin Egächi, and she was married to Ghurbatai Gürägän of the Hushin tribe.

Sixth was Öljätäi, whose mother was also Bulujin. She was married to the son of David, king of Georgia.

Seventh was Nujin, whose mother was Martai Khatun.

There was no eighth.

A genealogical chart of Abaqa Khan and his wives and children is as follows. **[A100]**



Part Two is on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; stories of events that occurred during his reign; a mention of the rebellions and events that occurred.

When Hülägü Khan died, the roads were closed, as has been mentioned previously, **[A742]** and a decree was issued that no one was to budge. An emissary was immediately sent to Abaqa Khan in Khurasan, for he

[1]Täspinä Khatun is *Δέσποινα*, illegitimate daughter of the Byzantine Michael VIII Palaeologus.

was the eldest son and the heir presumptive. Arghun Aqa, who held the vizierate and was in attendance upon Abaqa, was also summoned. At that time Abaqa was in his winter quarters in Mazanderan. Yoshmut reached Derbent and Arran, which belonged to him, on the eighth day after his father's death. After having taken the commanders' pulse and assessed the situation, since he knew that he was not going to be able to effect anything, he turned back after staying there two days.

Abaqa arrived at the *ordu* on the Jaghatu in Hükär Yil, on the 19th of Jumada I 663 [March 9, 1265], and all his relatives and the amirs came out to greet him. Since Elgäi Noyan was the commander of the *ordus* and had long been a loyal supporter of the Ilkhan, he gave Abaqa food and drink and then reported his father's death to him in private.

After the rites of mourning were held, all the ladies, princes, sons-in-law, and amirs gathered and discussed his accession to the throne. At that time there were still many grand old commanders left like Elgäi Noyan, Su'unchaq Noyan, **[A101]** Sönitäi Noyan, Samaghar Noyan, S[h]iktür Noyan, Arghun Aqa, and others it would take too long to list. Among them, Shiktür Noyan, to whom the Ilkhan had given his last testament and entrusted his *biligs* [pronouncements], and Su'unchaq Aqa gave testimony before anyone else to Abaqa's being the heir designate and his father's successor. He refused and suggested his brothers. The brothers knelt and said, "We are servants, and we consider you our father's successor."

"Qubilai Qa'an is our *aqa*," said Abaqa. "How can there be a coronation without his command?"

The princes and amirs said, "You are here, you are the eldest of all the sons, you know well the customs and ancient *yosun* and *yasa*, and Hülägü Khan made you the heir designate during his lifetime. How can anyone else accede to the throne?"

They agreed unanimously, and on Friday the 5th of Shün Ay of Hükär Yil, the Year of the Ox, corresponding to the 3rd of Ramadan 663 [June 19, 1265], at an auspicious hour selected by Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi with Virgo in the ascendant, they enthroned Abaqa Khan in Chaghan Na'ur in the vicinity of Barahan and observed all the customary rites and rituals. **[743]**

Abaqa Khan's organization of the bureaucracy and appointments in the realm.

After mounting the khan's throne, Abaqa Khan gave away such untold amounts of money, jewels, and precious textiles to the ladies, princes, and commanders that the benefits made their way to the ordinary soldiers.

After holding congratulatory banquets, he turned his attention to organizing the civil and military bureaucracies. Although he possessed the crown and throne, **[A102]** he sat on a chair to dispense orders until emissaries arrived from Qubilai Qa'an with a decree in his name. First he commanded that the ordinances Hülägü Khan had given and the decrees that had been issued in any regard were all to be maintained in force, immune to change or alteration. The powerful were not to use force or coercion with the weak, and all groups were to retain the customs and habits of their fathers and forefathers.

A week later the shah sent a decree throughout the realm announcing his accession, and he sent back with their hearts' desires fulfilled the sultans, maliks, amirs, governors, and the needy who had come.

First he sent his brother Yoshmut with a large army to Derbent, Shirvan, and Mughan as far as the Alan border to guard the area from the enemy. Another brother, Tübshin, he sent with a large army to

Khurasan and Mazanderan as far as the Oxus. Elgäi Noyan's son Tughu Bitigchi and Su'unchaq Noyan's brother Tödä'ün (the grandfather of Amir Chupan and father of Malik) he sent to Anatolia. When they died, he sent Samaghar and Kähürgäi in their places. He assigned Dorbai Noyan to Diyarbekir and Diyar Rabi'a, the border of Syria. Georgia was assigned to Chormaqan's son Shirämün. The *enchüs* [crown lands] were turned over to Altachu Aqa, and Baghdad and Fars were given to Su'unchaq Aqa. Arghun Aqa, the *muqati'-i-mamalik* [assigner of fiefs], was retained at his post. Sahib-Sa'id Shamsuddin Muhammad Juwayni retained the office of vizier as before.

He made Tabriz the capital and selected Ala Tagh[1] and Siyah Koh as his summer quarters **[A103]** and Arran and Baghdad as his winter quarters, and sometimes Jaghatu. He assigned Sahib Ala'uddin Ata-Malik in Baghdad as Amir Su'unchaq Aqa's deputy, and the vizierate of Khurasan was given **[744]** to Khwaja Izzuddin Tahir, and after him to his son Khwaja Wajihuddin. The governance of Fars was kept in the name of Atabeg Abubakr's sons, and the *muqati'* was Shamsuddin Tazigu. He entrusted Kirman to Tärkän Khatun, Tabriz to Malik Sadruddin, Diyarbekir to Jalaluddin Tarir and Malik Raziuddin Baba, Isfahan and most of the province of Persian Iraq to Khwaja Baha'uddin Muhammad son of Sahib-Divan Shamsuddin, Qazwin and some of Persia to Malik Iftikharuddin Qazwini, Diyar Rabi'a to Malik Muzaffar Fakhruddin Qara Arslan, Nimroz to Malik Shamsuddin Kurt, and Georgia to David and his son Sadun. Nearly a hundred learned men who were students of Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi and in attendance at court received stipends.

[1]The Ala Tagh meadows are northeast of Lake Van.

That year he spent the winter in Mazanderan, and in the spring of 663 he returned to the capital at Tabriz.[2]

Abaqa Khan's army does battle with Noqai and Bärkä and defeats them.

At the beginning of Abaqa Khan's reign a group of malcontents and jealous people attacked this country, as Noqai set out once again with a large army from Derbent in revenge for Tutar's death. Scouts reported his movement, **[A104]** and on the 4th of Altinch Ay of Hükär Yil, corresponding to the 3rd of Shawwal 663 [July 19, 1265], Prince Yoshmut mounted to repulse Noqai. He crossed the Kura River, and the two armies met near Chaghan Müran, which is called Aq Su.[3] Battle lines were drawn, and fighting began. Many were killed on both sides. Taghachar Aqa's father Qutu Buqa performed feats of bravery in that battle until he was killed. Noqai also suffered an arrow wound in the eye. His forces were defeated and withdrew to Shirvan. Abaqa Khan crossed the Kura, while from the other side Bärkä arrived with three hundred thousand cavalry. Abaqa Khan recrossed the river back to this side and camped while the bridges were cut. On both sides of the Kura *närgäs*[4] were drawn and arrows were shot back and forth. Bärkä stayed on the river's edge for fourteen days, but since it was impossible for him to cross he set out for Tiflis in order to cross there. He fell ill

[2]Text has clearly spelled out in Arabic 663, but it must be a mistake for 664. The spring of 663 (October 24, 1264–October 12, 1265) had already passed before he assumed the throne.

[3]The two names are synonymous: Chaghan Müran is Mongolian and Aq Su is Turkish for "White River." The rivers should be the one on which is located the modern Akhsu in Azerbaijan, just north of the Shirvan Steppe and west of Shemakha.

[4]The *närgä* of the text is a dialect form of *yärgä (~ järgä)*, battle or hunting circle. See Juvaini/Boyle 1:28 and Doerfer, *TMEN* 1:291 §161.

along the way and died. His coffin was taken to Saray Batu and buried, and his soldiers dispersed. **[745]**

In 664 [1265–66] Abaqa Khan ordered a *sibä* [wall] built on the other side of the Kura River from Dalan Na'ur to the Kurdaman Steppe, which adjoins the Kura, and a deep trench dug, and there he stationed a division of Mongols and Muslims to keep guard. Caravans from both sides, however, passed to and fro.

When Abaqa Khan's mind was at ease concerning Derbent, he left Prince Mänggü Temür there with Samaghar Noyan and Öljäi Khatun, and in the winter of 665 [1266–67] he set out for Khurasan, wintering in Mazanderan and Garrakan. **[A105]**

Mas'ud Beg comes to Abaqa Khan's court; Qutui Khatun arrives with Hülägü Khan's aghruq, which had been left there.

During the winter of the year mentioned above, Mas'ud Beg the vizier, the son of Mahmud Yalavach, came on an embassy from Qaidu and Baraq to settle the accounts related to their *enchüs*. When he arrived at Abaqa Khan's court, he donned the clothing of Genghis Khan's regular day guard[1] and sat above all the commanders except Elgäi Noyan. An order was given for Khwaja Sa'id Shamsuddin Alakani to complete the account within a week and turn it over. Since he had not come with good intentions, he was anxious to return. After a week he was favored with permission to withdraw and set out. A day later news came that the enemy's army had appeared on the banks of the Oxus. Abaqa Khan realized that Mas'ud Beg had played a trick on him and had come as Baraq's spy. Immediately he dispatched envoys after Mas'ud Beg to bring him back, but he had taken precaution and had arranged for post horses at every way station. The envoys went as far as the Oxus, but they arrived just as he crossed, so they turned back.

Abaqa Khan then set out for Khurasan and went as far as Sarakhs,[2] wintering in Mazanderan and that area. News of the arrival of Hülägü Khan's *aghruq* arrived, and he went out in greeting. In the vicinity of Kabudjama, Qutui Khatun arrived with her two sons Täkshin and Tägüdär, Jumghur's sons Jüshkäb and Kingshü, Taraghai's son Baidu, and Abaqa Khan's mother Yesünjin Khatun. **[A106]** Their story is as follows.

When Hülägü Khan set out for Iran he left his *aghruq* with Mänggü Qa'an. Then, during Ariq Bökä's "disturbance," Jumghur was with him. When Ariq Bökä was defeated in battle by Alghu and went to the qa'an's court, Jumghur stayed behind on the pretext of being ill and receiving treatment and took up residence there. **[746]** When the news reached Hülägü Khan in 662, he sent Abatai Noyan to summon Jumghur and the *aghruq*. When Jumghur, who was ill, died en route, Abatai Noyan left the *aghruq* in the vicinity of Samarkand and returned to Hülägü Khan's court to report the situation. He was convicted of an offense and given seventy lashes and told that he had not guarded his charges well on the road and had been too busy eating, drinking, and carousing with the ladies. In short, an Indian guided them, found a good way for them to get out, got them across the Oxus, and delivered them to the Kabudjama area on the 19th of Jumada I 666 [February 5, 1268]. The guide was rewarded and made

[1] Reading, for JT_{AZ}'s يرقاق باولى, at Doerfer's suggestion (*TMEN* 1:383 §261), either as ترقاق قاولى, *turqaq-i qavulî*, which he translates as "da saß er, weil er die Kleidung der regelmäßigen Tagwache trug, über allen (anderen) Emiren," or as ترقاق باولى, *turqaq ba'olî*, a type of court robe. In either case, Mas'ud Beg was wearing some particularly significant piece of court clothing.

[2] The modern Sarakhs/Serakhs on the Iran-Turkmenistan border.

a *tarkhan*. In the vicinity of Badakhshan, Qutui Khatun was told of Hülägü Khan's death, and she cried her eyes out. Abaqa Khan rejoiced over their arrival and enriched them with money and goods. A concubine named Arighan had come to Hülägü Khan's service from Qutui Khatun's *ordu*, and Qutui Khatun's share of booty and plunder had been turned over to her. She had accumulated vast amounts of valuable items and property, so when Qutui Khatun arrived in the *ordu* she found it well stocked with all sorts of things. **[A107]**

Abaqa Khan assigned her a *tonluq* [stipend] from Diyarbekir, Mayyafariqin, and several other places, which amounted to nearly 100,000 gold dinars every year, and from time to time he gave her grand entertainments as a show of concern.

That spring he returned from Khurasan and spent the next winter at the Jaghatu. That summer he went to Ala Tagh and Siyah Koh. The next winter he was in Arran, and during the summer of 668 [1270] he mounted an expedition against Baraq.

Baraq comes from Transoxiana to Khurasan and does battle with Abaqa Khan's army; he is defeated and withdraws in rout.

When Baraq overthrew Mubarakshah and took control of the Ulus Chaghatai, he adopted an aggressive and expansionist attitude. Qaidu tried to keep him from acting in that manner, but they had a falling-out for that reason. While a man named Mogholtai was *shahna* of Turkistan on the qa'an's behalf, Baraq sent Amir Begmish to take his place. Mogholtai went to the qa'an to report the situation. The qa'an sent a great commander, Qoyunchi by name, with six thousand horsemen to wipe out Begmish and retake the office of *shahna*. Baraq sent out an amir with thirty thousand men to repel the attack. **[747]** When Qoyunchi realized that he could not offer resistance, he went back to Cathay. Baraq's army raided Khotan.

When Baraq was completely in control, he set out to attack Qaidu and Mänggü Temür. Mas'ud Beg reported his aggression to them and urged them to go to battle with him. **[A108]** In the end the armies met on the banks of the Jaxartes. Baraq had laid an ambush and defeated Qaidu's and Qipchaq's army by a ruse, killing and taking captive many of them and taking much plunder. He then became overly bold, and his pride and conceit increased. When the news of Qaidu's and Qipchaq's defeat reached Mänggü Temür, he grew angry and sent his uncle Bärkächär with fifty thousand horsemen to reinforce Qaidu. He assembled his dispersed soldiers and did battle with Baraq, defeating him and putting him and his men to rout. Many of his army were killed and wounded.

Totally undone, Baraq went to Transoxiana, where he reassembled his dispersed army and took counsel with the amirs. "With this group around who are out to attack us," he said, "my kingship will not be stable. The best thing for us to do now is to destroy these rich provinces through pillage and plunder, beginning with Samarkand." The amirs were delighted by these words.

When Qaidu, Qipchaq, and Bärkächär learned of the situation, they discussed the advisability of going after him and chasing him from the territory. "When he becomes aware of this," said Qaidu, "he will plunder even more. If we send an envoy to advise him and ask for a truce, it would be better."

"The bonds of friendship between him and me are firm," said Qipchaq. "If permitted, let me go and win him over with sweet words." Knowing how persuasive and eloquent Qipchaq could be, they sent him to Samarkand with two hundred select horsemen. He camped in Sughd[1] and sent a

[1]Sughd, an agricultural suburb of Samarkand.

cavalryman to Baraq to announce his arrival and start peace talks.

When the message reached Baraq, he contemplated it for a while and then said to his amirs, "It is not obvious what hostility is concealed beneath this 'peace.' " **[A109]** Then, to the envoy he said, "Tell Qipchaq I asked about him, and tell him to come as soon as possible, for I will be delighted to see him again." Then he ordered the court tent decorated and armed soldiers lined up at the gate, and he mounted the throne as potentates do. When Qipchaq came in, Baraq got down from the throne and greeted him warmly and with honor. **[748]** They embraced each other, and Baraq took Qipchaq by the hand and led him onto the throne, where they offered each other goblets. Baraq conversed with him warmly and said, "What could be better than to meet friends and relatives with whom one is united?"

Qipchaq began to speak of peace, friendship, and kinship.

"Well you say," said Baraq. "From time to time I think of the necessity of maintaining these ties and am ashamed of my actions, for we are all cousins. Our dear departed fathers seized the world by dint of the sword and bequeathed it to us. Why don't we now enjoy the world in friendship? Why should there be sedition and strife among us? Our other princely relatives possess great cities and happy grazing grounds. I have nothing but this miserable little *ulus*, and yet for the sake of this realm Qaidu and Mänggü Temür have risen up to attack me and make me run around the world in distress."

"Bravo," said Qipchaq. "You have spoken well, but it would be better for us not to dwell on the past. Let's hold a *quriltai* together and cleanse our breasts of old hatreds. Let us get past petulance and obstinance and make a pact with each other that we will be united and never oppose each other under any circumstances."

Since Baraq had been worn down by so much running around he assented to a truce, and one week later Qipchaq withdrew with permission. Qaidu and Bärkächär also agreed to the truce with Baraq and praised Qipchaq. **[A110]**

In the spring of 667 [1269] the princes assembled in the meadow of Talas and Kanjak, and on the eighth day, after a week of banquets, they held a council and *quriltai*. First Qaidu said, "Our dear departed grandfather Genghis Khan seized the world through his strategy and tactics by sword and arrow, and he put it in order, made it ready, and left it to his progeny. If now we consider our fathers' sides, we are all kin, and there are the other princes, our *aqainis*, among whom there is no conflict. Why should there be among us?"

"That is exactly how it is," said Baraq, "but I too am a fruit of this tree. I too should have an assigned *yurt* and livelihood. Chaghatai and Ögödäi were Genghis Khan's sons. Qaidu is descended from Ögödäi Qa'an; I am descended from Chaghatai. Bärkächär and Mänggü Temür are descended from Jochi, who was the eldest brother. **[749]** Qubilai Qa'an is descended from Tolui, who was the youngest brother, and he now holds the east and the realms of Cathay and Machin, the length and breadth of which only God knows. The west from the banks of the Oxus to the farthest reaches of Syria and Egypt are held by Abaqa and his brothers as *enchü* from their father. Between these two *uluses* lies the territory of Turkistan and Qipchaqbashi, which is under your control. With all this, you attack me. As far as I can tell, I don't think I have committed any offense."

"You are right," they said. "Henceforth we will not remember the past. We will divide the summer and winter *yurts* equitably and dwell in the mountains and plains, for this territory is devastated and unculti-

vated." [A111] With that, they decided that two thirds of Transoxiana would be Baraq's and one third Qaidu's and Mänggü Temür's. They put this to Mänggü Temür, and he agreed to the settlement.

The seal to their agreement was to be that in the spring Baraq would cross the Oxus and lead his army to Iran to take some of Abaqa Khan's territory in order to expand his grazing grounds and land for his army. "If you consent to this," said Baraq, "let us take an oath and make a binding pact." As was their custom they swore an oath on gold and stipulated that henceforth they would dwell in the mountains and plains and not hang around cities, or graze their animals in cultivated areas, or make exorbitant demands on the peasants. Breaking camp, each one went off to his own *yurt*.

For a time Baraq kept his promise and stuck to the terms of the treaty. At the princes' suggestion, he sent Mas'ud Beg to the provinces to win over the peasantry and restore the towns and villages to habitation and agriculture. Mas'ud Beg reassembled the peasants who had run way, and, with his expertise, he put the administration of Transoxiana back on the good footing it had been on before.

Once again Baraq began to engage in aggressive expansion by making exactions and demands on the people, rustling all the flocks and herds of Transoxiana, and tyrannically seizing people's property and possessions. When he decided to go to Iran, Mas'ud Beg said, "It would be unwise to undertake this action, for if that territory is not conquered, it will be impossible to return to this land." Baraq abandoned that idea.

In 666 [1267–68] Abaqa Khan was occupied with dispensing justice and equity in Iran. Prince Negüdär Oghul, the son of Chaghatai's son Mochi Yäbä, was in attendance with a division of soldiers, and Abaqa Khan held him in great honor and esteem. Baraq sent a group of envoys to Abaqa Khan, [750] and with them he also sent *beläg* [gifts] for Negüdär Oghul. Among the gifts was an arrow of the type the Mongols call *toghana*. When they gave it to him they made an extremely discreet motion to indicate that there was something in the arrow. [A112] He split it open in private, and in the middle of the arrow he found a letter containing the following message: "Let Negüdär Aqa know that I have assembled a huge army and am going to attack Abaqa's territory. It is expected that when he mounts to repel us, you will not go with him. Make it so that he will not be able to face us and so that we can get hold of his land any way possible."

When Negüdär was apprised of the contents of this letter, he asked for permission to go home to Georgia. He received permission and left. There he placed this secret proposition before his amirs.

Day after day envoys arrived from Khurasan giving information on Baraq. Abaqa Khan, occupied with important affairs connected to the military and the *ulus*, summoned Negüdär Oghul for consultation and sent several envoys to ask him to come. Each time he used some excuse not to come. "I am resolved," he told his amirs, "to go via Derbent and join Baraq." So saying, he set out immediately in that direction. Shirämün Noyan, who was in that area, set out with his army on his heels and sent Alinaq in the vanguard. After them he sent Abatai Noyan with another division. The two armies chanced to meet atop a hill. Negüdär fled without a fight and headed for Derbent. When the others took to the road he was forced to turn his reins toward the mountains of Georgia, where he went into a forest and got lost. The Georgian amirs surrounded the forest, and King David sent him a message saying, "There is no way out of this forest. Turn back and don't distress yourself." At his advice he came out of the

forest. Shirämün and his army came upon him and killed many of his soldiers and took others captive. In the end, in Ramadan 668 [April–May 1270] they forced Negüdär [to surrender], **[A113]** and in Rabi' I of that year [October–November 1270] he came to Abaqa Khan's court with his wife and children. In his infinite mercy the padishah spared his life, but he had the six amirs who had shared his secrets executed. His army was divided into units of hundreds and tens, and fifty Mongols were set as guards over him. He was imprisoned at the river called Kabudan, but a year later, when Baraq was defeated, he was freed. He used to come and go to the *ordu* until he died.

In his boldness and conceit, Baraq sent a message to Tübshin Oghul saying, "On both sides the path of kinship is trod. **[751]** The meadows of Badghis as far as the gates of Ghaznin and the banks of the Indus River were our fathers' and forefathers' grazing grounds. You must vacate Badghis so that our retinue may encamp there."

Tübshin replied, saying, "These territories belong to my elder brother Abaqa Khan, who is the khan of the land of Iran. He has awarded them to me. Baraq Aqa must not speak such nonsense, and he should mind his station." He sent a messenger to Abaqa Khan informing him of the situation. In reply Abaqa Khan said, "This land came to us by inheritance from our dear departed father and is our *enchü*. Today we hold it by the sword. If Baraq attacks us, we also stand ready to repel him. If he takes the path of agreement and truce, we will also tread the path of unity and kinship."

When Baraq heard this message, he flared up in anger, ordered the army assembled, and set out for Khurasan in all preparedness. When he was about to cross the Oxus he sent an envoy to Qaidu requesting reinforcements in accordance with their prior agreement. After consulting with his amirs Qaidu dispatched Qipchaq Oghul, the son of Ögödäi's son Qada'an, and Chabat Oghul, the son of Güyük Khan's son Hoqu, with their personal troops, saying to them, "When Baraq crosses the Oxus, Tübshin Oghul will of course hasten to do battle with him. When that happens, you find some excuse to turn back, for Abaqa Khan will soon come to repulse Baraq with an army no mountain would be able to resist." **[A114]**

When they came before Baraq they consulted in private. Malik Shamsuddin Kurt joined them, and he reinforced ten times over what they had been thinking about. Baraq ordered all the animals rustled from the provinces that belonged to Qubilai Qa'an and Abaqa Khan, and they did not leave even plow oxen. They built bridges over the Oxus. In his own place he stationed his son Beg Temür with ten thousand horsemen in Kish and Nakhshab,[1] and he crossed the river. When he arrived in Maruchuq[2] in the year 668 [1270], Prince Tübshin was waiting for him. He and his amirs, together with Arghun Aqa, went out to battle Baraq. There was a commander of a thousand named Sächäktü of a *(h)uja'ur* [tribal branch] that was attached to Qipchaq. When he heard that Qipchaq had come, he turned back and joined Baraq, saying, "My *huja'ur* belongs to Qipchaq." He was taken before him, and he presented as *tägishmishi* the fine Arabian horses.

In short, Tübshin Oghul went to Mazanderan and sent messengers to Abaqa Khan's court to inform him of Baraq's arrival. Arghun Aqa got busy arranging the army, and they waited for the arrival of Abaqa Khan's banners.

On the other side, Qipchaq ordered Sächäktü to present several horses to Baraq.

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[1]Kish and Nakhshab, both former names of the modern Shahrisabz and Karshi respectively in Uzbekistan.

[2]Maruchuq is the modern Maruchak in Afghanistan.

[752] The next day in Baraq's camp Amir Jalayirtai said to Qipchaq, "Has Baraq come with several thousand soldiers to wield the sword on *your* behalf?"

"Speak politely," replied Qipchaq. "What has happened?"

"If Sächäktü is attached to you," he said, "why has he not come to you for so long? Today he has come in support of Baraq and you have taken the fine horses that were worthy of Baraq, and you have ordered those that were suitable for you given to Baraq." **[A115]**

Qipchaq said, "Who are you to interfere between *aqa* and *ini*?"

"I am not your slave," said Jalayirtai, "that you can ask me who I am. I am the slave of Shah Baraq."

"Since when does a commoner dare to bandy words with Genghis Khan's offspring?" said Qipchaq. "Since when does a dog like you answer me impolitely?"

"If I am a dog," he replied, "I am Baraq's dog, not yours. Have some respect for yourself and mind your own business."

Qipchaq's zeal was stirred, and he said, "You dare to answer me impudently! I'll cut you in two, and what will Baraq Aqa say to me on your account?"

Jalayirtai put his hand to his dagger and said, "If you strike me with your sword, I'll slit your belly open with my knife."

Qipchaq was highly offended, but Baraq said nothing. Realizing that Baraq was taking Jalayirtai's part, Qipchaq left in high dudgeon, crossing under the bridge at Maruchuq, where Baraq's camp was, and went home to his *yurt*, which was about three leagues away. When he related the incident to his amirs, they all got angry. That night he and group of his intimates mounted, ostensibly to go hunting. Worried that Baraq would attack his *aghruq* when he went, he left his tent where it was and set out with two thousand horsemen. His wife, ...ai, also sent a man to Baraq that night to say, "Qipchaq has left with his soldiers because of the offense Jalayirtai has given. It is not known in what direction he is heading."

Baraq became anxious over this news, and the people of his camp worried that a surprise attack might be made. Baraq ordered his soldiers assembled, and in the morning he ordered his brothers Mu'min and Yasa'ur and Abachi[1] Bitigchi to go in all haste after Qipchaq. When they found him, if he listened to reason and turned back, well and good; otherwise, **[A116]** they were to capture him on any pretext and hold him until Jalayirtai and his three thousand cavalry got there to bring him back by force. The three set out, and Jalayirtai followed them with three thousand horsemen at a distance of less than a league.

Qipchaq rode ten leagues that night, and the next morning he dismounted and left his horses to graze. When he had eaten he remounted, but he was worried by Baraq's troops and said, "If we go fast, the horses will tire. We'll have to travel slowly." **[753]**

The second day they were approaching Merv when a messenger came to say, "We come from Baraq Aqa. Stop for a moment so that we can deliver his message. Afterwards you can do as you like."

"I have no quarrel with Baraq Aqa or with you," Qipchaq said in reply. "I could not tolerate the words of a commoner. As I have come I will return with my soldiers and go before Qaidu Aqa. You need not trouble yourself. You turn back, for I am certainly leaving."

Just then Mu'min, Yasa'ur, and Abachi arrived. They all embraced, wept, and said, "Baraq Aqa sent us [to say to you,] 'Qaidu sent you and Chabat to help me. Without having heard anything from me that would

[1]The name may be Ayachi. Both Abachi and Ayachi are Mongolian names, and both occur as variants of this person's name through this section.

cause anyone distress, you had words with Jalayirtai and then left in anger without having heard a reply from me. I was going to chastise him the next day, but then I heard you had gotten angry and left. You must return, and I will requite Jalayirtai however you want."

Qipchaq replied, "I'm not a child you can deceive with sweet talk. I came at Qaidu's order. Since you don't want me, I'm going home, but I'm leaving my camp and followers here for you to send in safety after me. If you don't, I'll take your followers captive in their stead." [A117]

When they realized that he would not go back with them, they said, "Since you are going, we have bit of wine. Let's have a cup, and then we'll turn back."

"Wine is drunk in times of happiness," he said. "The army is coming right now on your heels. You just want to distract me with wine until they get here. It would be better for you to turn back; otherwise I'll take you with me, and even if all Baraq's soldiers come after me, they won't be able to turn me back." When he began to be rough with them, they started worrying that the army would appear and he would take them prisoner. Therefore they stopped talking and turned back.

Qipchaq rode in all haste until he entered the Amuya desert. Jalayirtai caught up with Mu'min and Yasa'ur in the evening, and they reported what had happened. Jalayirtai wanted to go after Qipchaq, but they said, "Qipchaq will have entered the desert. Even if you catch up with him, you won't be able to do anything." Therefore, to preserve his honor Jalayirtai turned back, accompanied by them. When they reached the edge of the desert, Qipchaq had already gone ahead, and since their soldiers were not prepared, they all turned back together and went to report to Baraq.

Baraq sent Qipchaq's followers off in safety, and when Qipchaq heard this, he did nothing to their people. However, he seized Mas'ud Beg's sons and subjected them to harassment. Then he sent a message to Abaqa Khan informing him of his return. [754]

After that, friendship existed between Abaqa Khan and Qaidu, and they called each other *ortaq* [partner]. When Qipchaq reached the borders of Bukhara, Baraq's son Beg Temür Oghul sent him a message from Kish and Nakhshab saying, "I would be delighted to see you." Qipchaq paid no attention and passed on. When he came before Qaidu, he rejoiced and showed him favor.

After Qipchaq left, Baraq kept Chabat, [A118] who waited for an opportunity until Baraq went to Herat, and then he and his soldiers fled. Two days later Baraq learned of it and took council with his amirs, who said, "We have come to Khurasan to wage war, and we still haven't engaged the enemy. Whether we go after him or whether we send soldiers, he won't turn back and will certainly stand in battle. Soldiers on both sides will be killed, and we'll have a bone to pick with Qaidu. Qipchaq and Chabat left of their own accord. Let's send a messenger to Qaidu saying, 'You sent them to us to help us in time of battle with the enemy, but before they ever saw the foe they altered your decree and pulled back of their own accord. Let Qaidu take them to task.' " Thus they sent envoys off.

When Chabat reached the borders of Bukhara, he stopped for a few days on the banks of the Haramkan canal. The amirs of Bukhara went with Tazik Aqa to Beg Temür Oghul to inform him of Chabat's arrival. Beg Temür said to Tazik Aqa, "You and five hundred renowned horsemen were not able to repulse him?"

"Chabat is *urugh*," said Tazik. "How could a commoner like me do battle with him?"

Beg Temür mounted and made a surprise attack on Chabat, who fled with ten men. He destroyed the Haramkan bridge, but the rest of his soldiers were killed. Beg Temür's army went in pursuit for thirty leagues but couldn't catch up with him. Baraq took Qipchaq's and Chabat's flight as a good omen. He divided the meadows among the soldiers and ordered them not to ride their horses but to let them rest until they got fat, and he ordered the soldiers to occupy themselves with banquets and revelry to regain their strength. [In the meantime they can] travel by oxen and donkey. To Yasa'ur he gave Badghis in Herat as a grazing ground, and he had Margha'ul, **[A119]** who was the mainstay of that army, ride with a troop to Nishapur and Tus, for he was a warrior who knew the roads and would be the vanguard in the expedition to Persia. Baraq himself stayed in Taligan.

On Monday the 26th of Ramadan 668 [May 19, 1270] Baraq's army fell upon Nishapur, killing and pillaging. The next day they left.

Baraq assigned an amir to stage massacre and pillage in Herat, but Qutlugh Temür said, "This is far from the right thing to do, for Malik Shamsuddin Kurt, **[755]** the governor there, will rebel, and his complaint will cause the great ones of Iran to hate us. Let me go first and bring him." Baraq approved and sent him with five hundred horsemen to bring him. When he reached Herat, Malik Shamsuddin came out in greeting laden with gifts and offered food and tribute. Qutlugh Temür went before Malik Shamsuddin Kurt in the Khaysar fortress and delivered Baraq's message, "We have come and taken Khurasan. We intend to take Persia, Azerbaijan, and Baghdad too. If you undertake to render service, you will receive our favor, and we will reward you with all the realms of Khurasan."

"We hear and obey," said the malik. Two days later he set out in the company of Qutlugh Temür and went to Baraq, where he saw an army whose "breasts were filled with vengeance" and whose every word was of audacity and bravery and the killing and plunder they would wreak on Tabriz and Baghdad. He was struck dumb by their awesomeness. Baraq singled him out for much favor and said, "I award you the realm of Khurasan, and I will turn over to you whatever I conquer henceforth." Immediately he asked him which the richest men in Khurasan were so that he could have their names recorded. Malik Shamsuddin Kurt was an extremely intelligent and clever man, and he knew that this would mean Baraq's downfall. **[A120]**

In short, Baraq made a group of Mongols liege men to Malik Shamsuddin and ordered him to take tribute, arms, and animals from the wealthy of Herat. The malik was given permission to withdraw.

The people of the city came out to greet him upon his return, and he reported what Baraq had ordered. At that point everyone abandoned hope of life and property.

Meanwhile, news arrived from Persia that Abaqa Khan was coming with a huge army. The malik went into the citadel and waited confidently for the arrival of Abaqa Khan's army.

From this side Abaqa Khan marched with all his brothers except Tübshin and with his commanders, ministers, and innumerable soldiers for Persia and Khurasan, setting forth from Azerbaijan on Sunday the 4th of Ramadan 668 [April 27, 1270] in Yunt Yil. At that time the crops had sprouted, but in his perfect justice he decreed that no creature was to damage a single stalk. When he reached Sharuyaz, which is now called Qonqur Öläng,[1] an envoy, Täkächäk by name, arrived. This Täkächäk had been

[1]Originally called Sharúyáz and renamed Qonqur (~ Qonghur) Öläng, this place later became Sultaniyya.

seized and held under arrest by Baraq as he was coming from Qubilai Qa'an's court to Abaqa Khan, but he had found an opportunity to escape and join the court, where he reported on Baraq exactly as the situation was, i.e. he described Baraq's men as perpetually drunk and engaged in frivolity. Their horses had gotten *qadaq* [useless], and Baraq was unaware of the incident with Negüdär Oghul. Abaqa Khan speeded up the pace, and when he passed by Ray, [756] Prince Tübshin and Arghun Aqa came out to greet him, joining him in Qumis. Sultan Hajjaj of Kirman also accompanied them. Abaqa Khan rewarded them all and singled them out for favor. Prince Arghun also kissed the royal hand there and was rewarded. From there they proceeded to the meadows of Radkan, and there he gave the soldiers much money, and he honored the commanders [A121] and won them over with promises.

From there they went to Bakharz. Quburtu Bahadur was sent out to reconnoiter, but he could not get near and had to return. The next time Topchaq Bahadur and Negübäi Bahadur were sent from the station at Faryab with a hundred horsemen. They showed themselves [to the enemy,] who lit out after them to keep them from returning, but they attacked them, killed many, and managed to return safely to report what they had learned.

Abaqa Khan was occupied with administrative matters having to do with the soldiers that were his in his *aqa-inis*' charge. He sent Yoshmut Oghul to the left wing; he stationed Abatai Noyan in the center; he dispatched Prince Tübshin to the bridge at Chaghcharan, which was Margha'ul's *yurt*. When he got there he attacked Margha'ul's scouts and killed some. He also plundered his baggage. Margha'ul went to Baraq to report the arrival of the army. Baraq said, "If Tübshin and Arghun Aqa have come back to battle, they are the very ones I've had experience with before. If it's Abaqa, that's a different story. You go and block their way until we array the army."

Abaqa Khan headed for the saints' shrines and asked the Creator for assistance. When he got to Badghis he sent a clever and eloquent emissary to Baraq to say, "We have come to Khurasan from Persia to save you the trouble and bother of traveling. Know for certain that the kingdom of this world cannot be gained through tyranny and oppression, only through placating and maintaining the peasantry and observing the strictures of divine commandments. [A122] An intelligent man will consider it necessary to avoid and shun anything the end of which is grave, while you 'cast fire and burned cities: from whom did you learn to hold the world?' Nonetheless, if you do not want there to be contention and struggle between us, then choose one of three things. First, truce: I will give you from Ghaznin and Karman ...niyan to the banks of the River Indus. Second, return in felicity to your country and region, and do not allow yourself to think of the impossible. Third, get ready for battle. 'Either the shining sword that is defiled by blood, or the fire of good fortune that rises.' " [757]

Baraq thought about it for a while. Then he said to his commanders, " 'Three roads has he threateningly placed before me. See what advice this vengeful one gives.' Which of these three would you choose?"

Yasa'ur, who was the best of the commanders in strategy and tactics, said, "The best thing to do would be to make a truce, for Qipchaq and Chabat have turned back. Our horses are useless while theirs are ready. Let us go to Ghaznin and spend a year or two there. We will suffer no disgrace by abandoning war, for Abaqa Khan is a mighty monarch, and a truce with him would be a source of pride for us. Many other things can be requested from him,

and he will grant them all."

Margha'ul got angry at those words and said, "One should not be pessimistic in the presence of kings or allow oneself to fear. Where is Abaqa Khan? He has taken his army to Egypt and Syria. Tübshin Oghul and Arghun Aqa have fabricated all this and let out a rumor that he is on his way here."

Jalayirtai said, "We've come to do battle. If you wanted to make peace, **[A123]** it would have been better to do it in Transoxiana."

Baraq agreed with Margha'ul and Jalayirtai, and they agreed to do battle. An astrologer named Jalal was with him, and he asked him to cast a horoscope to choose a good hour.

"If you stop for a month it will be better for you," he reported.

It did not suit Baraq to stop, and Jalayirtai flew into a rage, saying, "What importance do good and evil portents in the stars have—particularly when a powerful enemy is near?"

Margha'ul expressed the same sentiment, and then they concluded that they would fight. Spies were sent out to find out whether Abaqa Khan was really coming or not.

Back on our side, the grazing grounds in Badghis in Herat were becoming too small for the animals, and Abaqa Khan said to his commanders, "Baraq came hot to conquer Persia, but in the face of opposition and resistance he quickly cooled down. He has neither an intention to make peace nor the heart for battle." Abaqa Khan had ordered Herat plundered, but he had mercy on the people and rescinded his order, for which the Heratis lifted their hands in supplication and asked God to give him victory.

He assigned Amir Toghuz to select a good site for battle. Toghuz chose an expansive plain on the skirt of the mountains, in front of which was a river the Mongols call Qara Su. There he found three spies he seized and took to Abaqa Khan. He ordered them tied to tent poles and questioned with threats of violence. One said, "I will tell you anything you want to know. Baraq has no idea that Abaqa Khan has come. The commanders have doubts. **[758]** Some say Tübshin and Arghun Aqa have assembled an army and put forth a rumor that Abaqa Khan has come. He sent us to find out and take word back to him." **[A124]**

When Abaqa Khan learned of their situation, he thought for a while and came up with an ingenious plan. He went out of the pavilion and summoned a very competent and eloquent Mongol and hatched a plot with him that he would run into the court like a courier and repeat the words Abaqa taught him. After a while Abaqa went back in and sat on his throne as usual, enjoying himself with his commanders.

When two hours of the night had passed and the padishah and commanders were talking about Baraq, the Mongol with whom he had conspired came in wearing his arms, kissed the ground, and said, "Three months ago the padishah left his camps. Since then enemies and rebels have risen up all over the country, and soldiers have poured in from the Qipchaq Gates like ants and locusts, looting the commanders' camps and tents. They have killed and pillaged so much in that area that nothing is left, and everywhere from Derbent to Armenia and Diyarbekir is covered with foreign armies. If you don't hasten to return, you won't find your camps or people." When the commanders heard this, they went to pieces worrying over their homes and children.

"We have done a good piece of work," said Abaqa Khan. "We have saved Herat from one foe, but we have left our own territory, subjects, and camps at the mercy of another. We should turn back tonight to find our wives and children, and when we have finished that, we can come back here to deal with Baraq." Immediately the drums

were sounded and they decamped in the direction of Mazanderan to reach Tabriz in ten days. The whole plain was full of tents and pavilions, which they left just as they were. In front of the assembled crowd Abaqa Khan ordered an amir to kill the three spies, but in secret he told him to kill only two of them and to let the third one escape, and that order was carried out. [A125]

They decamped from there, and the next day they stopped in the Jina plain, which had been chosen for battle. Abaqa Khan sent a messenger to the city of Herat to Qazi Shamsuddin Babari, saying, "The imperial order is that you not go out tomorrow to greet Baraq, and do not open the gates. Thus we will test your allegiance."

The spy who had been allowed to escape got hold of a horse and fled, so happy he could scarcely contain himself. He strutted into Baraq's court and informed him of Abaqa Khan's situation. In a comical manner he recounted how he had escaped, taken a horse, [759] and come, and then he added, "At present there is nothing in the plain but tents, pavilions, robes, hats, and belts." Baraq rejoiced and laughed, saying to himself, " 'Is what I see real, O Lord, or is it a dream?' " Then he asked the spy about the commanders' and soldiers' bravery and might.

"They have many weapons and animals," he said, "but there is not much bravery among the commanders." Baraq was heartened by this. Margha'ul and Jalayirtai hastened to offer him felicitations, and king and army congratulated each other on their upcoming victory.

The next morning they all mounted together in a show of magnificence that caused mountain and plain to tremble. When they were near Herat, Amir Mas'ud Beg and several others rode forward and found the gates closed. He called for the governor of Herat, Qazi Shamsuddin Babari, who appeared and bowed low to the amir from the wall.

"What's the reason for closing the gates?" asked the amir.

"When Abaqa Khan departed," the cadi said, "he turned the city over and said we were not to open the gates to the enemy. [A126] He made us swear not to do it. You know, my lord, that to break an oath is a vile thing to do, and a traitor is punishable in both this world and the next."

"It's in your best interests to open the city gate," the amir said. "Come out and offer what you have to the soldiers and tell them how weak and pitiful you are. Otherwise I fear what the outcome of this audacity may be. I would not like to see you wounded by these vengeful warriors, for then it will be too late for regrets."

They refused, and Mas'ud Beg returned to inform Baraq of the rebellion on the part of the citizens of Herat. Baraq flew into a rage, but he was so happy that Abaqa Khan's army had taken flight that attached little importance to it.

When they crossed the Herat River, they found the whole plain full of tents and pavilions and rejoiced, pillaged everything, and then camped south of Herat. They spent that day in revelry. The next morning at dawn they mounted, and when they had gone two leagues they found an endless plain, like a shoreless sea churning with soldiers. Baraq's joy turned to dismay, and he made camp next to the Herat River on the banks of the Qara Su near the bridge.

After Baraq camped, Abaqa Khan summoned his commanders and said, "I have trapped Baraq with cunning and ruse. Now you must go into the battlefield united and as one for the sake of your lives and those of your wives and children, and for the sake of your good name and reputation and in gratitude for the good things our fathers and forefathers have done. Get all doubts and hesitation out of your minds, and

strive mightily, for to die in battle with a good name is better than to suffer the taunts and reproaches of the enemy. I trust in God that when we go together to battle Baraq, we will vanquish him and return triumphant and victorious." [A127]

When the padishah had finished speaking, of one accord a cry arose, " 'You are the prince, and we are slaves. We are proud to do your bidding.' " And all mounted in unison and cooperation and headed out to the battlefield. Abaqa Khan entrusted the right wing to Tübshin Oghul along with Samaghar and Hindu Noyan. The left wing was given to Yoshmut, Sönitäi, Arghun Aqa, Shiktür Noyan, Boroltai, and Abdullah Aqa. The armies of Kirman and Yazd were with Sultan Hajjaj, and Atabeg Yusufshah was with Arghun Aqa's division. In the center, which they call the *qol*, were Abatai Noyan and a group of commanders.

When Baraq saw this, he had a sinking feeling and said, "Our plan was wrong." As his commanders tried to encourage him, Margha'ul said, "I'll tear this army to pieces with one charge." Jalayirtai said, "I'll pulverize this army with one unit, and I'll break the center and wings apart.

Today I'll doubtlessly perform a deed that will put to shame the renowned warriors of this age.

Qaidu's and Mänggü Temür's armies fled in the face of your good fortune. This army is not more powerful than they were, but it is unfortunate that their horses are ready while ours are useless and we have no access to water."

"I'll go forward and open a way to water," said Margha'ul.

The armies were arrayed on both sides, and battle lines were drawn. [A128] Margha'ul galloped left and right and made parries and feints. Suddenly an arrow of misfortune struck him in the breast.

When the shaft kissed his finger, it passed through his spine. The celestial sphere said, "Mercy upon that hand, and two hundred 'bravos' for such a shot."

Baraq and his soldiers were stunned and disheartened when Margha'ul was killed. Jalayirtai bowed and said, "I'll hurl myself against this army and put them to flight." So saying, he and his horsemen charged the left wing at a gallop and struck Arghun Aqa, Shiktür Noyan, Yusuf[shah, Boro]ltai, and Abdullah Aqa, killing and unhorsing many of their soldiers. The rest were routed. Jalayirtai went after them for nearly four leagues, as far as Pushang of Herat, but when he wanted to return he could not get his soldiers in order because the units and divisions had been dispersed.

On this side, Abatai Noyan was holding his ground in the center, and the right wing was also intact. When the left wing was lost, Abaqa Khan ordered Yoshmut to go to the left wing, and once again the soldiers were arranged and put in order. Jalayirtai took fright and fled. Baraq lost hope. Abaqa Khan sent Bola Temür in pursuit of Jalayirtai, and he killed everyone he found.

Then a cry was given to the army, "It is a day of glory and renown!" [A129] And they made a concerted attack, wielding blade and spear, attacking from left and right, and overthrowing their opponents.

Sönitäi Noyan, who was ninety years old, got off his horse and sat on a stool between the two armies, saying to the commanders and soldiers, "We have enjoyed the fruit of Abaqa Khan's patronage for just such a day. Everyone has to die eventually. If they kill Sönitäi, they will only have killed a ninety-year-old man. If you abandon me, where will your wives and children be safe from Abaqa Khan and Genghis Khan's *urugh*? Fight like men and trust in God so that He will give us victory."

They attacked and fought hard. In the third attack Baraq was broken and left unhorsed. He was crying out for his liege men, but not one of his soldiers paid any

attention to him. In the end a man named Sali from among his bodyguards recognized him, dismounted, and put Baraq on his horse. He asked Baraq for some arrows. He pulled several from his quiver, tossed them to him, and rode off.

The next day Baraq reached his army, and those who were left alive gathered around him, naked and on foot. His *aqa-inis* who had managed to escape had crossed the river but had not camped. Abaqa Khan's soldiers charged left and right and killed or captured all they found. Elgäi Noyan's nephew Hulqun and two thousand horsemen came to submit.

Had it not been for Jalayirtai's audacity and courage, not one of Baraq's men would have escaped alive, for he assembled those in rout and drove them into the sands of Amuya. When the army approached he stood in battle and held his ground until the routed men [A130] got away. Only then did he proceed on his way. With such valor he saved a group from the sword.

Along the way was a ruined kiosk in which a group of riders took refuge. A detachment of our soldiers rained down arrows on them, but it had no effect. Suddenly Abaqa Khan's banner appeared, and he ordered them to place a lot of kindling around the kiosk and set fire to it. The men were all burned alive.

After that, Abaqa Khan returned victorious and triumphant. He entrusted the realms of Khurasan and Mazanderan as far as the banks of the Oxus to his brother Tübshin Oghul. He also rewarded the people of Herat, and he punished the commanders who had fled. Alinaq in particular had made valiant showings during the battle, for which he acquired influence and renown.

The battle took place on the first of Dhu'l-Hijja 668 [July 22, 1270]. [760]

Baraq's history after he crosses the river in defeat and his forces are dispersed and scattered.

When Baraq crossed the river in rout, he stood perplexed and dumbfounded. He then took to reproaching a group of his *aqa-inis* and thinking and planning how he could chastise them. Around then he was stricken with paralysis and could not ride. The *aqa-inis* and commanders, who feared him, each and every one separated themselves from him on some pretext and went home. Of them, Ahmad Oghul, the son of Chaghatai's [grand]son Büri, rebelled and took his troop to Beshbaliq. Offended, Baraq said, "What ill did I do to these people, who basked in the sun of my patronage for so long and accumulated such vast wealth? [A131] I took counsel with my *aqa-inis* and commanders, and we crossed the river, and all along they were saying they would do thus and so. On the day of battle they went back on their word and fled, leaving me on foot in the midst of the enemy. Now that I am stricken with illness they turn their backs on me. If I recover, where do they think they can go?"

When Baraq's wife Nögä Khatun heard this, she said, "Since you are ill, let me mount with the army, seize Ahmad, and bring him back." Such words struck at Baraq's honor, so he summoned his commanders, and after consultation he ordered Na'uldar, one of his commanders of a thousand, to go in the vanguard in pursuit of Ahmad. On his heels he set out himself in a litter, proceeding slowly with many soldiers.

After two stations he heard that Negübäi, the son of Chaghatai's son Sarban, had gone to Khujand, so he dispatched Nalighu (the son of Qadaq[ch]i, son of Büri, son of Mö'ätükän, son of Chaghatai) with a large troop in pursuit of Negübäi.

When he reached the vicinity of Chach,[1]

[1]Chach, also Shash, the early name of Old Tashkent.

he sent his brother Yasa'ur Oghul to Qaidu to say, "When I set forth for Khurasan and Persia upon the advice of Qaidu Aqa, we fought a big battle with Tübshin on the banks of the Chaghcharan, where we were victorious. Qipchaq got offended by a slight exchange of words he had with Jalayirtai while drinking wine, and, before I could investigate the matter, he abandoned his camp and tent and turned back. I sent Mu'min, Yasa'ur, and Abachi after him to placate him. **[A132]** No matter how much advice they gave him, and no matter how they stressed that he had come as an *anda* at Qaidu's order and that it was inappropriate for him to turn back when we were near the enemy, he refused to listen and departed. This left our troops dispirited. When we set out for Herat, Chabat also turned back for no reason. **[761]** I did not send anyone in pursuit of him, for I knew that he would not listen to reason and that it would only result in a fight. For these reasons our plans were dealt severe blows, but I took my army to Herat. From the other direction came Abaqa with many troops, and although our army had been disheartened by the departure of Qipchaq and Chabat, it was of course necessary to do battle. When we faced each other, Jalayirtai attacked their left wing and put it to rout. During the battle an arrow struck and killed Margha'ul, and the army fell into utter rout. I fell from my horse, and the entire army passed by me. Of the commanders and bodyguards I recognized and called out to, saying, 'I am Baraq, your king. Give me a horse,' not one paid the slightest attention to me in such an emergency but kept going. Finally a Qara'una named Sali recognized me, got down off his horse, and put me on it. He asked me for arrows, and I gave him a few. With the greatest of difficulty I extricated myself from the midst of the foe and made it the next day, on foot and wounded, to some of my soldiers. They all gathered around me, and I sent one of them to take the good news that I was alive and well to Nögä Khatun and to tell her that we were coming with our wounded foot soldiers and she shouldn't break camp and flee. **[A133]** When we got there, every one of our *aqa-inis* who had arrived and waited for our arrival, as well as those who were in the *aghruq*, rejoiced. Having remained there, she had the pages bring me all the weapons, food, and clothing she had. Aside from Jalayirtai and the commanders of thousands who had gone ahead, not a soul came out to greet me. Of my *aqa-inis*, every one of them who arrived there had already crossed the river without waiting. When I came to Nögä Khatun and heard what my *aqa-inis* and soldiers had done, I said in anger, 'When I catch up with them, I know how to get even with them!' After crossing the river I joined my *aghruq*, and some of the *aqa-inis* started coming in droves. Neither they nor the commanders have yet all reassembled, but now I am stricken by paralysis. With me in this condition, Ahmad Oghul has rebelled and gone to Beshbaliq. With no reliance any longer on anyone, I have sent Na'uldar with a thousand horsemen in pursuit of him. I myself am in a litter and am proceeding slowly to catch him and bring him back. Just now news has arrived that Negübäi Oghul has set out with his *aghruq* and troop for Khujand, and I have sent Nalighu Oghul with a detachment in pursuit of him.

"When I reached the borders of Chach, I sent my brother Yasa'ur to inform you, my *anda*, of the situation, hoping that you would assist me with forces to catch these people who had rebelled against me and bring their troops back."

When Yasa'ur went before Qaidu and delivered his message, **[762]** Qaidu said, "When Qipchaq turned back because he was offended, it is clear that when Baraq sent you with Mu'min and Abachi after

him to persuade him to go back, he also sent a troop after you [A134] so that if he didn't return, they could seize him and take him back. Is that so or not?"

"There was no troop," replied Yasa'ur.

Since Qaidu had ascertained from Baraq's envoys and from Qipchaq's *aghruq* that Baraq had sent Jalayirtai on their heels, he said to Yasa'ur, "The *aqa* and *ini* and the troop turned back on account of your crooked heart. Now that he has sent you and asked me for assistance, I have asked you, and you give me an untrue answer. How can anyone be straight with you?"

Yasa'ur became extremely ashamed and worried.

Then Qaidu said, "Baraq Anda got carried away by his own machismo and said, 'I will face Tübshin Oghul and break him! No matter why Qipchaq got offended and left, let him be seized and brought back. I will take the realm of Khurasan so that it may be known that Baraq and his soldiers have seized Khurasan through manliness.' Because you were evil and crooked inside, God the eternal gave Abaqa good fortune and helped him to defeat you and chase you miserably out of Khurasan. When you got to this realm you incited strife among your own *aqa-inis*. Finally he had to lie in a litter in pain and say, 'I'm going on campaign.' Doesn't he realize what could be done to him when his arms and legs were sound and his army in good order? Now that he suffers ill health and has no soldiers, what can he do? Does Baraq Anda, who lies sick in a litter, want to conquer realms? Do you want to untangle the twisted fabric of his lies?"

With this he ordered Yasa'ur held under guard and summoned his commanders and ministers for council.

"For several years now Baraq has been eating up our territory," he said. "When he came to make war on us, he was defeated. [A135] Qipchaq tricked us into making a truce, and pacts were made and oaths sworn that we would neither cross each other again nor think of treachery and deception. We swore an oath on gold that he would command his territory and we ours. We sent envoys to bring tribute from our territory, and again and again we sent envoys asking for the tribute. Not only did they not give it, but they beat the envoys. Since a pact was in effect, I forbore with patience. Then he set out for Khurasan and asked me for assistance. In good faith I sent Qipchaq and Chabat with troops. Qipchaq was not received honorably, and, having been insulted by Jalayirtai, a commoner, he turned around and fled. He sent troops after him to seize him. It didn't work. [763] Chabat also turned back in offense. His son came here in fear. Now he is leading his troops again, this time from a litter, and has begun to create strife and contention among the *aqa-inis*. He sends his brother Yasa'ur to engage in trickery and asks for assistance. If we help him with troops, our territory will be ruined beneath the hooves of horses. If we do not send assistance, he will withdraw from us and get himself with the few troops he has to Beshbaliq. There he will unite himself with the Qa'an and create strife again to attack us. The best path I can see is to hold his brother Yasa'ur here. I myself will mount with two *tümäns* of soldiers and send a message that I am coming to assist Baraq Anda. If he has already done battle by the time we get there, he will surely have been defeated and fallen by the wayside. If Baraq has been defeated, let's side with his enemy and, at one and the same time, be done with him and make them obedient to us and not let them get out of this realm. If he has defeated them, then surely their soldiers will have come over to his side. [A136] When we get there we'll turn Baraq back and fix it so that we can remove him in the best fashion possible, put another in his place, make his soldiers

obedient to us, and put down this strife and rebellion."

The commanders and ministers said, "This is the correct way to proceed."

After that, Qaidu mounted with two *tümäns* and sent a message saying, "We are sending several thousand soldiers as reinforcements." However, he kept his own coming secret until he got to Baraq.

Na'uldar had gone to Ahmad Oghul, and he sent messengers to say, "You are a prince, and I am a commoner. Baraq has sent me to persuade you to come back. If you don't, it means war. It would be best for you to return."

Ahmad was extremely drunk, and his companions kept saying, "Many troops have arrived. You have to turn back so that he will turn his army around. By that time you'll have sobered up and we can hold council." No matter how much they insisted, he paid no attention and refused to listen. He attacked Na'uldar, but Na'uldar turned his back and said, "He is *urugh*. How can I fight with him?" When Na'uldar put himself to flight, Ahmad turned back, and Na'uldar went after him with his troops. Ahmad looked and saw that Na'uldar was near again. In his drunken stupor he imagined that his liege men were going to seize him and turn him over to Na'uldar. He chose a few fine horses, stole away from the camp with some of his intimates, and fled into the byways. Na'uldar became aware of it and galloped off after him, shooting arrows. Suddenly one hit Ahmad in the back and went straight through his chest. He died on the spot. When the soldiers realized what had happened, they all surrendered. [764] Na'uldar sent a messenger to Baraq to inform him of the situation.

On the other side, Nalighu Oghul, who had gone in pursuit of Negübäi Oghul, sent him a messenger to say, "Stop until we reach you, and we can proceed together." Negübäi Oghul thought he was speaking honestly [A137] and stopped. The next morning Nalighu attacked him and rained arrows down on his troop. Negübäi was hit and died, his camp was looted, and his soldiers were turned away.

News arrived that Ahmad Oghul had been killed by Na'uldar. Since he was a relative of Ahmad's, Nalighu took flight and went to Beshbaliq.

By the time all this news reached Baraq and Negübäi's and Ahmad's soldiers joined him, Qaidu had arrived nearby and sent him a message saying, "I have come with many soldiers. Where should we go?"

Baraq sent a reply, saying, "Why has Qaidu Anda taken the trouble to come such a distance? The affair with Ahmad and Negübäi is over and I'm turning back because I'm sick. Let Qaidu Anda also turn back. When I have recovered, we can see each other."

When Qaidu heard this, he said to his commanders, "Baraq is near death, but he still won't cease his tricks. He wants to get us out of here by a ruse without seeing us." That very night he had all his soldiers ride and dismount surrounding Baraq's camp. He intended to meet with him in the morning to plan what would be most expedient; however, the news reached Baraq, and he died of fright that very night.

In the morning Qaidu sent envoys to ask for *örgäjüt* [supplementary gifts], but from Baraq's camp they heard the sound of wailing and mourning and saw the bodyguards with their hair down. Realizing that Baraq had died, they turned around and informed Qaidu. By the time they arrived, Mubarakshah, Chübäi, and Qaban had been informed of Baraq's death and Qaidu's arrival. They came and offered *tägishmishi*. They arrived while they were eating and delivered the news. Qaidu cried out and wept, and all the *aqa-inis* wept along with him. Qaidu sent several of his intimates to Nögä Khatun to console her and say, "We

too are mourning here." [A138]

After that, Qaidu ordered Baraq buried on a high mountain. The next day Mubarakshah, Chübäi, and Qaban came with all the commanders of units of thousands and ten thousands. They knelt before Qaidu and said, "After today, Qaidu Aqa is our *aqa*. We will obey anything he commands. While he was alive Baraq was tyrannical to us and all his *aqa-inis* and appropriated our inherited and acquired wealth. If Qaidu Aqa is kind enough to allow us to remain alive, [765] we will perform valiantly for him. If not, it is his to command, but we will will be bewildered and distressed.

Qaidu said, "Let the identifiable property he seized be returned. Since you want me, I will give you what consolation I can and restore your property and territory to you."

After that, as they were breaking camp, Mubarakshah took all the cash and goods he could find in Baraq's treasury. He even snatched with his own hands two valuable pearls from Nögä Khatun's ears. They divided all the animals and property among themselves, and not a thing remained.

Abaqa Khan returns from battle with Baraq triumphant and victorious; envoys arrive from the Qa'an's court bearing diplomatic honors and a writ of khanship; Abaqa Khan is enthroned a second time.

When Abaqa Khan defeated Baraq and cleansed the realm of Khurasan from the sedition and strife of Baraq's henchmen, he returned to Persia and Azerbaijan, his former capital. Along the way, despite the vast numbers of soldiers and retinue, not a creature suffered the slightest harassment. [A139] On the first of Rabi' I 669 [October 18, 1270] he dismounted in Maragha. On Thursday the 20th of that month [November 6] he rejoined his wives' *ordus* at the Jaghatu. Also on that date envoys from the qa'an's court arrived bearing a writ, crown, and honors for Abaqa Khan and naming him khan of Iran in his late father's place, to rule after the manner of his fathers and forefathers.

On Wednesday the 2nd of Rabi' II 669 [November 18, 1270] of Morin Yil, in Jaghatu, by command of the qa'an he mounted the throne a second time, and as was customary congratulations and rejoicing were in order.

Also around that time envoys arrived from Mänggü Temür with gifts and presents of falcons, hawks, etc. to congratulate him on his victory over Baraq. Abaqa Khan ordered the envoys shown all honor, and with them he sent regal *beläg*s [gifts].

On the 2nd and 3rd of Safar 669 [September 20–21] he hunted in the vicinity of Jaghatu. By chance his royal hand was wounded by a mountain ox's horn. A vein was severed that would not stop bleeding. Qorchan Aqa, the father of Tuq Temür Idächi, picked up a bow, unstrung it, and wrapped the string around the wound so that it swelled and stopped the flow of blood. Abaqa Khan rewarded him. He also rewarded Täkächäk, who had borne his arms for him during those two or three days and performed good service, and he became grand and influential. Since the place that had been wounded turned tumorous and became like a sack, he was in pain, [766] but the great physicians were unable to open it. [A140] He could not bear it any longer. Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi assured him that opening it would not cause him any injury, so he ordered Abu'l-Izz the surgeon to open it and clean it out. Immediately the pain diminished, and within a week he had no further pain. The people rejoiced.

On Saturday the 8th of Dhu'l-Hijja [July 18, 1271] Prince Yoshmut died. On the 4th of Safar 670 [September 11, 1271] Täkshin Oghul passed away.

On the last of Rabi' II of that year [December 5, 1271] the people of Girdkoh

surrendered their stronghold.

In Jumada II of that year [January 1272] Yesünjin Khatun, the mother of Abaqa Khan, died. Her *ordu* was given to Padishah Khatun.

Thereafter the people of Iran dwelt secure in the shadow of Abaqa Khan's justice and equity for a long time, and they prayed for his continued good fortune.

Aq Beg comes to Abaqa Khan's court and takes the army to devastate Bukhara; the end of that episode; an earthquake occurs in Tabriz.

A man named Aq Beg had long been warden of the Amuya fortress and guarded the banks of the river on Baraq's behalf, and he had also harassed the people greatly. In the year 671 [1272–73], he came to Abaqa Khan's court at K...tü and reported, "Foreign troops on the other side of the river are being reinforced from Bukhara and getting ready to invade these regions. **[A141]** It would be best to destroy that place."

Abaqa Khan assigned Yesüdär Oghul, who had become the governor of Khurasan after Tübshin Oghul, to Bukhara and said, "If the people there accept to leave their homeland and come to Khurasan, do not harm them. Otherwise, plunder Bukhara." So saying, he sent Negübäi Bahadur, Chardu, Aladu, and a division of soldiers with him. When they got there they attacked Kish and Nakhshab several times. After that they set out for Bukhara and camped in the vicinity of the city. Amir Mas'ud Beg was in Qaidu's *ordu*. In his absence Sadr-i-Jahan was in charge of affairs. Aq Beg had a servant there named Zerak son of Lachin, a very nosey and seditious person. He sent him with a Mongol liege man of his on a mission into the city to deliver a message saying, "It is Abaqa Khan's command that you leave the city along with your wives, children, property, and animals and go to Khurasan." The rabble and lower classes paid no attention to Sadr-i-Jahan's words and killed Zerak. **[767]** The Mongol liege man returned and informed Aq Beg of the murder of Zerak son of Lachin. At once he mounted and set out for the city. The people of Bukhara shut the gates and fought for a whole day. By night Sadr-i-Jahan summoned the dignitaries of the city, who decided that they should make a truce. Aq Beg was the son of an Indian woman and grandson of Tajuddin Zerak, and one of the city gates was his responsibility. At dawn he opened it and let the soldiers into Bukhara.

In Aram Ay of Daqiqu Yil, corresponding to the first of Rajab 671 [January 22, 1273], **[A142]** they began to massacre, pillage and plunder, and take captives as rivers of blood flowed in the city. Mas'ud Beg's *madrasa*, the largest and greatest of the *madrasa*s there, was set afire and burned along with its precious books. The killing and looting continued for a week. On the last night they were about to set the city on fire when suddenly several Mongol riders arrived bringing the news that Chübäi and Qaban, the sons of Alghu (the son of Chaghatai's son Baidar), were approaching with ten thousand horsemen. Aq Beg and Negübäi decamped and crossed the Haramkan Canal carrying many items, animals, slaves, and captives.

Early the next morning Qaban, Buqu, and Naqu arrived on the other side of the canal and cried out, saying, "Why have you done such a thing?"

"By command of your *aqa* Abaqa Khan," they answered. "Here is his decree."

Qaban did not think it wise to cross over and attack them since he had no more than five thousand horsemen, but he demanded *sawqat* from Aq Beg and Negübäi. They sent him a share of the plunder and loot, and he turned around and killed what remained of the fighting men. Nearly fifty

thousand persons were killed.

On both sides Aq Beg, Qaban, and Chübäi continued killing and looting for three years until such a magnificent city and its countryside was totally devastated. There was not a living soul in the vicinity for seven years.

When Aq Beg had been sufficiently enriched by the loot, he wanted to take flight and go to Qaidu. One of his brothers came to Prince Arghun and told him of his brother's plan. **[A143]** The prince sent an envoy to bring him in chains, and he was sent to Abaqa Khan, where he was tried. He refused to confess, but when he was beaten he confessed and was executed at Kökchä Tängiz [Lake Sevan].

Also in the year 671 [1272–73] a violent earthquake occurred during the winter in Tabriz. The tops of minarets fell, **[768]** and many houses were destroyed.

In Dhu'l-Hijja of that year [June–July 1273] Malik Sadruddin of Ray was killed. Jangla'un Bakhshi, who was highly regarded by the Mongol monarchs and particularly venerated by Hülägü Khan and Abaqa Khan, died on the 19th of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year [July 7, 1273].

In Dhu'l-Hijja of 673 [July 1275] Arghun Aqa passed away in the Radkan meadows of Tus and was buried there.

Bunduqdar comes to Anatolia, and Abaqa Khan heads there and vents his wrath on the people of Anatolia; some of the amirs of Anatolia and Parvana are martyred; the Sahib-Divan Shamsuddin goes there.

In the year 674 [1275–76] Ziya'uddin and the son of Khatir and the son of Parvana went from Anatolia into Syria to Ruknuddin Bunduqdar, **[A144]** whom they encouraged to invade Anatolia. In 675 [1276–77] he set out with a huge army for Anatolia, emerging via Abulistan [Elbistan] from Mount Abulistan. On the borders there were stationed the Mongol amirs Elgäi Noyan's son Tuqu, his brother Uruqtu, and Sodon's son Tödä'ün of the Suldus, the brother of Su'unchaq Noyan, each with a division of soldiers. The armies met on Friday the 10th of Dhu'l-Qa'da of that year [April 15, 1277], corresponding to the 12th of Ütünch Ay of Hükär Yil, and battle ensued. It was terribly cold. Tuqu and Tödä'ün dismounted with their soldiers and fought hard. After noon the Mongol army was defeated, and only a few escaped. Bunduqdar went to Qaysariyya [Kayseri] and spent a week there, putting the coinage and *khutba* in his name. Then provisions grew scarce.

Mu'inuddin Parvana was in the fortress at Toqat [Tokat]. Bunduqdar sent a messenger summoning him, but he refused to comply. Bunduqdar killed some Christians and Armenians and pulled back. Along the way their horses were afflicted by a pestilence, and many of the soldiers had to go on foot. One of Tödä'ün's liege men named Bökädäi came and reported the situation. Abaqa Khan grew extremely angry and set out that very day from Tabriz. In Safar 676 [July 1277], which was in the spring, he set out for Anatolia, and when he reached Elbistan and Aqcha, Sultan Ghiyasuddin came to court with Sahib Fakhruddin Isfahani. When he saw the bodies piled one on top of another in Elbistan, he wept and grieved for Tuqu and Tödä'ün. **[769, A145]** In his anger he ordered a group of Turcomans who had stirred up trouble and several dignitaries of Anatolia executed and he commanded that some of the Anatolian countryside be subjected to massacre and pillage. Sahib Shamsuddin Juwayni ransomed several cities, but half of Sivas was looted. Sahib Shamsuddin reminded him that just kings do not inflict general punishment for an individual's crime, and his advice was accepted and they were spared. Nuruddin Jarangi and Zahiruddin ibn Hud were martyred.

Abaqa Khan wanted to go to Syria. However, it was the middle of summer, and since the commanders said the end of autumn or winter would be more appropriate, a halt was called and he sent a messenger to Bunduqdar with threats, saying, "You attack our scouts and patrols without warning like bandits and kill some. When word reaches us and we mount to deal with you, you run away like thieves. If you intend to fight, come out into the field like men and stand firm.

Come see my spear and test my reins. / If you are a mountain, I'll bring you down; if you are a stone, you won't remain where you are. / Where have you ever seen men of battle? You haven't even heard the cry of the fox.

Even if you don't come forth, our troops intend to do battle with you at the beginning of winter, and when the fire of our wrath reaches Syria it will burn everything of yours. God the eternal has given the kingdoms of the world to Genghis Khan and his *urugh* and made warrior chiefs subservient to us. **[A146]** Anyone who opposes the lords of fortune will be branded with misfortune."

Before Bunduqdar reached Damascus he dreamed that the Apostle handed him a sword. That very week he mounted the throne, and then he dreamed that the Apostle said, "Give back what we entrusted to you," and took back the sword and gave it to Malik Mansur Sultan Sayfuddin Qala'un, known as Alfi. When he awoke he realized that it was the end of his life and that fortune would smile upon Alfi. He summoned him and said, "Since you are going to be sultan, take good care of my children." He died in Damascus in Dhu'l-Hijja 676 [May 1278] and was buried in the *madrasa* he had built there.

Abaqa Khan gave Anatolia to Prince Qongqurtai Oghul so that he could guard it from the enemy and so that he could destroy the fortress at Toqat and the bastion at Kughaniya, which was Mu'inuddin Parvana's home.

In Hükär Yil corresponding to 676 [1277] he returned to Ala Tagh. Parvana came trembling to the *ordu*. The amirs said he was charged with three crimes: [770] one, fleeing from the foe; two, not reporting Bunduqdar's arrival immediately; and three, not coming soon enough to court. He was ordered put under watch. When the envoys returned from Bunduqdar, they reported that he had said, "I came at Parvana's invitation because he had promised that if I came he would give me the kingdom of Anatolia. After I got here he took flight." When this was reported to Abaqa Khan **[A147]** he ordered Parvana executed. He was put to death by Küchik Tughchi on the first of Rabi' I 676 [August 2, 1277] in the summer quarters at Ala Tagh.

On the 17th of Rabi' II of that year [September 17, 1277] he dispatched Sahib Shamsuddin to placate the peasantry, overpower foes, and regulate affairs in Anatolia. He went and restored the ruined cities to habitation. He also imposed the *tamgha* tax in Anatolia, although it had not been customary.

In the vicinity of Uruch [?] on the outskirts of Anatolia a man named Qahraman lurked in the forests, making the roads unsafe. The Sahib-Divan mounted together with Kähürgäi Noyan and Arqasun Noyan and burned him up together with the forests..

In Safar of 676 [July 1277] Izzuddin Aybak the Syrian, who had fled with ten men and come here, was rewarded and made governor of Malatya. For his and his men's provisions an annual stipend of five thousand dinars was appropriated. When he got to Malatya, he took three hundred thousand dirhems from the people under blows and lashes and took off again to Syria.

When Sahib-Divan Shamsuddin returned from Anatolia, he went via Derbent to the

Caucasus and Lagzistan and arranged it so that those tribes, which had never surrendered to anyone at any time, submitted.

Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi died at Baghdad in Dar Susiyan at sunset on Monday the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja 672 [June 24, 1274].[1] [A148]

Erudition and the sciences died with him, so peace be with erudition and the sciences.

Malik Shamsuddin Kurt comes hither; he is imprisoned and dies.

Malik Shamsuddin Kurt was one of the maliks of Ghor, and he was an extremely competent and brave man. When Hülägü Khan arrived in Transoxiana he went to court and was favorably received and appointed to the post of malik of Herat, [771] Sabzavar, Ghor, and Gharcha. When Baraq came he conspired with him to open the gates of Herat to the foe. Tübshin Oghul summoned him several times, but he refused to comply and did not go to court. For that reason Abaqa Khan was offended and, in 674 [1275–76], he was about to send forces to capture him. The commanders and the Sahib-Divan said, "Khurasan is in ruins and cannot bear the comings and goings of an army. It would be better to have him persuaded to come in." An order was issued for the Sahib-Divan to go.

"If it is so commanded," he said, "let my son Baha'uddin Muhammad, who is in Persia, undertake this mission."

An order was so given, and after consultation with Qazi Fakhruddin of Herat and Nizamuddin Awbihi, Baha'uddin wrote to Malik Shamsuddin, saying, "I wanted to come myself, but because of many obstacles I was unable to attain that happiness. At present there remains no favor or good will. It is necessary to come." [A149] Sahib-Sa'id Shamsuddin Sahib-Divan also sent the following occasional poem:

Splendor of the realm, Malik Shamsuddin Muhammad Kurt, it is you who, like an angel, are spirit from end to end. / The torment my soul has suffered from separation from you cannot be imagined by human or djinn. / In my eyes, which have no regard for this world or the next, the dust of your steed is like collyrium. / What torments will come upon a weak, grieving heart if you do not trouble yourself to come hither? / My constitution will diverge from health if, God forbid, you change your direction. / For your clear-sighted mind, truly it is fitting that you read a letter of longing like this one. / With the wind of your travel you fan the flames of your determination; with the water of your kindness you make settle down dust that does not exist.

The grandees mentioned above also wrote letters saying, "If Khwaja Baha'uddin goes to Herat with the *maliks*, *sadrs*, and grandees of Persia, he will not render the malik suitable service, ancient honor will be lost, and he will covet the kingdom of Herat. It would be better for you to proceed hither without worry."

With the envoys Malik Shamsuddin sent back his chamberlain Baha'uddin and Jamal Harun with a message saying, "Let the khwaja not worry, for I will come to him soon." [A150]

Baha'uddin treated them well and sent a robe of honor back for the malik. Jamaluddin went and encouraged him to come. He set out for Isfahan. [772] Baha'uddin showed him all honor and made arrangements himself for all the items necessary for presentation to the padishah, such as animals, clothing, etc. After a time he escorted him to court, and he was allowed the felicity of making *tägishmishi* in Tabriz. Since Abaqa Khan had been really offended, he

[1] What the text's "Dár Súsiyán" is supposed to represent is unknown—perhaps a quarter or village. It is known, however, that he was buried in the Musa-Jawad Shrine in Kazimayn in Baghdad. See text p. 665 above and Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:106.

paid no attention to him. Sahib Shamsuddin wanted to trick him into showing favor, but it didn't work and the malik was imprisoned in the fortress at Tabriz. He complained of the Sahib and his son, but since he knew he would be assassinated and his troop plundered, his attendants said he had beneath the stone in his ring poison he took with noodles. He died in 676 [1278] in that prison. *One of his friends composed the following on his death: "In the year six hundred and seventy and six, in the month of Shawwal, destiny took an augury from the book of the ages / in the name of the leader of the Iranians, Muhammad Kurt, and the following verse emerged: *al-shamsu kuwwirat* [the sun was folded up]."*[1]

When his death was reported, since he had been such a sly man and might have faked his death in order to escape, it was ordered that Hulqutu, the amir of ..., should go and nail his coffin shut and place it in the grave, as a precaution.

In the same year informants rose up against Malik Iftikharuddin Qazwini and reported that he had embezzled much money. He paid 500,000 to prevent an audit. He was in destitution in the *ordu* for nearly two years, and then he died in 678 [1279–80]. **[A151]**

Abaqa Khan hunts at Shahrod, and those people initiate a revolt.

In the Tongquz Yil corresponding to 674 [1275] he wintered in Arran. One day he rode out to go hunting, and when he passed five leagues from Shahrod and was hunting a mountain ox in a forest, a group with faces like men but acting like beasts attacked the royal servants with blades and spears. The horsemen charged them, and a battle was fought. In the end they fled. It was ordered that the provincial militia be brought in to remove them. When the army assembled, the ruler of the tribe took fright and came to court with a sword and shroud. He was embraced by regal clemency, and their lives were spared.

The Negüdäris' army comes and pillages Fars and Kirman.

In the winter of 677, corresponding to Bars Yil [1278], nearly two thousand Negüdäri horsemen attacked Fars. **[773]** Balaghan the *shahna*, Muhammad Beg a relative of Mahmud Yalavach's, ...umaq, Shamsuddin Tazigu, and the amirs of Fars went out with an army. **[A152]** The Negüdäris laid an ambush in the vicinity of Kalbar, and in front was a large irrigation canal. Najmuddin Shul said, "It is not wise to go." Muhammad Beg hit him with his whip and said, "Coward, why are you frightening the soldiers?" Najmuddin turned back in anger, but the others proceeded. The Negüdäris sprang their ambush and killed most of the soldiers. Shamsuddin Tazigu and Balaghan managed, with great difficulty, to escape, ...umaq and Muhammad Beg were killed along with the soldiers. The Negüdäris went to the gates of Shiraz, rustled horses from the Pirozi Garden, and attacked and pillaged on the outskirts of the city.

Until 698 [1298–99] the leader of the Negüdäris was Mochi's son Abdullah,[2] a great-grandson of Chaghatai. After that, Baraq's son Dua summoned him, put him under arrest, and sent his own son Qutlugh Khwaja in his place. He too sent his soldiers to plunder Fars in 700 [1300–1]. The reason he was so audacious is that the Padishah of Islam's imperial banners were headed for Syria and that front had been left empty.

Abaqa Khan's banners proceed to

[1]Omitted from JT_{AZ}; taken from JT_K.

[2]JT_K has "Abdullah son of Jochi" [!] and JT_{AZ} has "Abdullah son of بوحی" here. According to the report given on text p. 540 above, this person should be Abdullah s/ Mochi s/ Baiju s/ Chaghatai. For بوحی, read موجی (Mochi).

Khurasan; the Qara'una amirs come into submission; Prince Arghun Khan goes to Seistan.

On the first of Muharram 677 [May 25, 1278] corresponding to Tavushqan Yil, Abaqa Khan departed from Tabriz and set out for Khurasan.

On the 3rd of Rabi' I 678 [July 14, 1279] he dispatched Prince Arghun with a division to deal with the Negüdäris. [A153] He went to Seistan, laid siege, and returned, bringing Mubarakshah's eldest son, Öljäi Buqa, and other members of his family.

On the 14th of Rabi' I of that year [July 25, 1279] Abaqa Khan went to Herat. On the last day of the month [August 10], the Qara'una amirs came into submission, and on the 2nd of Rabi' II [August 12] they made *uljamishi*. He rewarded them.

Then he returned to his capital in Tabriz and said, "Inasmuch as our dear father conquered a realm of such length and breadth, it behooves us to give a share to his wives and sons." He gave a portion of Mayyafariqin to Qutui Khatun, part of Diyarbekir and the province of Jazira to Öljäi Khatun, Salmas to Jumghur's wife Tolun Khatun and his sons Jüshkäb and Kin[g]shü. He also gave some territory to the other sons by concubines.

Amir Buqa, the son of Högöläi Qorchi of the Jalayir, was a child when his father died. Abaqa Khan took him under his patronage and raised him [774] until he became a highly influential *inaq* [advisor], entrusted with the *narin* [royal] treasuries and the red [seal]. He became one of the great commanders.

In Luy Yil, Abatai Noyan passed away in Safar 679 [June 1280]. [A154]

Majdulmulk Yazdi becomes an informant for Abaqa Khan, and Sahib Shamsuddin and his brother Ala'uddin suffer a reversal of fortune.

In 677 [1278–79] informants arose in all quarters against the Sahib-Divan Shamsuddin. One of them was the Majdulmulk Yazdi whose father was called Safiulmulk and had served the atabegs of Yazd. Majdulmulk was an attendant on Khwaja Shamsuddin Sahib-Divan's son Khwaja Baha'uddin in Isfahan for a time, and from that position he got himself into Khwaja Shamsuddin's service. The khwaja patronized him and assigned him two or three tasks, one of which was a census of Georgia and that region,[1] but since he did not sense

[1]The following summary of Majdulmulk's early career is given in some MSS. It has the look of a marginal note incorporated into some of the texts, but since it is not devoid of interest and information we will give it here: "His history is as follows. He was the offspring of viziers for the Atabegs of Yazd. His father was the Safiulmulk who came twice to the Qa'an's court and returned bearing *yarlighs* and *paizas*. [Majdulmulk] himself possessed great skill and was an extremely eloquent and clever man. When Imaduddin Umar Qazwini was sent to be governor of Baghdad, he was in his *ordu* and went there with him, working there several years in the Baghdad fiscal authority, where he accumulated great wealth. When the news arrived that Imaduddin had been executed, Majdulmulk picked up what he had, went to Wasit and Basra, and then set out by sea for Fars. While at sea he was attacked by pirates who stole his money, took him captive, and carried him to India, where they threw him in chains. After a long time he obtained release and got back some of his money, which he used for trade. However, he had no permission to come to this land. In the end, he left most of his money there and fled to Yazd. The people there were very glad to see him, and Atabeg Qutbuddin Yusufshah wanted to make him his vizier, but he refused. After much insistence he accepted on condition that from then on, everyone who worked at a position in the vizierate would mind his own business and not meddle in others' affairs. The atabeg agreed to appoint servants and retinue, to give everyone an appropriate position, and to turn over all fiscal affairs to Majdulmulk. With this agreement, a day was chosen for his installation, and all the grandees were present. It was customary for an inkpot to be brought into the divan before the atabeg, set on a golden cloth, and

in him qualities that inspired trust, he was less than enthusiastic in his reception and patronage of him. **[A156]** When Majdulmulk realized that, he got permission to go to Yazd, where he resided at home for a while. Then he rejoined Khwaja Baha'uddin's service. Through that connection Khwaja Shamsuddin Sahib-Divan sent him on a mission to Anatolia, where he remained for a time. When he returned he served Khwaja Ala'uddin as usual.

One day Majduddin [Ibn al-]Athir, Sahib-Sa'id Khwaja Ala'uddin's deputy, happened to be with him, and during the tales he related he spoke of the might and magnificence of the army of Egypt and of their great numbers and invincibility. **[A157]** Majdulmulk took this as a pretext to go to Yesü Buqa Gürägän to report that the Sahib-Divan's brother's deputy, with the connivance of the two brothers, had united with the Egyptian enemy. They therefore knew all about [the Egyptians' plans] and were simply waiting for an army to come to this land in order to turn over Baghdad.

Yesü Buqa Gürägän reported this to Abaqa Khan, who ordered Majduddin Ibn al-Athir arrested and questioned concerning this report. During the *yarghu* [inquisition] he received a hundred lashes, but still no case was proven against him. He was turned over to the Sahib-Divan, and the Sahib-Divan pardoned Majdulmulk **[775]** and issued him a writ of governance of Sivas. When he learned of his impoverished condition, he gave him a bar of gold, a ruby, and a draft in the amount of ten thousand dinars drawn against the ruler of Anatolia.

Having done what he had done, Majdulmulk had become wary and therefore joined Yesü Buqa Gürägän's service, constantly making every attempt to undermine the two Sahib-Divans in every way possible. He bided his time until around the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da 678 [March 1280], when Abaqa Khan set out for Khurasan.

When Abaqa reached Qazwin and Prince Arghun came out to greet him, Majdulmulk went before the prince through the offices of one of his confidants, a man named Ayachi. "I have been wanting to say a few words for more than a year," he said, "but I have not been able to have my words conveyed by amirs or courtiers because every time I made an initiative, the Sahib-Divan learned of it **[A158]** and paid out huge bribes to them from the padishah's treasury to make them keep it quiet. Recently it occurred to me that although the amirs are willing to sell the padishah's interests for favors and bribes, the prince would not sell his interests. I have therefore come to report that most of what comes into the padishah's treasuries from the realm is income from the Sahib-Divan's holdings, which are derived from the padishah's own property. Indeed, the Sahib-Divan's ingratitude has

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placed before the vizier so that he could put his seal on documents. That day, a bowl bearer of the atabeg's, who was extremely bold and also served as a chamberlain, came in as usual and requested in his impudent fashion that he take the inkpot and cloth out and place them before the vizier. The atabeg, unaware of the prior arrangements, granted his request. When the appointed hour drew near, the bowl bearer came in, placed the cloth and inkpot before Majdulmulk, and gave him a document to seal. Majdulmulk flew into a rage, threw the document away, got up, and left angrily. At once he set out for Isfahan, saying, 'How can one keep control of the affairs of a ruler who, despite all conditions and promises, in the very first act, lets a bowl bearer act like a chamberlain?' No matter how much they pleaded, he refused to listen and left. In Isfahan he joined Khwaja Baha'uddin's service and was one of his intimates for a while. Once he realized how irritable and quick-tempered Baha'uddin was, he managed to insinuate himself into Sahib-Sa'id Shamsuddin's service. The sahib sent him to conduct a census of Georgia, and in a short time he had completed that task to everyone's astonishment. The next time he sent him to Mosul and Diyarbekir to collect taxes and tribute and pacify the provinces. He accomplished that task too satisfactorily and returned."

reached such proportions that he is at one with the sultans of Egypt, the Parvana of Anatolia is united with Bunduqdar on his advice, and Tuqu, Tödä'ün Bahadur, and Uruqtu were killed through his vile machinations. His brother Ala'uddin has grabbed the realm of Baghdad, has made for himself a jeweled crown worthy of kings, and has stashed away innumerable treasures and uncountable buried hoards. If the padishah favors me, I will prove that the Sahib-Divan has purchased in his own name nearly forty million dinar's worth of the padishah's property and that he has another twenty million in cash, flocks, and herds. If in all the padishah's treasuries there is ten million in gold, aside from what has been brought from the Heretics' fortresses, I am mistaken and should pay with my life. Because I know all about this, he has given me a writ of governance of Sivas, a bar of gold, a ruby, and a draft worth ten thousand dinars as 'hush money.' "

When he had divulged all this to Prince Arghun, the prince reported it to Abaqa Khan, who said, "Speak of this to no one until it can be taken care of quietly."

When Abaqa Khan went to Tabriz, he spent the winter in Arran. **[776]** That winter Malik Raziuddin Baba Qazwini and Jalaluddin Khatti [Khutani] were martyred.[1] **[A159]**

That spring, when he went to Sharuyaz, he was in the bath in Ribat-i-Muslim one day. Majdulmulk went into the disrobing room of the bath under the patronage of Amir Taghachar and reported everything he had told Prince Arghun and more. Abaqa Khan grew angry at the Sahib-Divan and sent envoys into all parts of the kingdom to have his deputies arrested and brought to him along with their account books for an investigation at court. The Sahib-Divan sought the aid of Öljäi Khatun and penned a document declaring that all the properties he had purchased belonged to the padishah. On the top of the document the khatun wrote a petition for him that induced Abaqa Khan to restore him to favor. Thus she rescued the Sahib-Divan from the brink of disaster. Decrees were issued recalling the envoys, and the Sahib-Divan's deputies were not molested.

In desperation Majdulmulk wrote a petition saying, "Now that the Padishah has restored the Sahib-Divan to favor, he will not allow me a moment of safety. I hope the Padishah will either entrust me to an amir who can protect me from him or command me to leave the kingdom."

In reply Abaqa Khan said, "Although I have restored the Sahib-Divan to favor, I do not consider Majdulmulk to be at fault. He will continue to serve the *ordu* and accompany Taghachar, Joshi, and Ordu Qaya." Majdulmulk was pacified and continued in service according to the order that had been issued, **[A160]** biding his time along with Sadruddin Zanjani, until the spring of 679, when a decree was issued for Majdulmulk Yazdi to be the overseer of the entire territory from the banks of the Oxus to the gates of Egypt jointly with the Sahib-Divan. One day when Abaqa Khan was in the temple in Maragha with all the ladies, princes, amirs, ministers, and grandees of court, he ordered the decree to be read. All said of one accord, "Never have Mongol rulers given such a decree to a Tajik!"

Abaqa Khan said to Majdulmulk, "Be very careful of the affairs of state, treasury, and military, be aware of everything that happens, and supervise everything your deputies do. Watch yourself closely, and do not, for any reason, lag behind the *ordu*. If anyone attempts to kill you, he will answer

[1] Malik Raziuddin Baba was the governor of Diyarbekir (see text p. 744 above and Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:117); Jalaluddin is either Raziuddin's successor (Khwandamir 3:117) or the Jalaluddin Tarir mentioned on text p. 744 above. They may actually be the same person.

to me." When he attained such favor everyone deferred to him and honored him. Therefore the Sahib-Divan Shamsuddin's fortunes suffered a reversal, and there was nothing he could do about it. [777] Majdulmulk sent the following quatrain to Sahib Shamsuddin: "I shall sink into an ocean of grief for you: I will either drown or bring forth a pearl. / To attack you is dangerous, but I will do it: I will either win or lose my head." [A161]

In answer he sent the following: "Since it is inappropriate to make a complaint to the king, one must grieve over the age. / In this contest in which you are engaged you will both win *and* lose your head."

When Majdulmulk saw that his plots were not going to have any effect on the Sahib-Divan, he turned on his brother Ala'uddin and initiated attacks on him from all quarters. An order was given for his arrest, and his deputy Majduddin Ibn al-Athir sat opposite him and inquired how much he had obtained from such-and-such a source and how much he had from such-and-such a person.

When Sahib Shamsuddin realized how black the situation was, he sent a message to his brother, saying, "Don't deny anything at all until you are forced to, for it has been said, *lâ bâraka 'llâhu ba'da 'l-'ard fi'l-mâl.*[1] Ala'uddin accepted to pay a fine of three million in gold. After paying it, as will be explained, more was demanded of him. It got so bad that he was put in chains and held over the Baghdad Bridge, beaten and given all manner of torture until he gave everything he had. After that he had to sell even his sons, and he lost everything as Majdulmulk's fortunes rose. [A162]

Abaqa Khan goes to Syria; Prince Mänggü Temür does battle with the Egyptians; the Padishah returns to Baghdad.

Because the Syrians were attacking the borders of Anatolia and Diyarbekir, wreaking havoc on Muslim territory, devouring grain and stirring up strife, Abaqa Khan was angry with them and decided to launch an expedition against that land. Ostensibly hunting, he went as far as the Khabur and Rahabat al-Sham.[2] He did not cross the Euphrates, but he dispatched his brother Mänggü Temür in the vanguard. When he reached Homs he camped, and Abaqa Khan stopped on this side of the river opposite Dayr Bir. The inhabitants of Dayr fled. An order was given for the place to be pillaged, and the fortress of Zalibiya was burned. Battle was fought with the people of Rahabat.

On the 29th of Jumada II 680 [October 15, 1281] he pulled back to Sinjar. [778] On the 15th of Rajab [October 30] he rejoined his *ordus* in Muhallabiyya, a dependency of Mosul. On Thursday the 14th of Rajab, corresponding to the 17th of Toqsunch Ay of Moghai Yil [October 29] the two sides clashed in the vicinity of Homs, and the battle lines extended for nearly four leagues. Mazuq Aqa and Hinduqur's army were in the right wing; Alinaq, Taichu Bahadur, and Princes Hulachu and Qara Buqa rained down arrows on the Turks' left wing, wounding some of the Egyptians and Syrians. In one charge Alinaq broke their right wing and chased them to the gates of Homs. They were put to fear by that attack, and all at once they charged the center. Prince Mänggü Temür was still a child and had not participated in heated battles. [A163] The great amirs Tägänä and Doladai Yarghuchi were the planners, and they were somewhat worried and pulled back. The

[1]The gist of the Arabic expression is that one cannot expect good fortune after getting involved in fiscal affairs.

[2]al-Rahaba, or Rahabat al-Sham, a town on the Euphrates between Ar Raqqah and Anah (Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 280).

soldiers broke ranks, and many of the Mongol army were destroyed. When this news reached Abaqa Khan, he was extremely angry with the amirs and said, "Next summer during a *quriltai* an investigation of those are fault will be held. Next year I will go there myself and make up for this fiasco."

On Sunday the 17th of Rajab [November 1] he crossed the Euphrates and camped in Kashshaf. From there he headed to Baghdad. On Sunday the 2nd of Sha'ban [November 16] he camped in the vicinity of Muhawwal.

Majdulmulk had come to Baghdad to collect the three million Khwaja Ala'uddin had accepted to pay. He gave over at once everything he had, and he even sold his children. After that he gave a *möchälgä* that if thereafter so much as a dirhem was proven against him he would submit to conviction. Abaqa Khan had mercy on him, and on the 4th of Ramadan 680 [December 17, 1281] he was released from prison. Majdulmulk attacked him again. An order was given for him to go to Baghdad with Amir Taghachar and Ordu Qaya to audit Khwaja Ala'uddin's accounts and collect the 1,300,000 in gold he still owed. If he didn't pay it upon request, it was to be taken through beating and torture. When nothing was gotten, they began torturing him, parading him around the city, and beating him. [A164]

Abaqa Khan dies in Hamadan after returning from Baghdad.

Abaqa Khan set out from Baghdad for Hamadan on the 3rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da 680 [February 13, 1282].

On Wednesday the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja [March 18, 1282] he arrived in Hamadan and stopped at the palace of Malik Fakhruddin Minuchihr, where he was continually occupied with *jirghamishi* [celebration] and enjoying various pleasures.

On the eve of Wednesday the 20th of Dhu'l-Hijja 680 [April 1, 1282], corresponding to the 21st of Ikindi Ay of ___ Yil, after drinking too much, he came out after midnight to relieve himself. The Angel of Death showed himself as a black bird perched on the branch of a tree. "What is that black bird?" he cried out. Then he told his *qorchi* to shoot an arrow at it. Search as they might, they could find no bird. Suddenly he closed his eyes and gave up the ghost on his golden throne.

On Monday the 16th of Muharram 681 [April 26, 1282] Mänggü Temür also passed away in the outskirts of Mosul.

Mourning was held in Abaqa Khan's *ordus*, and his coffin was taken to Shahu Tala and buried next to the Great Ilkhan. His renowned *urugh* became his heirs. *Someone has versified a chronogram of his death as follows: "Tyranny became apparent and justice went into obscurity with the death of Abaqa king of the world. / During the months of six hundred and eighty, on the twentieth of Dhu'l-Hijja befell this tragedy."*[1]

Part Three, on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons.

*In the year 6__ in the city of Nishapur and some of the villages an earthquake occurred during the night. It was such that in the whole city no enough of the walls remained for a bird to take shade in. Half of the minaret of the congregational mosque was found an arrow shot away. Nearly ten thousand persons of consequence were

[1] Omitted from JT_{AZ}; taken from JT_K.

counted, aside from poor persons in the villages no one knew. An order was given for a new city to be built next to the ruins of the old one, and the Nishapur that exists now is that one, but it has no rampart walls. It has been heard that this was the third Nishapur to be destroyed by earthquake.*[1] **[780, A165]** ~

[1]Omitted from JT_{AZ}; taken from JT_K.

ℭ SECTION FOURTEEN

THE HISTORY OF HÜLÄGÜ KHAN'S SON TÄGÜDÄR, WHO BECAME PADISHAH AND WAS CALLED SULTAN AHMAD—IN THREE PARTS.

Part One is on his progeny with details of his wives, sons, daughters and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, the names of his sons-in-law, and a genealogical table of his sons' branches.

Part Two is on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; stories of events that occurred during his reign; a mention of the rebellions and events that occurred.

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons. [A166]

Part One, on his progeny with details of his wives, sons, daughters and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, the names of his sons-in-law, and a genealogical table of his sons' branches.

Ahmad Tägüdär was Hülägü Khan's seventh son, born of Qutui Khatun. He had many wives and concubines. The chief of his wives was Töküz Khatun of the Qunqirat. After her he married Armini Khatun, also of the Qunqirat. After her he married Baytegin, daughter of Husayn Agha. After her he married Tödägü Khatun, daughter of Musa Gürägän. After her he married El Qutlugh, daughter of Kin[g]shü and mother of Toghachaq, who was cast into the waters of the Kura River on charges of sorcery.[1] He married her during his reign and gave her a *boghtaq*. Finally he married Tödäi Khatun.

His sons were three, Qaplanchi by Armini Khatun, Arslanchi also by Armini Khatun, and Noqachi by a concubine named Qurquchin.

He had six daughters as follows. [A167] The eldest was named Küchük, born of Töküz Khatun. She was married to Alinaq.

The second was Könchäk, whose mother was Armini Khatun. At present she is the chief wife of Sarucha Agha's son Amir Irinjin. [784]

The third was Chechäk, also born of Armini Khatun. She was married to Borachu son of Durabai, the amir of Diyarbekir.

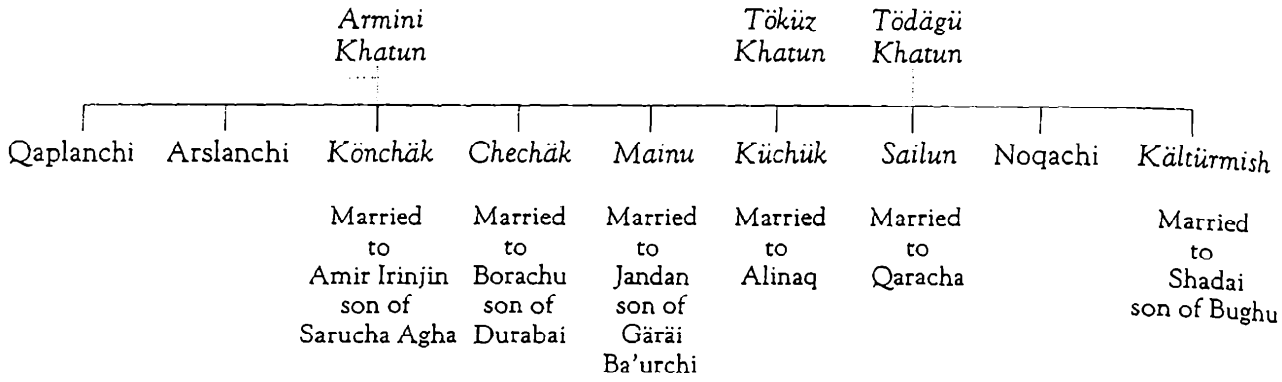
The fourth was Mainu, also by Armini Khatun. She was given to Jandan son of Gäräi Ba'urchi.

The fifth was Sailun by Tödägü Khatun, and she was given to Qaracha, an *ev-oghlan* of Örüg Khatun's *ordu*.

The sixth was Kältürmish by a concubine named Qonqurchin; she was given to Bughu's son Shadai, a commander of ten thousand. At present she is married to Shadai's son, Toghan. [A168]

[1] For this episode see text p. 824 below.

The offspring of Sultan Ahmad Tägüdär



Part Two, on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; stories of events that occurred during his reign; a mention of the rebellions and events that occurred.

When Abaqa Khan passed away, the ladies, princes, and amirs held mourning in Jaghatu, and Ahmad came from Kurdistan. Before Abaqa Khan's death, Nardu Akhtachi, the *shahna* of Tabriz, had gone to summon Prince Arghun on some item of business. He had gone there unencumbered. At that time Shiktür Noyan was also sent out to summon him. At the fourth way station he reached the prince, and the prince and a few of his companions rejoined the ladies and princes in Maragha. They offered him a goblet in condolence for his father. Buqa joined his service and ordered the *sükürchis*, *aqtachis*, *qorchis*, and other attendants who had been in Abaqa Khan's personal service to continue as before in service to the prince. The grand amirs Buqa, Shishi Bakhshi, Doladai Idächi, Joshi, and Ordu Qaya were attending.

After the rites of condolences were held they went to Yaghatu.[1] Before Prince Arghun arrived, the princes who were there, Tägüdär, Ajai, Qonqurtai, Hulachu, Tagha[i] Temür, Jüshkäb, Kin[g]shü, and Baidu, consulted with the ladies and amirs concerning the succession. It occurred to them that since the throne was vacant, [785] [something must be done] lest damage be done to the kingdom before the other princes arrived. **[A169]**

In that council Qonqurtai, Hulachu, Jüshkäb, and Kin[g]shü and the amirs Shiktür Noyan, Su'unchaq Aqa, Arab, Asiq, and Qara Buqa agreed with the other group that Ahmad should be padishah. Öljäi Khatun and the amirs who were with her wanted Mänggü Temür. Buqa and his brother Aruq, as well as Aq Buqa and others of Abaqa Khan's intimates, said, "Prince Arghun is superior to all in terms of intelligence, farsightedness, and policy-making. He is worthy of ruling." Just then news arrived that Prince Mänggü Temür had died, so they were relieved of having to consider him. Qutui Khatun was also inclined to Prince Arghun, and she exerted herself on his behalf. In short, disagreement prevailed among them.

Shishi Bakhshi was an extremely intelligent and clever amir. When he saw that most of the amirs were inclined to Ahmad, he said to Prince Arghun, "It would be best for you and for us if you consent to Ahmad's being ruler so that we can get out of this midst alive." Since the prince had no

[1] Yaghatu ~ Jaghatu. See text p. 742.

soldiers along, he necessarily consented.

On the 7th of Üchünch Ay of Qonin Yil, corresponding to the 26th of Muharram 681 [May 6, 1282], all came to an agreement and confirmed the rule upon Ahmad. Prince Arghun withdrew from Ala Tagh three days later and went to Siyah Koh, where he took over his father's treasury. Taghachar was on his way from Fars and joined him there. Qutui Khatun and the princes who were in league with her also went to Ala Tagh. Shamsuddin the Sahib-Divan was also in Prince Arghun's service, but when the rule was settled upon Ahmad, Asiq, who was Qutui Khatun's *amir-ordu*, sent word for him to be brought to Ahmad's *ordu*.

On Sunday the 13th of Rabi' I 681 [June 21, 1282] *möchälgäs* (written pledges) were given as was customary. **[A170]** Qonqurtai raised Ahmad's right arm, Shiktür Noyan held his left arm, and together they sat him on the throne. As was the Mongols' custom the rites and rituals of celebration and congratulation were held. Since he claimed to be Muslim they called him Sultan Ahmad.

Prince Arghun comes before Ahmad after his enthronement; the cause of Prince Qonqurtai's death; Khwaja Ala'uddin Ata-Malik is patronized, and Majdulmulk is executed.

After celebrations were staged, he ordered the treasuries that were in Shahu Tala brought **[786]** and distributed among the ladies, princes, amirs, courtiers, and the needy. He gave every individual in the army 120 dinars. Without warning Prince Arghun appeared with two or three thousand horsemen and began to chastise him, saying, "Why didn't you wait for my arrival so that I could seat you on the throne?" Ahmad welcomed him and showed him honor, giving him with his own hand twenty bars of gold he was keeping for him. He also gave two to Prince Baidu.

That day a firm friendship was formed between Arghun and Qonqurtai in the *ordu* of Toqiyatai Khatun, who had mediated the friendship, and they swore that henceforth envoys would be exchanged. This was the reason Qonqurtai was killed, as will be explained later.

Prince Arghun withdrew from Ala Tagh with Ahmad's permission and camped at Siyah Koh on the 26th of Rabi' I [July 4, 1282]. Envoys were sent to Hamadan to bring Sahib Ala'uddin Ata-Malik, who was imprisoned, and Majdulmulk. **[A171]** Majdulmulk, whose patron with Ahmad was Altachu Aqa's son Yesü Buqa, started up the same old fight again with Khwaja Shamsuddin, and he was very nearly given overall supervision of the administration, but Sahib Shamsuddin took refuge with Armini Khatun, under whose patronage he flourished as before. He did, however, stir up a number of people to calumniate Majdulmulk. Reports were made on him, both true and false, and during that time Majdulmulk sent a message to Prince Arghun saying, "I am your *enchü*. The Sahib-Divan poisoned your father. Since he knows that I am aware of it, he is going to try to kill me. If anything happens, the prince should be aware."

Majdulmulk's nephew Sa'duddin was informed of the situation, and around that time, because Majdulmulk had expelled him from his position as treasurer over a quarrel, he had been hovering around nursing a grudge against him. Some of the Sahib's friends seduced him and took him before the Sahib, who promised to make him auditor general of Persia and curried such favor with him that he went and reported that Majdulmulk was in cahoots with Prince Arghun and had sent an envoy to him. A decree was issued for all Khwaja Ala'uddin Ata-Malik's possessions and belongings that had been confiscated to be returned,

and he was reinstated to favor and awarded textiles and commercial goods. Ala'uddin brought them all and said, "Everything we brothers have acquired has been due to the great generosity of the Ilkhan. I hereby at this *quriltai* do offer them as a gift." [787] So saying, he motioned for everything to be given over to pillage.

An order was given for the great amirs Su'unchaq Aqa and Uruq to make an investigation of Majdulmulk. Among his belongings was discovered a piece of lion skin on which was written in an illegible script something in yellow and red. [A172] Since the Mongols have a horror of sorcery, they were afraid of the writing and submitted it as evidence to the investigation, where it was much discussed. The *bakhshis* and shamans said it was a talisman that should be dipped in water and he should be made to drink it so that the magic would rebound upon him. They tried to make Majdulmulk do it, but he refused because the talisman had been made by Shaykh Abdul-Rahman and hidden among his effects, and he knew that it was not devoid of trickery and deceit. After he was indicted, Su'unchaq Aqa refused to consent to shedding his blood. The more they insisted, the more he refused. Finally he got the gout and Shaykh Abdul-Rahman went to visit him and kept insisting until he gave in and acquiesced to his execution. Ahmad's decree was issued for him to be turned over to his adversaries to be put to death. When the news of his committal was published, a large group of people gathered. Sahib Shamsuddin would not give his consent to his death and asked that he be pardoned. Khwaja Ala'uddin and Khwaja Harun were most insistent *and he was turned over at night to a crowd that tore him limb from limb. He was killed on the eve of Wednesday the 8th of Jumada I 681 [August 14, 1282] at Ala Tagh,*[1] and his body parts were sent in all directions.

Ahmad favored Khwaja Ala'uddin and gave him Baghdad. [788] Since he had not been in office for a time, he did not go himself but rather sent his deputies to act on his behalf. [A173]

The beginning of the dispute between Ahmad and Prince Arghun; Arghun comes from Khurasan to Baghdad and then returns to Khurasan.

Several times Ahmad sent envoys to Arghun to summon Buqa, but every time he came up with an excuse. In the end he gave him permission, and Buqa set out in tears. When he came before Ahmad, Qutui Khatun showed him great favor and honor and garbed him in a coat that had been the Great Ilkhan's own. He remained there, but he did not initiate anything.

Prince Arghun set out from Soghurluq for Khurasan. On the 4th of Rabi' II 681 [July 12, 1282] Ahmad rewarded Qonqurtai, gave him Toqiyatai Khatun, and sent him off to guard Anatolia. On the 19th of Rabi' II [July 27] he sent Amir Aq Buqa after him.

[Ahmad] held Shaykh Abdul-Rahman in

[1]Instead of the portion marked *...*, JT_K has the following: "and took him to Khwaja Ala'uddin's tent, where he questioned him from afternoon until evening about jeweled utensils, property deeds, *paizas*, and *yarlighs*. He gave him encouragement and took back from him what he had found, for, aside from real estate, 3,000,000 had come to him from the revenues of Baghdad, and real estate in excess of that. He wanted to report it, but they kept him from it lest he be pardoned. On the eve of Wednesday the 8th of Jumada I 681 at Ala Tagh he was killed in Ajighi's tent behind Ahmad's *ordu*. As his head was being stuffed with straw to be sent to Baghdad, the writer of this document, Rashid Khwafi, spoke these words: 'We saw that head, in which was so much ambition and craving for the vizierate, / full of straw, as his enemies would wish, and every tender limb of his body was in someone else's hands.' "

such reverence that he called him "father," and he called Ishan Mängli, a disciple of Babi Ya'qub who resided in Arran, his *qarindash* [brother]. He used to go often to his house, which was near the back gate of the *ordu*, and participate in *sama'*, paying little attention to matters of finance and state. His mother, Qutui Khatun, who was extremely intelligent and clever, took care of fiscal affairs together with Asiq. Although he had become ruler through Shiktür Noyan's and Su'unchaq Aqa's efforts, and he had given Shiktür a parasol and rewarded him well, he paid them little attention. In short, with Shaykh Abdul-Rahman's and Sahib Shamsuddin's approval he sent Mawlana Qutbuddin Shirazi, the most learned man in the world, on an embassy to Egypt on the 19th of Jumada I 681 [August 25, 1282].

On the first of Muharram 681 [April 11, 1282] Amir Ali Chäkibän, **[A174]** who was Khwaja Ala'uddin's protector, and Qutlughshah, a son of his slave, came to Prince Arghun and reported that the Sahib-Divan had sent someone to Khwaja Wajihuddin to poison the prince. An order was given for Khwaja Wajih to be apprehended in Quchan and his quarters plundered. With Bulughan Khatun's intercession he was pardoned and set free on the 23rd of Jumada II [September 28]. **[789]** Amir Ali was ordered to attend court until the matter could be investigated.

Arghun set out to winter in Baghdad. In Ray he rewarded Malik Fakhruddin by reinstating him as governor of that area as before. When Ahmad heard that, he sent an envoy to apprehend the malik and take him to Shirvan, where he was tormented with all sorts of impositions. Prince Arghun learned of it and sent a message to the amirs and the Sahib-Divan, saying, "My father gave the malik to me, and I assigned him to a delicate position. What is the meaning of these impositions and torment? If he is harmed I will take revenge. Does the Sahib-Divan think I will ignore what he has done?"

When the prince arrived in Baghdad, Najmuddin Asfar, Khwaja Ala'uddin's deputy, had died. He said, "I demand the balance of what Ala'uddin owed from my father's time." And he seized his deputies and those attached to him and subjected them to confiscation and impositions. Najmuddin Asfar was disinterred and thrown into the street.

When this news reached Khwaja Ala'uddin, he was dreadfully hurt and saddened. Overcome by a headache, he died of that affliction in Arran on the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja 681 [March 5, 1283]. Khwaja Shamsuddin's son Harun was sent as governor of Baghdad in his stead. **[A175]**

That winter Prince Arghun was in Baghdad, attended by a division of Qara'una soldiers who wintered in Baghdad and summered in Siyah Koh and who had belonged personally to Abaqa Khan. Their leaders, Princes Gaikhatu and Baidu, and the amirs Taghachar, Cha'uqur, Hanqutur, Doladai Idächi, [El]chi Totqavul, Joshi, Qunchuqbal, and other *gäzigtäns* and attendants of Abaqa Khan's were all devoted to Prince Arghun. Worried by their unity, Ahmad assigned a troop led by Jüshkäb, Uruq, and Qurumshi to winter in Diyarbekir so that it would be impossible for the others to get from Anatolia to Baghdad and he would be safe. When spring came Prince Arghun returned from Baghdad to Khurasan. Prince Arghun stationed Jüshkäb with the amirs mentioned above with his *ordus* **[790]** and took Ordu Qaya and Buqdai Aqtachi with himself.

When he reached Ray he had the *shahna* Ahmad had stationed there severely beaten, put a *dushakha* on him, mounted him on an ass, and sent him off to Ahmad. After that, he sent a stream of envoys to summon the Sahib-Divan on the matter of his having

poisoned Arghun's father. He summoned the members of his personal retinue Ahmad had taken back. Thus the fire of sedition flared up between the two.

When he reached Mazanderan, Emgächin Noyan came out with a division of soldiers to greet him. He summoned Hindu Noyan, [A176] who had two divisions guarding the banks of the Oxus, and said, "While my father was still alive he summoned me. As ordered, I set forth without soldiers. When I arrived there he had already died, and things were in turmoil. Since I had no soldiers there was nothing I could do but consent. Now, if you amirs help me, I will get my father's crown and throne out of the usurper's hands. Your efforts will be rewarded, and our good name will be preserved."

Hindu Noyan replied, "Although the situation is as the prince says, Ahmad is the *aqa*, and if he has become khan in that land, you, thank God, are commander and padishah in this region. Listen to the words of this old man, and do not quarrel with him. If he attacks you, we servants will give our lives to requite it." He was most eloquent in such advice, but the prince refused to listen, so Hindu Noyan turned away and took Ahmad's part because by *uja'ur* [clan] he was from Qutui Khatun's *ordu*. The prince continued to reflect in that regard. *Pacem.*

The case of Prince Qonqurtai and his death; Ahmad goes to Khurasan; Prince Arghun gains a victory after being in a weakened state.

From this direction Ahmad went to his summer quarters in Ala Tagh.

He sent Shaykh Abdul-Rahman on an embassy to Egypt, but in Damascus he was thrown into prison for life, where he remained until he died.

Ahmad summoned Qonqurtai for a *quriltai*. As ordered, he appeared and attached himself to court. [A177] He sent one of his intimates, Chärig by name, with *tansuq*s from Anatolia to Arghun Khan as an apology. Arghun rewarded Chärig handsomely and sent two leopards back with him for Qonqurtai. [791] When Ahmad learned of this, he lost all trust in Qonqurtai, and things got so bad between them that those who were there were able to notice the change in attitude of both. It began to be said that Qonqurtai was plotting with Arghun to seize Ahmad on the day of *künyanglamishi* [new year's celebration], and that Küchük Unuqchi and Shadai Aqtachi were in league with him. A number of soldiers were sick of [Ahmad's] overbearing ways, so they joined Qonqurtai to seize him and appointed a certain night to execute the deed. Ahmad learned of the conspiracy, and one day before the *künyanglamishi* he went to his son-in-law Alinaq's quarters and got him to agree to attack Qonqurtai at dawn the next day, seize him, and bring him before Ahmad. On the 26th of Shawwal 682 [January 17, 1284] he said, "The sultan need not worry. I will bring Arghun to court with his hands bound." Ahmad rewarded Alinaq with promotion and gave him soldiers.

At dawn the next day, *künyanglamishi*, the first day of Bechin Yil, they took care of Qonqurtai in Qara Bagh in Arran. The *ordu* was cordoned off, and for six days trials were held. Küchük Unuqchi [A178] and Shadai Aqtachi were executed.

When that affair was over, an order was given for Jüshkäb, Uruq, and the group of amirs Arghun had stationed over his *ordus* in Baghdad to be arrested—like Taghachar, Cha'uqur, Hanqutur, Doladai, [El]chi Totqavul, Joshi, and Qunchuqbal. They were imprisoned in Tabriz (but when Arghun Khan arrived they were set free[1]).

[1]I.e. later, when Arghun had arrived back. See text p. 800 below.

Gaikhatu submitted and was sent to Ahmad. Along the way he escaped from his guards and went to Arghun Khan in Sawa. Ahmad assigned Alinaq a troop to do battle with Arghun, and when that news reached Qazwin, Qazi Raziuddin informed the *basqaq* of Ray, and he set out by post horse to report to Arghun, saying, "Qonqurtai has been removed, his amirs and intimates have been executed, and the grand amirs are held in chains. Ahmad has given Alinaq one of his daughters and sent him with a large contingent as an advance force to attack you. He will follow behind."

On Thursday the 18th of Muharram 683 [April 6, 1284] he married Tödäi Khatun.

Ahmad dispatched more than a hundred thousand select Mongol, Muslim, Armenian, and Georgian horsemen amply supplied and armed with Tubut, Alinaq, Yasar Oghul, Achu Shükürchi, Ghazan Aqa, Eshik Tughli, [792] and Su'unchaq's son Shadai in the vanguard with fifteen thousand horsemen on the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 682 [January 29, 1284]. **[A179]** Three days later much snow fell, and on account of the difficulty, it caused Tubut and Yasar, who were in front, to get stuck. Then Alinaq set out from Qazwin with Yasar Oghul and Taghai, Ahmad's *kükältash*, in the vanguard. They galloped as far as Varamin, seized and plundered three hundred households of artisans who belonged to Arghun Khan, and returned to the camp.

When Arghun was apprised of this event he sent envoys to the treasury at Garrakan to bring everything that was available. He also sent to the workshops at Nishapur, Tus, and Isfarayin to have cloth brought. Within twenty days quantities of gold, jewels, and textiles were delivered to Adiliyya in Jurjan, and he distributed it among the amirs and soldiers. Malik Fakhruddin of Ray inventoried it and had written "an inventory of items distributed to the victorious soldiers" when Arghun entered the treasury and snatched the pages from his hand. Although he had no familiarity with the Persian script, he picked up a pen and fortuitously wrote the word "victorious" quite nicely. Qawamuddin the vizier of Fars was present and was astonished to see such a thing. "Since the word 'victorious' was written by the Padishah's blessed pen," he said, "it was an indication that God would give him victory."

The next day an envoy arrived from Ray saying that Alinaq and his liege men and soldiers had reached the vicinity of Qazwin. Arghun sent Ulai Temür as a vanguard, **[A180]** and on his heels he dispatched Emgächin Noyan while he himself set out via Tamisha, having stationed Shishi Bakhshi over his *aghruq*s.

On the 8th of Safar 683 [April 26, 1284] Ahmad set out from Pilsuvar in Mughan with 80,000 soldiers. On the 13th of the same month an envoy arrived saying that Arghun's army had appeared in the vicinity of Taliqan. Ahmad sent Alinaq's son Qurumshi from the Ardabil area to his father to say, "If you are more numerous, do battle; if not, wait patiently until we arrive." Having stationed Äbügän over his *aghruq*, he set out from Ardabil on the 18th of Safar[1] and went two marches.

Arghun sent an envoy to Nawroz for a Qara'una division under his command to come from the rear. He also summoned Hindu Noyan with his division. Arghun himself charged with six thousand horsemen, and the forward scouts met in the vicinity of Khayl-i-Buzurg. One of Arghun's scouts was captured and taken to Alinaq, who got him drunk, questioned him, [793] and learned all about his deployment. Tubut, Yasar Oghul, and Shadai Gürägän

[1]This date cannot be correct in view of the date of the following battle (16 Safar). However, no other ordinal number resembles *hijdahum* (18th) closely enough to be commonly confused with it.

had mustered and mounted fifteen thousand cavalry, over and above Arqasun's division.

On Thursday the 16th of Safar 683 [May 4, 1284], the two armies clashed in the vicinity of Aq Khwaja near Qazwin. Prince Arghun attacked like an enraged lion and killed many. The battle lasted from noon until evening, and in the end Tubut and Alinaq were defeated and forced to retreat from the gates of Jamalabad to the vicinity of Abhar, a distance of nearly ten leagues. On the other side Achu Shükürchi, [A181] Ghazan Bahadur, and Eshik Tughli of the Jalayir attacked Arghun's baggage train and carried off Najib Khadim along with some of the baggage. Arghun was so outraged he could not be calmed. He wanted to pursue those in retreat, but the amirs advised against it.

Alinaq had an Arabian mare that ran after him in battle, and when his steed failed him he would mount the mare. It was wandering around the battlefield, unable to find Alinaq. Arghun recognized the mare and ordered it surrounded. Amir Nawroz lassoed it, and Arghun gave it to him. Then he sent a message to Alinaq, saying, "I never thought, with the reputation you have for bravery and courage, that you would turn your back on this little army and take flight. I have caught your famous mare like a wild ass, while you have fled like a mountain sheep before the cry of an attacking lion."

After sending such a message he pulled back at his amirs' advice. When he reached Tihran in Ray, Emgächin Bahadur and other amirs agreed, saying, "When we reach our camp and *aghruq* and the Qara'una join us from that side, if Ahmad's army comes after us we can do battle with them in the vicinity of Kalpush above Jajarm. This will be better because we will have our backs against our homes and our horses will be rested." With this thought in mind he pulled back, but when he reached Damghan he found no trace of the Qara'unas, for they had heard along the way that Arghun's army had been defeated and therefore turned back, [A182] attacking and plundering as they went.

When Arghun reached Bistam he visited the shrine of Bayazid and sought his intercession for God to give him victory. Ahmad had taken refuge with Shaykh Babi and his followers and asked them for help. In the end the effectiveness of the two at God's court became apparent.

Doubtless he will be ruined who takes refuge with a dead Babi, / But he will flourish who seeks assistance from Bayazid. [794]

On Monday the 20th of Safar [May 8] Tubut's envoy came before Ahmad to relay this message: "We have done battle with Arghun, and he has fled. We have taken many of his soldiers captive and will bring them, but the *gäjigä* [rear] force has not reached us." That day they celebrated.

On the 23rd of Safar [May 11] Ahmad joined Tubut in Sharuyaz, and Tükäl Bakhshi's son Chärig Temür was executed on a charge of having supported Arghun. The next day Hulachu Oghul and a division of soldiers were dispatched to Ray, and all the amirs were ordered to give written pledges that they would not disobey Buqa. They all acquiesced except Alinaq.

On the 28th of Safar [May 16] he decamped from Qonqur Öläng, leaving Armini Khatun and the *ordus* there. He made Su'unchaq Aqa his attendant. From the vicinity of Qazwin the soldiers, especially the Georgians, began killing and pillaging again. [A183] They harassed the people with all sorts of torments and carried off everything they found until they reached Khurasan.

When Arghun learned of this advance he wanted to gather his dispersed soldiers. He sent Lagzi and Ordu Buqa as ambassadors to Ahmad, and they reached him in Aq Khwaja in Qazwin. They entreated him for a truce, and the next day promises and pacts

were made and they withdrew. Arghun's message was as follows: "How can I draw a sword in my *aqa*'s face? It was never in my mind to rebel against him, but when Alinaq came and plundered and took my artisans captive, I had to repel him in order to free my people. He had the audacity to lead an army against me, and it was necessary for me to do battle."

The amirs said unanimously, "Arghun is your son, and the two armies are one. The weather is hot, and many animals have been lost. The best things to do would be to withdraw, particularly since Arghun regrets what he has done." Ahmad refused to listen. The next day the late Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi's sons Sadruddin and Asiluddin reported that according to heavenly portents leading an army was not advisable. Ahmad was highly incensed and had them punished.

On Wednesday the 14th of Rabi' I 683 [May 31, 1284], Prince Arghun and Tägüdär Oghul's son Umar Oghul met in the village of Surkha in Simnan. Noqai Yarghuchi was with them, and Shishi Bakhshi and Arghun's envoys proposed a truce. On the third day, [Ahmad] sent back the princes Tagha[i] Temür and Sögä **[A184]** and the amirs Buqa and Doladai Yarghuchi from Ribat-i-Akhari to reply to the embassy and say, "If Arghun is in submission, let him either come himself or send Gaikhatu." [795]

"Since we are going under truce," Buqa said to him, "you must not move ahead."

"I will stop in the meadows at Kharraqan until you come," he replied.

Ahmad decamped from there on the 17th of Rabi' I [June 3], and the next day he arrived in Damghan, where the people were pillaged and subjected to all sorts of torment. On the 20th of the month [June 6] he reached Kharraqan, and from there Prince Ghazan and his companions turned back. During those few days Jirqudai Amir-Hazar and his brother Yesüdär, Bulughan the *shahna* of Shiraz, and a group of *qushchis* submitted. He sent Alinaq with a troop in the vanguard. On Wednesday the 28th [June 14] he dismounted in Kalpush.

On Friday the last day of Rabi' I [June 16] Prince Gaikhatu and the princes Taghai Temür and Sögä and the amirs Buqa, Nawroz, and Boralghi arrived. When Buqa saw that Ahmad had not kept his word to wait, he was insulted and attributed it to Arghun's good fortune. The next day, the first of Rabi' II [June 17], he sent Nawroz and Boralghi back. On Monday the 3rd [June 19] he decamped from Kalpush. During those few days Yulai Temür and Sönitäi Noyan's son Emgächin submitted. Ahmad chastised Buqa and the other amirs for stopping.

"Was my plan better or yours?" he asked Buqa.

"The Padishah's words are correct," Buqa replied. "Where would the plans of *qarachu* (commoners) like us get us?"

"When we reach Qutui Khatun," said Ahmad, "we will repeat these words there." Since he was speaking in threats and had belittled Buqa and aggrandized Aq Buqa in his place, Buqa became more tempted to support Arghun. **[A185]**

On Sunday the 9th of Rabi' II [June 25] Ahmad reached Quchan, where he heard that Arghun had fortified himself in Kalat Koh. Arghun had gone from Quchan to Kalat Koh by night with Boralghi, Nawroz, Buqdai Akhtachi, and Tarabai, and by morning not more than a few individuals of [Ahmad's] elite remained with him. Arghun went into the Kalat fortress with Bulughan Khatun, and when Nawroz heard that Alinaq was arriving, he knelt before Arghun and said, "The best plan would be for us to mount right away, cross the Oxus, and go to Qonchi. From there, with his help, we can go repel the enemy." Arghun paid no attention to these words.

Lagzi, his wife, and Arghun Aqa's wife surrendered to Ahmad, and Lagzi said, "If so ordered, let me go bring Arghun." Ahmad gave him permission. Lagzi went with a troop and attacked Qutlugh Khatun's *ordu* and pillaged her baggage. Nawroz went to him and asked for her back, but he refused. Lagzi came forward gravely, grabbed Nawroz's reins, and said, "I will not let you go back. You must come to Ahmad and pay homage."

Nawroz put his hand on his sword and said, "So long as I am alive I will not turn my back on Arghun. I only live to serve him. It is fortunate for him that the world does not remain in one condition." **[796]**

By the time you turn your ring around, this world will have changed a hundred times.

When Lagzi realized that he was not going to get anywhere with him, he let Nawroz go and went to Ahmad with vast treasures, **[A186]** a large share of which Ahmad gave him.

Arghun was consulting with his amirs in the fortress when Alinaq arrived. Arghun went down from the fortress alone, and when he was near the soldiers and Alinaq he cried out.

Alinaq came out on foot in front of the lines and kissed the ground, saying, "Prince of the World, your uncle is anxious to see you."

Altai said, "Arghun is going to see Ahmad."

Immediately he set out with Bulughan Khatun for Ahmad's camp, and on Thursday the 13th of Rabi' II [June 29, 1284] he came before Ahmad, who embraced him and kissed his face. Then he turned him over to Alinaq and said, "Keep him well until we get to Qutui Khatun to try him."

"Since the foe has fallen into our hands, it would be better to deal with him this very night," said Alinaq.

"He has no soldiers or money," said Ahmad. "What can he do?" Then he ordered Shishi Bakhshi, Qada'an, Ur Temür Qushchi, and Boralghi seized.

On Friday the 14th of Rabi' II [June 30] he decamped. On Saturday the 15th [July 1] Bulughan Khatun's banquet took place, as did the executions of Ur Temür Qushchi, Negübäi Qushchi, and the brother of Qajar Akhtachi for supporting Arghun.

Since Ahmad desired Tödäi Khatun, he sent Alinaq to guard [Arghun] and stationed the princes at the head of the army. He set out with his intimates on Sunday the 16th of Rabi' II [July 2] for the *aghruq*.

Buqa said, "Since Qipchaq Oghul of Jochi Qasar's family has come to obtain permission to marry my daughter, and there is friendship and unity between us, I want to accompany him and offer a toast."

"Let it be," said Ahmad. On this pretext Buqa stopped.

Arghun was sad and downcast in the hands of his guards, but Bulughan Khatun encouraged him by saying, "The night is pregnant."

Amir Buqa wanted to discharge his obligations to Abaqa Khan by doing something to make Arghun king, so he won over Yesü Buqa Gürägän, Aruq, and Qurumshi, who were relatives of his. **[A187]** After that, he made a proposition to Tägänä, and after him to Arqasun Noyan the son of Kökä Elgä, and to each and every one of the amirs he said in the absence of the others, "Ahmad has agreed with his intimates Sögä, Tubut, Alinaq, and Äbügän to kill all the amirs in the vicinity of Isfarayin when he had finished with Arghun. **[797]** This being so, if we do not look to our own devices today, while there is still an opportunity, what will happen?"

Aruq, an attendant of Jüshkäb's, said, "What he says is true, for Hinduqur's son Qurumshi came and reported that on the day of Bulughan Khatun's banquet he was saying this very thing to Alinaq and his liege men." Buqa and Aruq reported this to

Jüshkäb, and Tägänä told Hulachu, Buqa, and the amirs that in advancing this deed Hulachu should be the leader on behalf of the princes. They replied, "Buqa is the elder from among the amirs," and they all agreed not to disobey his command. Arqasun Noyan also joined with his division.

Since Alinaq had won his victory he had been pridefully indulging in revelry night and day, heedless of the convolutions of fate.

Amir Buqa summoned Emchäk, one of Arghun's guards, and made him swear an oath in Mongolian that he would not divulge the secret he was about to be told. Then he said, "Tell Arghun to be especially nice to Alinaq tonight and to give him and his liege men lots of wine. But tell him to stay sober himself."

After that, he sent Amir Boralghu, Arghun's *kükäldash*, to him on this same mission, and he plotted with Aruq and Qurumshi [A188] to get Qara Noqai and Taitaq dead drunk. Together they threw a party and invited Alinaq. "I'm on duty to guard Arghun tonight," he said. "I can't come drinking." Jüshkäb promised to watch [Arghun], and Alinaq was coaxed into drinking. By the time of the evening prayer he had fallen over in a dead drunk.

That night Buqa and three horsemen went into the *yärgä* as though to patrol. He sent one of the men to sneak into the tent and wake Arghun up. "Buqa is here in fidelity to you," he said. "He has gotten the princes, amirs, and soldiers on your side and has come to get you out."

Thinking this was a trick, Arghun was somewhat afraid, but the man swore he was telling the truth and there was no reason to fear. Arghun went out of the tent, saw Buqa, and asked, "What sedition is this?"

He said, " 'Fortune has smiled upon you. The enemy's lot has been overturned.' " Then he got Arghun on a horse.

When they reached the third picket, a Mongol said, "There were four of you when you went in, and now there are five of you coming out. How's that?"

"We were five," said Buqa. "Your eyes must have been affected by sleep and confused two of us. You've made a mistake, that's all." [A189]

"That's how it must have been," said the Mongol. [798]

They passed through in safety and went to Buqa's quarters. Arghun put on his weapons and mounted an Arabian horse, and then they went to attack Alinaq, whom they killed in his tent. Amir Ali the *tamghachi* of Tabriz, one of Buqa's attendants, lifted the skirt of the tent, severed his head from his body, and threw it outside. This took place on Tuesday eve the 18th of Rabi' II 683 [July 4, 1284].

That same night they sent Arqasun as an envoy to Hulachu and Tägänä at Sher Koh to say, "We have killed Alinaq and Taitaq. You must kill Yasar Oghul and Äbügän." Hulachu hated Yasar, so he strangled him with a bowstring, but he kept Äbügän. That night they seized Altachu Bitigchi's son Qara Buqa, Taitaq, Tubut, and some others, and the next day they killed some of them and let others go.

Arghun, who had been a prisoner when night fell, woke up in the morning as the emperor of the face of the earth. When this occurred, Ahmad had not yet reached Jurbad[1] or joined his *ordus* and Tödäi Khatun. Prince Kin[g]shü was accompanying him, as were the amirs Emgächin, Aq Buqa, and Lagzi. At noon one of Taitaq's *hazaras* joined him and reported. Ahmad took counsel with his amirs and turned back to do battle. Suddenly someone arrived from

[1]Júrbad, Arabicized as Jarbádhqán. There were two of them: one (the modern Golpayegan) between Isfahan and Hamadan and the other, doubtless the one meant here, between Astarabad (modern Gorgan) and Jurjan (modern Gonbad-e-Kavus). See Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, p. 419.

Mazuq Qushchi to tell him, "All those attached to you have been killed, and they are coming together to attack you. It's too late to do anything about it. **[A190]** If you have the stamina and the opportunity, flee!"

Ahmad turned back in defeat. When he reached Kalpush he had a moment in private with Tödäi Khatun.

On the 19th of Rabi' II 683 [July 5] he set out in flight from the vicinity of Isfarayin. Along the way he came across Yulai Temür and his followers who were coming from Mazanderan. He killed them and turned in the direction of Qumis and Persia.

When the princes and amirs killed Alinaq, they sent Börä the *shahna* of Isfahan to tell the Qara'una division, which was in the Siyah Koh area, to mount and seize Ahmad. A Mongol named Chärig, who had been Qonqurtai's *amir-ordu*, was sent with four hundred horsemen to track down Ahmad, and on his heels Doladai Yarghuchi was dispatched with another four hundred horsemen. They pursued him so relentlessly that just as he decamped from a place they would alight. When Börä met the Qara'una, they too mounted at once and set out to find Ahmad.

Hulachu and Kingshü arrived at Arghun's court on Monday the 24th of Rabi' II [July 10] in Kharraqan. They seized Amir Aq Buqa, who had become Ahmad's advisor and against whom Buqa held a grudge.

The princes and amirs held council regarding the rule. Buqa was inclined to Arghun, **[799]** Aruq to Jüshkäb, and Tägänä to Hulachu.

"Hulachu is the son of Hülägü Khan," said Tägänä. "So long as a son is around, the rule cannot go to grandsons." **[A191]**

"The great *yurt* is commanded by Jüshkäb," said Aruq and Qurumshi. "He is the eldest in age. He is worthy."

Buqa said, "The qa'an who was the emperor of the inhabited quarter of the globe and the *aqa* of all the *urugh* of Genghis Khan awarded the rule of the realms of Iran, after his brother Hülägü Khan, to his eldest son Abaqa Khan, who was the most intelligent and most perfect. After him, it should go by inheritance to his true son Arghun. If busybodies had not meddled in the affair, he would have left the crown and throne to his sons, and all this strife would not have occurred. God only knows where all this sedition will end."

Tägänä began to speak roughly and sharply. Buqa drew his sword and said, "As long as this sword is in my hand, no one other than Arghun is going to sit on the throne!"

The amirs asked Tänggiz Gürägän, "What was Abaqa Khan's will?"

"Shiktür Aqa and I heard him say, 'After me Mänggü Temür should be ruler, and after him Arghun should be ruler,' " he replied.

Tägänä shouted at him, saying, "Where did you hear that? You're making it up!"

Arghun said, "Leave me alone. I don't want to be ruler. I am content with the Khurasan my father awarded me."

"Prince," said Buqa, "before, you unknowingly accepted Ahmad as ruler. Now you disingenuously give your consent for sedition to increase. Anyhow, when we haven't yet captured the enemy, why are we fighting and quarreling? What we should do is to go in several groups around the kingdom and get hold of Ahmad. Then, when we reach Öljäi Khatun and the other ladies, **[A192]** we can hold council with all in attendance and settle the rule on one of the princes. Since [Ahmad] came to assassinate Arghun, let [Arghun] set out in pursuit of [Ahmad] in the vanguard." With this he concluded his speech.

On Tuesday the 25th of Rabi' II [July 11] Arghun and Buqa set forth in the vanguard in pursuit of Ahmad. After them went Aruq and Jüshkäb, and after that Hulachu, Kingshü, and Tägänä took charge of all the

aghruqs and set forth.

On Thursday the 27th [July 13] Ahmad alighted in Qonqur Öläng, where he pillaged Buqa's quarters. He wanted to molest Buqa's wife and child, but Su'unchaq prevented it. The next day he rode from Sharuyaz, and on Monday the 2nd of Jumada I 683 [July 17] he reached his own *ordus*. To his mother he said, "I have put the Arghun affair aside and have come first to see you." Then he got busy making preparations to take flight. He went out toward Derbent, but Shiktür Agha got wind of it and sent a message to Qutui Khatun, saying, "We are servants of the throne. Just now envoys have arrived to say that all the princes have commanded that Ahmad be seized. What fault is it of us servants? The prudent thing to do is for us to seat Ahmad alone in a tent until the *aqas* and *inis* arrive and confront whatever accusations there are to be made." **[800]**

Qutui Khatun gave permission, and Shiktür Noyan set three hundred men as guards over Ahmad. **[A193]**

All of a sudden the Qara'una army arrived and plundered those *ordus* so thoroughly that, aside from ashes in the fireplaces, not a trace remained. They left Qutui Khatun, Tödäi Khatun, and Armini Khatun naked, and two thousand of them took up guard over Ahmad.

On Wednesday the 11th of Jumada I [July 26] Arghun crossed the Tamur (?) River and dismounted in the ladies' camp. He sent Nüregäi Yarghuchi to be Ahmad's guard. On Sunday he camped at Abshor near Yüz Aghach, and that day the amirs Taghachar, Qunchuqbal, and Doladai, who had been in prison in Tabriz, were released and came to him. The ladies and amirs agreed that Arghun should be ruler and gave their hands in fealty. Ahmad was summoned and tried by Tägänä, Nüregäi Yarghuchi, and Qonqurtai's liege men, who asked, "For what reason did you kill Qonqurtai and Küchük, who had performed valiantly for Abaqa Khan and who had helped to make you king? When Arghun accepted you as king, although his father's place should have gone to him, and was content with only Khurasan, why did you send Alinaq to raid his artisans and people and take them captive?"

"I did wrong," he said. "I won't do it again."

Arghun and the amirs wanted to placate his mother, Qutui Khatun, who held such an exalted position, by overlooking his crime, but Qonqurtai's mother and his sons and people shouted out. Just then Yesü Buqa Gürägän arrived and said, **[A194]** "What is this talk of pardon when Princes Hulachu and Jüshkäb have gathered a large contingent in the vicinity of Hamadan and are thinking of rebelling?" An edict was therefore issued for Ahmad to be executed in retaliation for Qonqurtai's blood.

On the eve of Thursday the 26th of Jumada I 683 [August 10, 1284], corresponding to the 28th of Altinch Ay of Daqiqu Yil, they put him to death in the same manner in which he had killed Qonqurtai. "As you judge so shall you be judged." *Pacem.* **[801]**

Part Three, on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons.

The writer of this blessed book says, "During the reign of Abaqa Khan, when calamity befell the mighty sahibs Khwaja Ala'uddin and Khwaja Shamsuddin, I was

in my youth and was serving them. I had purchased a ten-year-old slave boy, adopted him as a son, and was in Baghdad. One day Eljidäi Qushchi saw him in a lane, grabbed him and seated him by force behind him on his horse, and carried him off. I ran around in search of him for a long time, but it was to no avail. When Ahmad mounted the throne I thought to myself, 'Since he is a Muslim ruler, and I have clearly been subjected to such tyranny, he will issue a decree for them to return my slave.'

"I attended court for long periods of time and was in the *ordus* at Ala Tagh until one day I got a chance to kneel [before the emperor] in Ishan Mängli's quarters and present my petition. When he heard it, all I could hear him say was, 'It must have been his deed.' And he said something to Ishan Mängli—I don't know what. The next day he sent a dervish to me [inviting me] to Amir Eljidäi's quarters, but he was not at home. [The dervish] whispered something into the amir's wife's ear and then we departed. All he said to me was, 'Eljidäi is not at home today. We'll come another time.'

"Two or three days later it happened that one of Eljidäi's people who had witnessed the event, a Muslim, saw me and said, 'I have been looking for you for two days. Eljidäi has said to his men, "If he ever comes here again, seize him. Otherwise, wherever you find the master of this slave, kill him." And thus he charged his men.'

"Of the conduct and character of him and of his shaykh, Ishan Mängli, I saw this kind of justice and equity, and as God is my witness that is how it was." ~

SECTION FIFTEEN

THE HISTORY OF HÜLÄGÜ KHAN'S SON ARGHUN, IN THREE PARTS.

His blessed birth occurred in the vicinity of Baylaqan on Saturday the 25th of Aram Ay in Daqiqu Yil, corresponding to 660 [1261] of the Hegira, during the first hour of the day when the sun had risen five degrees, and the ascendant at the time was the constellation Pisces. He ascended the throne on Friday the 27th of Jumada I 683 [August 11, 1284], the 29th of Altinch Ay of Daqiqu Yil.[1] He died on Saturday the 7th of Rabi' I 690 [March 10, 1291], corresponding to the 8th of Ikindi Ay of ___ Yil.[2] His life span was thirty-three years,[3] and he reigned for seven years.

Part One is on his progeny with details of his wives, sons, daughters, and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, the names of his sons-in-law, and a genealogical chart of his sons' branches.

Part Two is on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; battles he fought and victories he achieved. **[A196]**

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections but learned from various persons.

Part One, on his progeny with details of his wives, sons, daughters, and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, the names of his sons-in-law, and a genealogical chart of his sons' branches. [806]

Arghun was Abaqa Khan's eldest son. He was born of Qaitmish Egächi.

He had many wives and concubines. The first he married was Qutlugh Khatun, daughter of Tänggiz Güräg̈än. When she died he married her niece Öljätäi, Sülämish's daughter whose mother was Tödögäch. Since she was only a child, he did not touch her. After that, he married Örüg Khatun, daughter of Sarucha and sister of Amir Irinjin of the Kerayit. (Sarucha was the brother of Toquz Khatun.) After her, he married Saljuq Khatun, daughter of Sultan Ruknuddin of Anatolia. **[A197]** After her he took the senior Bulughan Khatun, who had been Abaqa Khan's wife. When she died he married in her place Bulughan Khatun,[4] the daughter of Abatai Noyan's

[1] 1284 was a Year of the Monkey (Bechin Yil), not Rooster (Daqiqu).

[2] 1291 was a Year of the Hare, Taulai Yil.

[3] Needless to say, by no reckoning do the years of his life add up to thirty-three.

[4] The junior Bulughan Khatun of the Qunqirat, see text p. 122 and p. 678, note 3 above.

son Otman, and she is still alive. After her he married Tödäi Khatun, one of his father's concubines, and installed her in Märtäi Khatun's place. He also took Qultaq Egächi and another named Qutai, daughter of Qutlugh Buqa son of Husayn Aqa. Another was Ärgäna Egächi, who had formerly been a concubine of Abaqa Khan's.

His sons were four. First was Ghazan Khan, whose mother was Qultaq Egächi.

Second was Yesü Temür, whose mother was Örüg Khatun.

Third was Öljäitü Sultan Muhammad, whose mother was also Örüg Khatun.

Fourth was Khitai Oghul, whose mother was Qutlugh Khatun. He was called Sängirgäs.[1]

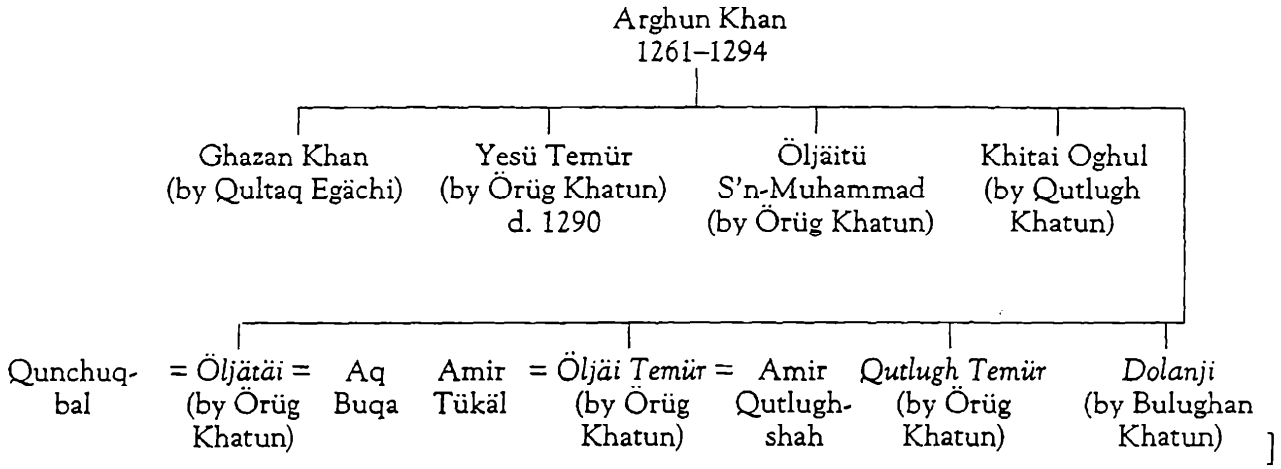
He also had four daughters. First was Öljätäi, whose mother was Örüg Khatun. Öljätäi was affianced to Qunchuqbal,[2] and after him she was given to Aq Buqa. At present she is kept by his son Amir Husayn. **[A198]**

Second was Öljäi Temür, whose mother was also Örüg Khatun. She was given to Tükäl and after him to Amir Qutlughshah Noyan. She died before he did.

Third was Qutlugh Temür. She was also born to Örüg Khatun. She was not married and died at Baghdad in Dar Masna. **[807]**

The fourth daughter was Dolanji, born to Bulughan Khatun. She died during childhood.

A chart of Arghun Khan and his wives and children is as follows. [



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Part Two, on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; battles he fought and victories he achieved.

As has already been explained in the section on Ahmad, after Ahmad's death all the ladies and amirs gathered at Abshor in the vicinity of Yüz Aghach and agreed to make Arghun padishah.

Decamping from there, he dismounted at Sögätü's *yurt*, and the princes Hulachu and Gaikhatu arrived and agreed with the others.

On Friday the 27th of Jumada I 683 [August 11, 1284], **[A199]** corresponding to

[1]The MS variants of this name are numerous and massive. Arends (trs. p. 115) transcribes it as Сенгиргес. Khitai Oghul died on Friday the 9th of Rabi' II 697 [January 24, 1298]; see text p. 933.

[2]This is another highly problematic name. It is generally spelled قنجقبال but there are many MSS variants with the spelling قونجقبال and the occasional variant with قونجوقبال. Arends reads it Кунчукбал, and we will follow with Qunchuqbal.

the 29th of Altinch Ay of Daqiqu Yil, after the astrologers had chosen a felicitous ascendant in the constellation Sagittarius, Hulachu took Arghun's right arm and Anbarchi his left, and together they seated him on the throne. All of one accord put their belts around their necks, as was customary, knelt, and began drinking, banqueting, and celebrating.

Orders for general and fiscal matters Arghun Khan gave after his enthronement.

After the banqueting and celebrations were concluded, the shah first sent a decree to all parts of the kingdom concerning winning the good will of the peasantry so that the world in turmoil would regain peace. Then he rewarded the princes and won them over with promises of good things to come. [808]

On the last day of Jumada I [August 14, 1284] Prince Kingshü arrived. Although he and Jüshkäb had not earlier consented [to Arghun's enthronement] and were planning to rebel, on that day they submitted *möchälgäs* along with everyone else.

After that, Äbügän, the son of Chormaqan's son Shirämün Noyan, was tried. Since he had been one of Ahmad's intimates, he was executed.

After that, a decree was issued that no creature was to harm or molest Ahmad's people, and it was heralded that everyone should maintain the ways of his fathers and forefathers, they should not use force or compulsion on each other, and the peasants should occupy themselves with improvements to land and agriculture with peace of mind.

Princes Jüshkäb and Baidu and Amir Aruq were assigned to the governorship and emirate of Baghdad and Diyarbekir. [A200] He sent Princes Hulachu and Gaikhatu to Anatolia. Georgia he gave to his uncle Ajai. Khurasan, Mazanderan, Qumis, and Ray he turned over to his son Ghazan, and Prince Kingshü was assigned to assist him. Nawroz was awarded the emirate of Khurasan.

Then an order was given to break camp, and he departed for Sughurluq. An edict for the vizierate of the realm was issued in Buqa's name. On the 3rd of Rajab 683 [September 15, 1284] he ordered so much gold poured over his head that he almost disappeared under it. Among the Mongols he was an extremely competent and clever man, possessed of vision and administrative ability. Fiscal affairs of the kingdom, both in general and in detail, were entrusted to him, and his word became law.

What happened to Sahib-Sa'id Shamsuddin Sahib-Divan after Ahmad's death; he stops in Persia and then goes to Arghun Khan's court, where he is shown favor and then martyred.

When Alinaq was killed in Khurasan and Ahmad was put to flight, Sahib Shamsuddin mounted a camel in the Jajarm vicinity and fled with two or three servants, taking the desert road to Isfahan. When the people of Isfahan learned of the revolution fate had brought about, they wanted to arrest him along with the atabeg of Yazd, whom the *shahna* of Isfahan, Tabanai by name, had seized and imprisoned because he had been a supporter of Arghun Khan and had never gone before Ahmad. They held council in this regard, but since the outcome of things was still not known for certain, the *shahna* delayed acting. [A201] The Sahib learned of the planned attack and left the city, ostensibly to visit a shrine. Mounted on a fleet steed, he headed for Qum. [809] When he arrived there, he stopped in the shrine outside the city and took up residence there. His attendants all had different ideas on what he should do, but finally they agreed that the best thing would be for the khwaja to get himself to Hormuz, where he

could make up his losses.

"To leave one's sons captive in the hands of the Mongols and to turn one's back is not the proper course," he said. "The best thing would be for me to go to court. If Arghun Khan can be placated through the offices of Amir Buqa, who is an old friend, well and good. Otherwise, I will submit to my fate." With this thought in mind he stopped for a few days.

Suddenly Malik Imamuddin Qazwini arrived from court in search of the Sahib's whereabouts. Then Atabeg Yusufshah of Lur and Qumäri arrived in rapid succession and gave him the good news that Arghun Khan had said, "Since God the Eternal has shown me favor and awarded me my late father's crown and throne, I hereby pardon all criminals' crimes. If the Sahib-Divan comes to court, I will receive him with honor."

Qumäri met with the Sahib in Sawa, and two or three days later they set out, arriving in Qurban Shirä on Friday the 10th of Rajab 683 [September 22, 1284], where he stopped with Buqa. Since they were old friends they were happy to see each other. The next day Buqa took him to Arghun Khan's court to perform the ritual of *uljamishi*. Arghun Khan did not pay much attention to him, but he did not exhibit any anger. [A202]

When he returned to the house, needy people flocked to him. "Henceforth," the Sahib said, "I will accept no employment, unless it be the office of deputy to Amir Buqa—and that only as long as he is here."

Amir Ali Tamghachi had gone to Tabriz, arrested and imprisoned the Sahib's son Yahya, and confiscated his property and possessions. He, Fakhruddin Mustawfi, and Husamuddin Hajib, all of whom had been elevated by Sahib Shamsuddin's patronage, were so greedy for status that they plotted his downfall and said to Buqa, "So long as the Sahib is alive you will not flourish. Once he gets power he will do to you what he did to Arghun Aqa and other amirs." They convinced Buqa to attack him at Arghun Khan's court, and Buqdai Idächi was set as guard over the Sahib, although nominally he was made his attendant to keep creditors away.

When the court set out for winter quarters in Arran, an edict was issued in Ujan for 20,000,000 in gold to be taken from the Sahib. "I have no money," he said in a message to Buqa. "I have not stashed gold away under the earth like some fools. [810] What I got I invested in real estate. Now I have so many holdings that I have an income of 1,000 dinars a day." He sent a message to Buqa, saying, "Amir Buqa, don't do it. Don't teach the padishah to kill viziers, for they may kill me today, but the time may not be far off when they will kill you too. So know for certain that it will not profit you."

Doladai Yarghuchi and Qada'an were sent to try him. He confessed to no cash and only repeated the same words. Just then he asked for an inkstand and paper. [A203] He wrote a will, a copy of which, as written by his own hand, follows:

"When I took an augury from the Koran, the following verse emerged: **As for those who say, Our Lord is God, and who behave uprightly; the angels shall descend unto them, and shall say, Fear not, neither be ye grieved; but rejoice in the hopes of paradise, which ye have been promised.**[1] Since the Creator has kept His slave well in this transitory life and withheld nothing from him, He has willed that even in the ephemeral world he be given glad tidings of the eternal world. This being so, it seemed incumbent to convey this good news to Mawlana Muhyiddin and Mawlana Fakhruddin, my brothers in religion, Mawlana Afzaluddin, Mawlana Shamsuddin, Mawlana Humamuddin, and the

[1]Kor. 41:30.

great shaykhs, mention of whom would take too long, so that they might know that we have severed our relations and set out. May they also assist us with prayers for our well-being, and may they enjoy eternal felicity. May all my sons—may God preserve them—pray for me. They have been left in God's care, and God does not lose what is given in trust to Him. It was in my mind that there would be a meeting and my last testament could be made, but since there was no such day, it has fallen to the next world. Let them commit no shortcoming in keeping my children. Let them encourage them to study and in no way allow them to take up imperial service. Let them get along with what God has given. If my son Atabeg and his mother, Khoshak Khatun, want to go to their land, let it be permitted. Let Nawroz and Mas'ud, together with their mother, be attached to Bulughan Khatun. Let them reside at the tomb of us two brothers. If they can add to the buildings at Shaykh Fakhruddin's *khanaqah*, let them help in any way they can. Let them also go there. Next, Fulani has never had rest from us: if she wants to, let her get married. Let Faraj and his mother be with Atabeg. I have given Zakariya, along with the real estate in the *tümän* of Shahanshah Ani and other places, to *amraq* (dear) Amir Buqa. Let that be given to him. Let the other properties be probated, and if anything is left over, well and good. Otherwise let them be content. May the Exalted Creator bless us and you. At this time my mind is with God. Let them not forget our dear portion. Whatever happens may there be eternal happiness. If anything is graciously allowed from the properties let them take it and be satisfied with it. **[A204]** Where can my chief wife go from Tabriz? Let her stay there. 'And peace be with him who follows the right path.' "

He tossed this document to the guards. When they read it and saw that there was no money, Tuqluq Qara'una of the Jalayir beat him severely, but it did no good. An order was given for him to be taken to execution. On Monday the 4th of Sha'ban 683 [October 16, 1284], after the second prayer, he was martyred at the Ahar city gate on the banks of the river. **[811]** May God have great mercy upon him. At that time Mawlana Nuruddin Rasadi composed this chronogram: "Regulator of the scope of the horizons, the Sahib-Divan Muhammad son of Muhammad, the unique pearl of the age, / In the year six hundred eighty-three on the fourth of Sha'ban, on Monday afternoon at the river at Ahar, / with the hand of resignation and free will, was forced to taste the portion of poison from the brimful goblet of the blade."

Buqa sent Amir Ali to Tabriz to take control of his property and holdings. After a time his son Yahya was also martyred on the playing-field in Tabriz. The fates of his remaining sons will be given in the proper places.[1]

Bolad Chingsang and other envoys arrive from Qubilai Qa'an; Ordu Qaya comes from there bringing an edict of Arghun Khan's khanship; he is enthroned a second time.

When Arghun Khan reached Saray Mansuriyya in Arran, Amir Bolad Chingsang, Isa Kalimachi, and other envoys arrived from the Qa'an's court. That winter Lagzi was tried and given a hundred lashes.

In the spring he set out for summer quarters, **[A205]** and between Saraw and Ardabil, in the village of Sayin, a great *quriltai* was held.

On the 11th of Rajab 684 [September 12, 1285] Aruq was sent to Baghdad after the summer had been spent in Sughurluq. On the 20th of Rajab 684 [September 21] [Arghun] went to Tabriz and from there to winter in Arran. When he reached Arran,

[1] See text p. 820 below.

the trial of Atabeg Abish Khatun was held, whose retainers had killed Amir Imad Alavi, who had gone to be governor of Fars by order of Arghun Khan. After guilt was proven, Malik Khan, Abish Khatun's relative, was executed and the governors of Fars were beaten. **[812]**

On the 27th of Dhu'l-Hijja 684 [February 23, 1286] Ordu Qaya came from the Qa'an's court, bearing an edict investing Arghun as khan in his father's place and awarding Buqa the title of Chingsang.

On the 10th of Safar 685 [April 7, 1286] once again Arghun Khan sat on the khan's throne, and the rites and rituals were observed.

The army goes to deal with the Kurds of Mount Hakkar; Bulughan Khatun dies; the Khwaja Harun affair.

On the 20th of Safar 685 [April 17, 1286] an order was issued for the amirs Mazuq Qushchi, Nurin Aqa, and Eshik Tughli's brother Ghazan of the Jalayir to take sixteen thousand cavalry to the mountains of Hakkar in Kurdistan.[1] **[A206]** They killed some of the Kurds who were committing highway robbery and causing trouble.

On Friday the 23rd of Safar 685 [April 20, 1286] Bulughan Khatun died on the banks of the Kura River. Her coffin was taken to Mount Sujas.

In the spring Arghun Khan came to Tabriz. Buqa Chingsang gave him a banquet and offered suitable gifts.

On Friday the 12th of Rabi' II [June 7, 1286] he decamped from there and set out via Maragha for Sughurluq. That summer Amir Aruq and a group of *bitigchis* from Baghdad arrived at court with Sahib Shamsuddin's son Harun in attendance. In all audacity, and relying on his brother Buqa's exalted position,[2] Aruq had killed Majduddin Ibn al-Athir, Fakhruddin Mustawfi's brother Sa'duddin, and Ali Chäkibän without the padishah's leave. Since Majduddin Ibn al-Athir had been Gaikhatu's *enchü*, Gaikhatu was so angry at Aruq that he was going to make an attempt on his life. Yesü Buqa Gürägän was also involved in the plot. Since Buqa had great influence, he undertook to protect his brother. Some people said to Gaikhatu, "Aruq took these actions at Harun's word." He was going to Anatolia and taking Harun with him, [but when he got] as far as Ala Tagh, he killed him. Around that time Yesü Buqa Gürägän died, and the affair blew over.

Arghun Khan went to Tabriz in the autumn. On Friday the 6th of Sha'ban 685 [September 27, 1286] he descended there, and on Thursday the 28th of Ramadan [November 17, 1286] he set out for Arran. One day he was combing his hair, **[A207]** and a lot of hair came out in the comb. "This is evidence of poison that Wajih the son of Izzuddin Tahir has given me," he said. Enraged by this, he ordered him executed. On the 20th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 685 [January 7, 1287] and on the 5th of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year [February 6, 1287] Arghun Khan took Tödäi Khatun to himself and installed her in Märtäi Khatun's place. **[813]**

On the 19th of Safar 686 [April 5, 1287] he went to Bilasawar. On the 24th of Rabi' II of that year [June 8, 1287] he went to Tabriz. For the summer he went to Ala Tagh, and from there he returned. On the 2nd of Ramadan 686 [October 11, 1287] he set out for winter quarters in Arran. On the 15th of Muharram 687 [February 20, 1288] envoys from Khurasan arrived with news from Kingshü and Nawroz that thirty thousand horsemen from Qaidu's army

[1] Hakkar is the mountainous region around the modern Hakkari in extreme southeastern Turkey.

[2] Amir Aruq and Buqa were the sons of Ögöläi Qorchi of the Oyat clan of the Jalayir. See text p. 52 above.

under the leadership of Yisa'ur Noyan had crossed the Panjab[1] and, having pillaged the frontier of Balkh and Merv and the vicinity of Sheberghan, had reached as far as Khwaf and Sangan.

On the 7th of Safar of that year [March 13, 1288] Qutlugh Khatun, daughter of Tänggiz Gürägän of the Oyirat and Prince Khitai Oghul's mother, died.

On the 7th of Rabi' I [April 11, 1288] envoys came from Noqai's *ulus*, and on the banks of the New Canal they presented a *sharil* (relic). Among idolators it is believed that when Shakyamuni Burkhan (the Buddha) was cremated, a translucent bone like a bead from in front of his heart remained unburned. They call it a *sharil* and claim that when anyone who has reached an exalted degree like Shakyamuni Burkhan is cremated, his *sharil* does not burn. In any case, when they brought it, Arghun Khan went out to meet them, scattered gold over it, and rejoiced. Several days were given over to banqueting and revelry.

On the last day of Rabi' I [May 4, 1288], when Arghun Khan was camped in the vicinity [A208] of Bilasawar, news arrived that Tamma Toqtai Märtäd had crossed with five thousand cavalry from Derbent and plundered all the *ortaqs* and merchants. On Saturday the first of Rabi' II 687 [May 5, 1288] he set out to repel them. Crossing the Kura River, he reached Shemakha on the 5th of the month and stopped atop a hill, whence he sent Buqa, Qunchuqbal, and some princes as a vanguard. Four or five days later they returned with the good news that the foe had pulled back past Derbent.

The beginning of the fame Sa'duddawla acquired by collecting taxes from Baghdad.

In the year 683 [1284–85], Tonska was sent to be *shahna* of Baghdad. When he arrived, he appointed as his deputy and chamberlain Sa'duddawla (son of Hibatullah son of Muhazzibuddawla Abhari), a wealthy and intelligent man who knew all about the fiscal situation of Baghdad. Although he had nothing else to recommend him, because of his competence and knowledge of the situation he became the absolute ruler. At that time the governorship of Baghdad belonged to Qutlughshah, a son of one of Ala'uddin Sahib-Divan's slaves, and his liege man Majduddin [ibn al-]Kibti and others. [814] With [Sa'duddawla] around, however, they could not exercise much power.

In the year 686 [1287] [Qutlughshah and the others] went to the court summer quarters at Sughurluq to complain to the amirs and viziers of [Sa'duddawla]. "Sa'duddawla is a physician without equal," they said to Joshi, Quchan, and the *sükürchis*, "and it would be appropriate for him to be attached to court." This was conveyed, and an edict was issued for him to remain at court and not go to Baghdad. That autumn and winter, seeing how influential Ordu Qaya was, [Sa'duddawla] laid the foundations of a friendship with him and represented to him that there was much to be gained in the revenues of Baghdad. "If you can get the governorship," [A208] he said, "I will be at your disposal. Not only will I remit treasury taxes better than the others, but there will also be surpluses for the amir's personal account. There are also untold back taxes due from the Baghdad collectors, and I will settle those accounts too." Ordu Qaya conveyed this to Arghun Khan.

"How much are the back taxes of Baghdad?" he asked.

"Five million," replied Sa'duddawla.

The padishah was well pleased by Sa'duddawla's cleverness and his manner of reporting, so he favored them and sent them

[1]The river Panj (Пяндж), the upper Oxus that forms the modern border between Afghanistan and Tajikistan north of Qonduz.

off with a *yarligh* and *paiza* enabling them to settle the taxes in arrears and to collect the taxes due to the Baghdad treasury. There they went, and by means of beatings and torture they collected a huge amount, returning to court at Qonqur Öläng, where they turned over the treasury. The padishah was highly pleased. On the 4th of Jumada I 687 [June 6, 1288] the office of amir of Baghdad was given to Amir Ordu Qaya, and since Tonska had died, Baidu Sükürchi was appointed to the office of *shahna*. Sharafuddin Simnani was made *malik*, and Sa'duddawla went with them as *mustawfi* (auditor general) to Baghdad, where they took up their offices.

Around that time Amir Qunchuqbal was also favored and appointed to his grandfather Abatai Noyan's position, i.e. as commander of the center of the army.

Buqa's situation; the attack on him by envious amirs, who are victorious; Buqa is killed.

When Sahib-Sa'id Shamsuddin was martyred and Buqa was enjoying authority, it was not long before he had accumulated a great deal of wealth. Proud and conceited of his status and riches, he overstepped himself and began to look deprecatingly at Arghun's elite amirs Taghachar, Qunchuqbal, Doladai Idächi, Sultan Idächi, Toghan, Joshi, and Ordu Qaya, who were intimates at court. **[A210]** They were highly insulted and turned against him. In particular Sultan Idächi and Toghan often discussed his overbearing pride and relayed their thoughts to the person of the emperor, who did not pay much attention in view of his endebtedness to Buqa. Because Toghan had twice been caned at Buqa's order for infractions of the Yasa and had been cursed by him, **[815]** he hated him extremely and was inflamed enough to attack him. At every opportunity the group mentioned above couched tales about Buqa to Arghun Khan in the worst possible light.

Meanwhile, in Baghdad, Aruq was comporting himself not in the manner of an amir but more like a king. Neither did he pay attention to Arghun's envoys nor did he forward tax monies to the treasury. Ordu Qaya and Sa'duddawla once gathered five million in taxes from every source possible and brought it back, and when Arghun Khan was told that Aruq had carried off that much every year, he did not react visibly, but he did send Ordu Qaya, Malik Sharafuddin, and Sa'duddawla there to be amir, malik, and overseer respectively, and Aruq was dismissed from office. On Taghachar's behalf, Sadruddin Zanjani, Taghachar's deputy, rose up to attack Buqa because Buqa had demanded from him the back taxes of Fars. "Buqa has created an empire for himself," he told Taghachar, "for he does whatever he wants without the emperor's order or consultation with the amirs, he disburses the tax monies however he wishes, and Arghun Khan is considered less an emperor than Buqa is. Things have gone so far that when envoys go to Tabriz with *yarlighs* and *paizas*, unless Buqa's red seal is on them, they are not given any consideration whatsoever by Amir Ali the governor and return empty-handed."

When such reports had been conveyed to Arghun Khan's hearing, he grew so vexed with Buqa that he became sick and tired of his presence. Around that time Buqa fell ill, and the above-mentioned amirs concentrated their efforts on bringing about his downfall. **[A211]** When he regained his health, Arghun Khan reinstated him to favor as before and sent him back to work. However, the *enchü* estates that he had previously administered were given to Amir Taghachar, and the command of the center of the army was assigned to Amir Qunchuqbal. Buqa was insulted and went less often to the *ordu*. Since everyone who frequented Buqa was accused of supporting

him, people shunned and avoided his society. Then some Mongol amirs were offended again, and since Buqa no longer enjoyed the esteem in the people's eyes he once had, he ceased going to court on the pretext of being ill. It was reported to Arghun Khan that Buqa was only pretending to be ill, and a decree was issued to the effect that the divan and accounting office be removed from Buqa's quarters and his agents and deputies be dismissed from office. First Amir Ali Tamghachi, the governor of Tabriz, was dismissed, and this was a great blow not only to Buqa's prestige but also to his financial situation. Following that, *ayqaq*s (informants) from Fars arrived and proved a shortfall of 1,500,000 against Husamuddin Qazwini, who had gone there as Buqa's deputy. [816] From Diyarbekir and that area reports of complaints against Aruq poured in ceaselessly. Buqa completely fell out of favor with Arghun. When he saw things slipping from his grasp, he despaired totally. He spent untold amounts of money in bribing a group of amirs into plotting an attack on Arghun Khan. They were the likes of his brother Aruq, Hindu Noyan's son Qurumshi, who was an *amir-tümän*, Amir Ujan, who was one of the amirs of weapons, Qada'an Elchi, Naya'a Noyan's son Zangi, who was Öljäi Khatun's *amir-ordu*, Maichu the commander of a division of a thousand, and others of his retainers like Ghazan Bahadur, his brother Eshik Tughli, a commander of four divisions of a thousand, [A212] and Tughluq Qara'una, a commander of a thousand—all of whom were Jalayir—plus Bayan, Alghu Bitigchi's son Mäkritäi, Chärig Bitigchi, and others of his retainers and supporters, to mention all of whom would take too long.

It is reported that Buqa knew that an attack on Arghun Khan could be carried out only by a prince. Prince Jüshkäb was on the banks of the Euphrates. He sent a messenger to say, "Arghun Khan is angry with me on account of reports by Taghachar, Sultan Idächi, Toghan, and others envious of me. He has forgotten what he owes me. It is known to you and all the princes—indeed to the entire *ulus*—that he acquired his father's throne through my patronage. Now he has elevated others over me and made them privy to his secrets. You, thank God, out of all Hülägü Khan's family possess imperial splendor. Without your support it will not be possible to undertake this action. If you accept my proposal and undertake this task, I will gird my loins in service to you and render crown and throne yours, for many of the amirs and soldiers are with me in this endeavor."

When this message reached Jüshkäb, he was astonished and said, "Good God! This man has lost his senses and gone mad to elect another over Arghun Khan, the emperor of this land. What more rank does he want than what he has? Does he have designs on the throne too? Does he think he can dupe me into imagining I am an emperor? This is the same game he played and charm he worked on Ahmad. Does he think I too will break my oath of loyalty?" Then to the messenger he said, "Return, convey my greetings to Buqa, and say, 'The plan you had for me is extremely fine, but my heart cannot trust your word. If it is true, let those involved in this thing write their names [A213] and send *möchälgä*s so that I may be absolutely certain.' "

Buqa and the amirs involved in the conspiracy wrote pledges and sent them. When Jüshkäb saw the paper, he feared for himself and sent a message back saying, "If courage doesn't fail, one must act. I will get my army together, and on such-and-such a night I will arrive. Wait for me." [817] He meant to inform Arghun Khan of the situation as fast as possible lest the evil touch him, and with that thought in mind he set out.

On the night of the rendezvous Buqa

armed a group of soldiers, had them mount, and stood waiting for Jüshkäb's arrival, but he did not come that night. The next morning Sultan Idächi informed Arghun Khan that the night before a group of riders with arms had been spotted. Just then Jüshkäb arrived and rushed into court. Arghun Khan received him warmly and rejoiced at his arrival. When the amirs had dispersed, Jüshkäb reported Buqa's plans. Arghun Khan said, "I have too much reliance on him to be made mistrustful of him by the mere passage of time or the words of just anybody. What proof have you of his actions?"

Jüshkäb pulled out Buqa's and the amirs' pledges of conspiracy and showed them. When Arghun Khan saw the papers, he flew into a rage and said, "Did I elevate Buqa over all the amirs, place the administration of the realm under his control, and put the peasants and soldiers in his hands for him to plot treachery against me?" That very night he ordered the soldiers to mount and go out to arrest Buqa.

They encircled his quarters on the banks of the Kura, and the next morning Sultan Idächi, Doladai, and Toghan charged into his tent, but they did not find him, for he had learned of the attack, taken a boat across the Kura, **[A214]** and sought refuge in Öljäi Khatun's tent. She did not receive him, and when he turned away, Naya'a's son Amir Zangi, Öljäi Khatun's *amir-ordu*, hid him in his tent. When Doladai and Toghan heard that he had crossed the river during the night, they attacked Öljäi Khatun's quarters. Amir Zangi came out trembling in fear, and they asked him about Buqa's whereabouts. "He's sitting in this tent," he said. Immediately they arrested him and took him before Arghun Khan.

"What is this turmoil and strife you have stirred up?" Amir Shiktür asked him. "Do you want to enthrone a new emperor every day?"

"I have nothing to do with the emperor," Buqa replied. "I have risen up only against Sultan Idächi and Toghan of Quhistan, who are my adversaries."

Jüshkäb produced the papers signed by him and his liege men, and with this Buqa started trembling and fell silent. At once Arghun indicated that he was to be done in. He was dragged out, and Jüshkäb requested that he be allowed to dispatch him. When he came to the place of execution, Toghan kicked him in the chest and said, "You coveted the throne and emperorship. This is your reward." **[818]** With one blow Jüshkäb decapitated him. After he had removed the hide from his back and stuffed his head with straw, he was hung under the Chaghan bridge over the marketplace to serve as an example on Saturday the 21st of Dhu'l-Hijja 687 [January 16, 1289].

The next day trials were begun, and some of the amirs who had conspired with him, who have been mentioned, were executed. Since Qada'an was the Qa'an's envoy, he escaped. Because Bayan Bitigchi gave a true account, he was also set free. Mäkritäi was pardoned through the amirs' intercession. The Tajiks Amir Ali Tamghachi, Husamuddin Qazwini, Imaduddin Munajjim, Shim'un known as Rum Qal'a, **[A215]** and Baha'uddawla Abu'l-Karam Nasrani were all executed. The same day Buqa was seized, Baytmish Qushchi, Tamudai, and Buqa's son Shadai were dispatched to Diyarbekir with five hundred horsemen to arrest Aruq and his followers. From Arran they made it to Arbela in six days, and there they killed Buqa's eldest son Ghazan, who was an attendant of Aruq's. Aruq was taken in the Kushaf fortress. When he reached the Chaghan bridge and saw Buqa's head hung there, he said, "Where is the head of Ujan Amir-Salih, who was his servant?" On the 29th of Muharram 688 [February 22, 1289] Aruq and Ujan were killed.

When it came Amir Zangi's turn, Arghun

Khan ordered that, since Öljäi Khatun was responsible for him, he be sent to her. Öljäi Khatun ordered him beheaded, saying, "Were it my own son Anbarchi in Zangi's place, the order would have been the same."

After his father's death, Buqa's son Ayachi became attached to Toghan, who took him under his protection and wanted to obtain a release for him. Acting in haste, one day he said, "Let Ayachi come and perform *huljamishi*." Since the emperor was still angry, he ordered the entire family extinguished. Ayachi and his brothers Malik, Tarkhan Temür, and Qutlugh Temür were all killed. **[A216]**

Jüshkäb is killed; the princes who were accused of conspiring with Nawroz are imprisoned.

After Buqa and Aruq were killed and the trials were completed toward the end of Safar 688 [March 1289], Arghun Khan rewarded Jüshkäb and sent him back. After that he learned that Jüshkäb's heart was not "right" with him and sent a group of amirs to bring him back. Jüshkäb had already started for Diyarbekir, and Arqasun Noyan, Baytmish Qushchi, **[819]** Ghurbatai Gürägän, Durbai's son Borchu, and Bughdai met up with him on the banks of the Qaraman River between Arzan and Mayyafariqin. There he did battle and took flight. Three days later they caught him and took him before Arghun Khan on the 19th of Jumada I 688 [June 10, 1289]. He too was executed.

Because Arghun Aqa's son Nawroz had revolted in Khurasan, and the princes Hulachu and Yoshmut's son Qara Noqai were accused of conspiring with him, they were arrested on the 8th of Jumada I of the above-mentioned year [May 30, 1289] on the report of Ordu Qaya's brother Muqbal, who was attached to Qara Noqai and had reported his rebellion. They were sent to Girdkoh, where they were executed on the 20th of Ramadan [October 7, 1289] in Damghan.

On the 28th of that month [October 15] Toghan was sent with troops to Khurasan to assist Prince Ghazan in repelling Nawroz. **[A217]**

Malik Jalaluddin Simnani is martyred, and by that means Sa'duddawla's fortunes wax.

In this year, when Arghun Khan returned from wintering in Arran, he camped in the summer pastures of Qonqur Öläng. Ordu Qaya and Sa'duddawla returned from Baghdad, bringing a full treasury once again. Arghun Khan was highly pleased, and Sa'duddawla said, "If obstreperous *bitigchis* had not prevented it, the taxes would have been many times more than this." An order was given for the *bitigchis* to be executed. Rabib Avchi and Qutlughshah were killed, and their heads were sent to Baghdad. Majduddin ibn al-Kibti and Khwaja Ala'uddin's son Mansur were brought from Hilla and martyred at the gates of Dar Shatina. Malik Jalaluddin Simnani had also been accused of conspiring with Buqa because of his attack on Toghan, but he was left alive through the intercession of Baranda Bakhshi, although for a very long time he was unable to gain access to the emperor.

Around the beginning of Jumada II 688 [late June 1289], in the summer quarters at Sughurluq, Arghun Khan appointed Sa'duddawla as vizier.

Malik Jalaluddin's brother Sharafuddin Simnani had been imprisoned on account of unpaid taxes from Baghdad. One morning [Malik Jalaluddin] set out to see him, and along the way he came across Amir Bolad Aqa, who inquired warmly after the malik and asked about his dismissal and the reasons for it. The malik said, "I am not at fault. The emperor has elevated a Jew over me and favors him." **[A218]** These words were immediately reported to the emperor.

Bolad Aqa was asked about it, and he related the incident exactly as it had happened. **[820]** "It is my fault," the emperor said, "for leaving him alive." He then ordered Täkächäk, who was in the *gazig* (bodyguard), to go and execute the malik, and it took place on the 17th of Rajab 688 [August 6, 1289] at Saray Muzaffariyya in Siyah Koh.

After [Malik Jalaluddin] was killed, Sa'duddawla's fortunes waxed, and he became extremely powerful. Day by day his power and grandeur grew. Khwaja Baha-'uddin Muhammad Sahib-Divan's sons Mahmud and Ali reported their destitution, and a decree was issued for some of the Sahib's properties in Persia to be given to them. Ali and his mother, the daughter of Izzuddin Tahir, went to Isfahan for that reason. Majduddin Mu'minan Qazwini, the comptroller of *enchüs* in Persia, came and said, "Because control of every *enchü* that is flourishing has been taken by the Sahib's sons, the income from the *enchüs* of Persia has been slashed." Arghun was angered and ordered all of Sahib-Divan Shamsuddin's sons to be executed. On the 3rd of Rajab [July 23, 1289] Mas'ud and Farajullah were martyred in Tabriz. Pandid Bakhshi and Nardu the Shahna took Mahmud under their protection, claiming that in the edict only the Sahib's sons had been specifically mentioned and Mahmud was a grandson. (Out of fear he was afflicted with palpitation of the heart and died toward the end of Gaikhatu's reign.) Yesüdär had been ordered, when he was being sent to arrest Atabeg in Yazd, to execute Ali in Isfahan. **[A219]** He sent a servant from Kashan to seize and kill Ali. The place where he was killed and buried later became a major shrine. Yesüdär was also killed in Yazd sixteen days later, and none of Atabeg Sahib's children were left alive. Zakariya was in Abkhaz and thus escaped harm. All the rest were killed.

With that, Sa'duddawla's fortunes really rose. In Baghdad the *nawbat* was removed from the gate of the caliph's palace to the gate of his quarters. On the 7th of Sha'ban 688 [August 26, 1289] he dispatched his brother Fakhruddawla, Muhazzibuddawla, and Jamaluddin Dastajirdani to govern Baghdad. He gave the realm of Fars to Muntajibuddawla Munajjim's son Shamsuddawla, he turned Diyarbekir over to another brother, Aminuddawla. The office of overseer of Tabriz he gave to his cousin Muhazzibuddawla Abu-Mansur Tabib. Constantly fearful and on his guard against the grand amirs Shiktür Noyan, Taghachar, Samaghar, Qunchuqbal, and others, he requested an assistant who could guard his person. **[821]** "I cannot tend to all the affairs of state by myself," he said to Arghun Khan. "I need several competent servants who are not greedy to report every night the day's surpluses and shortfalls and tell us what is going on." He took Ordu Qaya as his personal assistant. The office of amir of Shiraz he gave to Joshi and that of Tabriz to Quchan. All three became his liege men and assistants, and he made it such that no amir other than these three who were his liege men had access to him.

During that year Amir Joshi and Su'unchaq Aqa's son Sarban went to be the amir and tax collector of Fars. **[A220]** The next year they returned. Jalaluddin Sarvistani gave a written pledge that he would give a million as the income from Shiraz. The *bölük* amirs and *bitigchis* there gave written pledges that they would give five million on condition that Jalaluddin be enchained and given to them. He was thrown into chains and sent to them. The amirs Joshi and Sarban returned for that purpose, and when they went there and made much effort without collecting anything, since the *bölük* chiefs and the *bitigchis* were not able to fulfill their promise, an edict was issued that they be executed. Jalaluddin was set free;

Shamsuddin Husayn Alakani and his son Nizamuddin Abubakr the vizier, Sayfuddin Yusuf, Majduddin Rumi, and Fakhruddin Mubarakshah were martyred in Koshk-i-Zar near Shiraz.

Sa'duddawla was a man who possessed expertise in administrative and financial affairs, and he left no effort in that regard undone.

Arghun Khan goes to winter in Arran; enemies arrive from Derbent, but they are routed.

On the 4th of Ramadan 688 [September 21, 1289] Arghun Khan dismounted in Maragha and went to see the observatory. It was there that he began to take the black medicine, mention of which will come later. Then he set out for winter quarters in Arran.

On Wednesday the 9th of Rabi' I 689 [March 22, 1290], corresponding to the 2nd of Ikindi Ay of Bars Yil, he married Bulughan Khatun, the daughter of Abatai Noyan's son Otman, and he installed her in [the senior] Bulughan Khatun's *ordu*. [A221]

On the 13th of Rabi' I [March 26] envoys arrived bringing news from Derbent of the arrival of the enemy army. An order was given for Tükäl, Shiktür Noyan, and Qunchuqbal to mount on an expedition. On the 15th [March 28] Taghachar and the other amirs set out on their heels. News of the enemy's depredations poured in constantly. On the first of Rabi' II [April 13] the emperor moved out from Bilasawar and went as far as Nuntaq hill on the other side of Shabaran. On the 15th [April 27] he arrived in Shabaran before the *aghruq*, and on the 17th of the month [April 29] he met the the vanguard of the army on the banks of the Qara Su on the other side of Derbent. On the other side were Ayachi, Mänggü Temür's son Mängli Buqa, Yäkächä,[1] and Toqtai Märtäd with one division. On this side were [822] Taghachar, Qunchuqbal, Toghrilcha, and Buqu's son Taichu the commander of Qunchuqbal's *hazara*. Toghrilcha and Taichu charged into the water to get across, and with that audacious action the foe's soldiers turned in rout. Nearly three hundred of their horsemen were killed, and several were taken captive. Among the slain were Boroltai and Qadai, both of whom were commanders of thousands, and Yäkächä's brother. Among the captives were Chärigtäi, one of Toqta's great amirs. After this they returned from the other side.

On the 20th of Rabi' II [May 2, 1290] he went to Bilasawar and dismounted in the *ordus*, where several days were spent in banqueting, revelry, and celebration. Sa'duddawla dispatched news of the victory with heralds in all directions. [A222]

Taghachar goes to assist the army of Khurasan; the building of the city of Arghunia in Shamm-i-Tabriz.

Around the end of Rabi' II [early May 1290] news of the enemy's despoilings and movements arrived from Khurasan. Taghachar set out to repel the foe, and that very week Khwaja Najibuddawla was sent to Khurasan as a liege man to Toghan in order to divide monies among the army.

On the 7th of Jumada I [May 18, 1290] the news of Prince Yesü Temür's death was given to his father Arghun Khan. Prior to that Su'unchaq Aqa and his son Shadi had both died in Maragha.

Toward the end of Rajab [early August 1290] the imperial banners arrived in Tabriz.

On the 2nd of Sha'ban [August 10, 1290] Majduddin Mu'minan Qazwini was executed in Tabriz, and the imperial banners set forth for summer quarters in Ala Tagh,

[1]This name is far from certain. Arends (trs. p. 127) transcribes it as Екече.

where they arrived on the 13th [August 21]. From there a return was made via Van and Vustan. At that station Mawlana Qutbuddin Shirazi came to court and presented a map of the western sea and its gulfs and shores, which included many territories of the west and north. The emperor was highly pleased by his conversation since he explained the territories of Anatolia. During this discussion the emperor's gaze fell upon Amoria, which is inner Anatolia, and asked the mawlana to explain it. He gave a very nice exposition containing praise and extolment of the emperor, who was greatly pleased.

Then he set out to go hunting, saying to the mawlana, "When I return, come so that we may converse, for you speak very nicely." He indicated to Sa'duddawla that all three—i.e. Amir Shah, Fakhruddin Mustawfi, and Hajji Lili's son—should be summoned, for all three had been arrested and brought from Anatolia. [A223] Mawlana Qutbuddin chastised Sa'duddawla over [823] Amir Shah. He ran after the emperor and got him released. Hajji Lili's son was killed. Fakhruddin was put under guard and killed a week later.

On the 23rd of Ramadan 689 [September 29, 1290] Aq Buqa, Doladai, Elchi, and Qaban arrived from Anatolia. On the 5th of Shawwal [October 11, 1290] Aq Buqa returned there.

When Arghun Khan arrived in Tabriz, the Ramadan festival was approaching, so he ordered four pulpits erected in Tabriz and all cadis, imams, and the generality of the population to attend. The festival prayer was conducted with great pomp, and he honored the cadis and preacher and dismissed them.

Since Arghun Khan was very fond of building, he had a magnificent city constructed in the village of Sham-i-Tabriz, and there lofty chambers were erected. He commanded that anyone who wanted to could build a house there, and he had a canal built. He named [the city] Arghunia. He also built a large city in Sharuyaz; vast amounts were spent on it, but it was not completed.

He had a special inclination for the craft of alchemy, in which certain people encouraged him.

Arghun Khan takes sulphur and quicksilver as medicine on the bakhshis' advice; he goes on a forty-day retreat after their fashion; the beginning of his illness.

Arghun Khan was highly devoted to the *bakhshis* and followed their path. He constantly patronized and favored them. One *bakhshi* came from India and claimed to have lived a long time. [A224] Arghun asked him how the *bakhshis*' lives were so prolonged there. He replied that it was due to a special medicine. "Can that medicine be found here?" Arghun Khan asked.

"It can," he answered, and Arghun ordered him to make some. The *bakhshi* made a concoction in which were sulphur and quicksilver, and for nearly eight months Arghun took it. Finally he made a forty-day retreat in the fortress at Tabriz, and during that time, other than Ordu Qaya, Quchan, and Sa'duddawla, no one was allowed near him—save of course the *bakhshis* who attended him day and night to discuss their beliefs. When he emerged from his solitude he set out for winter quarters in Arran. There he developed symptoms, and Khwaja Aminuddawla the physician undertook to treat him. Together with other physicians he made every effort, and after a time he regained his health thanks to their treatment. Suddenly one day a *bakhshi* came in and gave Arghun Khan three goblets of wine. When it had penetrated his body he had a relapse, and the illness turned chronic. [824] The physicians were incapable of treating him. After he had suffered for two months, the amirs

gathered to deliberate and make inquiry into the reason for his illness. Some said that it was caused by the evil eye, and alms should be given. Others reported that the shamans had seen that the reason for the illness was sorcery, and the accusation fell upon Toghachaq Khatun. She was beaten and tortured during the inquisition, and in the end she and a number of other women were cast into the river. That took place on the 16th of Muharram 690 [January 19, 1291]. [A225]

Arghun Khan is beset by illness; the amirs revolt; some amirs and Sa'duddawla are killed.

On the 24th of Muharram 690 [January 27, 1291] Arghun Khan crossed the Kura River and dismounted in the Baghcha *yurt* in Arran. He was so wracked with illness that the amirs despaired of his life. Taghachar and the other amirs had all offended each other, and they were all on bad terms with Sa'duddawla, from whose conceitedness and arrogance they had all suffered. On the 4th of Safar [February 6] they agreed amongst themselves, Taghachar and Qunchuqbal, together with Tükäl and Toghan. On the 14th of Safar [February 16] they swore oaths of conspiracy and began to attack their enemies. First complaint of Sultan Idächi was opened for discussion, and they said, "A shaman has said that he had a vision of Hulachu's and Qara Noqai's infant children coming before Arghun Khan and saying to him, 'For what crime did you order us killed?' He replied, 'I know nothing of it. Sultan Idächi killed you without my leave.' "

On Friday the 28th of Safar [March 2] Sultan Idächi was arrested together with a group of amirs and put on trial. "Why did you kill the princes' children and Toghachaq Khatun?" he was asked.

"By imperial command," he said.

The amirs sent Ordu Qaya into the *ordu* to ask. He returned and said, "The emperor says he knows nothing about it."

"The emperor is so sick that he hasn't been able to speak for some time," said Sultan. "It would be amazing if he has actually spoken."

"Since he cannot speak," said the amirs in unison, "you must have killed them of your own accord. Your tyranny and injustice are the cause of the emperor's illness. [A226] Why should you commit a crime and he suffer the consequences?" Therefore he was executed on the first day of Rabi' I [April 2, 1291]. That same day Prince Khitai Oghul's birthday was being celebrated, and Joshi and Ordu Qaya were arrested. Toghan was sent to arrest Quchan and Sa'duddawla, [825] and that night Joshi and Quchan were killed.

The next day Ordu Qaya and Sa'duddawla were tried in Taghachar's quarters, and both were executed. Tükäl and Toghan went to Sa'duddawla's estates, and the soldiers began to pillage. The homes of both Muslims and Jews there were completely ransacked, and the floors of tents were dug up in search of buried treasure. At dawn the soldiers moved out and created chaos, carrying away everything they found and leaving the people enmeshed in turmoil and strife.

Arghun Khan's illness ends with his death in Baghcha in Arran.

From the first of Shawwal until early Rabi' I [early March 1291] Arghun Khan was ill, and because of that the kingdom fell into such disarray that no one was safe from the consequences. In the end, he passed away on Saturday the 7th of Rabi' I 690 [March 10, 1291], corresponding to [the 8th of] Ikindi Ay of [Taulai] Yil, at mid-morning in the village of Baghcha in Arran, bequeathing the ephemeral world to the renowned members of his family. Mourning was held in his *ordus*, and on Monday the 9th of Rabi' I

[March 12] his coffin was carried to Sujas. (May God endow the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan with many years and countless generations of life and make him to enjoy good fortune.) **[A227]**

The amirs differ after Arghun Khan's death, and an account of them during that time.

On Thursday the 12th of Rabi' I [March 15, 1291], corresponding to the 13th of Ikindi Ay, Qaban Aqtachi was sent to summon Prince Ghazan. The next day Qubai Noyan's son Taitaq, Abaqa Khan's *kükältash* and Ahmad's *amir-ordu*, was sent to Baghdad to summon Prince Baidu. Lagzi was sent to Anatolia to summon Prince Gaikhatu.

The amirs broke into so many factions that when they got ready to decamp drums were sounded in twenty different places.

Baidu was a modest and reserved prince who did not enjoy absolute command over the army. Taghachar, Qunchuqbal, Toghan, Tükäl, and some others who were stirring up trouble feared only Ghazan's might and power, and therefore they wanted Baidu. The amirs Shiktür, Samaghar Noyan, Doladai Idächi, Tägänä, Eljidäi Qushchi, Bughdai, and the amirs of the left hand agreed with them, but Baidu had not yet arrived. On the 11th of Rabi' I [March 14] they held council in that regard, **[826]** and on the 16th [March 19] they made their decision and reported it to the ladies.

On Monday the 16th of Rabi' I, Samaghar Noyan was sent to Anatolia. The next day Baliya Zad was dispatched to have Lagzi return. On Saturday the 21st of Rabi' I [March 24] they killed Izzuddin Jalal, Sa'duddawla's deputy who was always ailing. By the beginning of Rabi' II envoys had twice arrived from Khurasan with news of disturbances.

On Friday the 26th of Rabi' II [April 28, 1291] the amirs gathered together in the *ordu* and sent back the envoys who had come on behalf of the princes. On the 8th of Jumada I [May 9] Amir Aladu arrived from Khurasan and Persia bringing news that the Lurs had rebelled, taken Isfahan, and killed Baidu the *shahna* of Isfahan and some others. They had also attacked Mongol troops who were stationed in the vicinity and dispersed them, and reports of their depredations were constantly coming in. That same day Buqu's son Shadai and Chingqor's son Boralghi were sent to summon Prince Baidu. Doladai Idächi was sent to deal with the Lurs' invasion.

On Wednesday the 22nd of Jumada I [May 23, 1291] Prince Sögä and the amirs Chuban and Alinaq's son Qurumshi had the ladies' *ordus* decamp toward Prince Gaikhatu at Ala Tagh. This was done on Tükäl's advice. Bularghu Qayatai, the commander of four *hazaras*, was sent out after them, and therefore Baidu's chances came to naught. This was Örüg Khatun's plan. The next day the amirs went to Prince Baidu in the village of Kuy-i-Buldaq in the vicinity of Sughurluq. On the eve of the 25th, Sati, Quban, and Tödächü took flight and headed for Anatolia to join Prince Gaikhatu. The next night the *ev-oghlans* of the *ordus* also departed. The next night Eljidäi Qushchi and Temür Buqa departed, and the next night Qunchuqbal went. All headed for Gaikhatu, and thus Baidu's chances of enthronement as emperor were dashed. The decision was made in favor of Gaikhatu. **[A229]**

Part Three, on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections but learned from various persons.[1]

Arghun Khan was an intelligent ruler who possessed a refined nature. Anyone who spoke intelligently to him and gave a rational exposition was shown favor. The people rested in the shadow of his clemency. He was extremely fond of building and was an avid builder like his father and grandfather. On the western side of Tabriz, in the vicinity of Shamb, which the common people call Sham, he built two magnificent palaces and a city between the two. There he constructed two lofty porticos that were as grand as the arch at Ctesiphon. They had stalactited ceilings and bowed arches. He commissioned beautifully painted buildings. He named it Arghunia, as has already been mentioned. During his reign Tabriz was so populous that it became an Egypt with Arghunia as the capital like Cairo. He also built a city in the meadows of Qonqur Öläng next to Sharuyaz, and there he caused springs and canals to flow. He spent a lot of money on it, but he did not live long enough to see it finished. Öljäitü Sultan completed it during his reign and called it Sultania. He also built a pavilion in the summer pastures of Lar at the foot of Mount Damavand, and at present it is known as Arghun's Kiosk. He also built magnificent palaces in many places. He was also enthralled by alchemy, and alchemists came to his court from far and wide to encourage him in this art. Untold amounts of money were spent on it, but he never chided them for it and even cheerfully authorized more expenditures. One day an extremely subtle point was discussed in the presence of Mawlana Qutbuddin Shirazi. When the alchemists had left, Arghun said to the mawlana, "Since I am only a Turk and you are a wise man, do you think these people are taking me for a ride? I have often wanted to put them to death, but since it is certain that this science exists and there must be someone who knows about it, if I withdraw my patronage from these ignorant men and put them to the sword, that one learned person will not trust me."

In short, during Arghun Khan's reign the alchemists spent untold amounts on their various experiments, but after much experimentation and tests, the veil of doubt was lifted from everyone's eyes, and nothing had been achieved other than financial loss and ruin. ~

[1]Text of this section missing in almost all MSS. The following is given by JT_{AZ}'s MSS P and B.

ℭ SECTION SIXTEEN

THE HISTORY OF ABAQA KHAN'S SON GAIKHATU KHAN, IN THREE PARTS

His blessed birth occurred on the eve of Thursday the 5th of the ancient month of Bahman in the year 638 of the Yazdagird era,[1] corresponding to 64_ of the Hegira, in ___, with Virgo in the ascendant. On Sunday the 24th of Rajab 690 [July 23, 1291], corresponding to the 25th of Altinch Ay of Taulai Yil he was elevated as padishah. He died on Thursday the 6th of Jumada I 694 [March 24, 1295]. He lived for ___ years, and the length of his reign was three years and ten months.[2]

Part One is on his progeny with details of his wives, sons, daughters and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, the names of his sons-in-law, and a genealogical chart of his sons' branches.

Part Two is on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; a history of his reign and events that transpired therein. **[A231]**

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections.

Part One, on his progeny with details of his wives, sons, daughters and grandsons who have branched off down to the present, the names of his sons-in-law, and a genealogical chart of his sons' branches.

Gaikhatu was Abaqa Khan's second son. He was born of Nuqdan Khatun of the Tatar nation. The bakhshis named him Irinjin Dorji.[3] He had many wives and concubines.

The first he married was Ayisha Khatun,

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[1]The 5th of Bahman would nominally be the fifth day of Aquarius (ca. January 25), but the months of the Persian calendar had "slipped back" over time. In the early seventeenth century Bahman usually began around January 10th. In the late thirteenth century the first of Bahman was probably around January 15th.

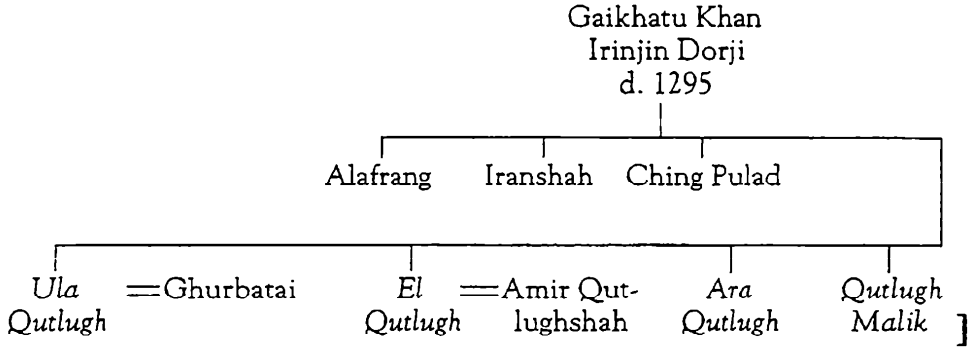
[2]This section is lacking in JT_{AZ}; it is taken from JT_K.

[3]From the Tibetan Rin-ch'en rDo-rje, "Jewel Diamond." See Blochet, *Introduction*, p. 225. See also a farman surviving from the period, dated late Jumada II 692/early June 1293 (Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, p. 34f.) that bears the superscription *[Irinji]n [Do]rji yarlighindin | Shiktür, Aq Buqa, Taghachar sözindin | Ahmad Sahib-Divan sözindin* ("by decree of Irinjin Dorji, by word of Shiktür, Aq Buqa, and Taghachar, by word of Ahmad Sahib-Divan"). As in the Timurid period, the *yarligh* superscription indicates the ultimate reigning (Genghisid) authority; the *söz* subscription indicates the actual issuing authorities, in this case the triumvirate of amirs Shiktür, Aq Buqa, and Taghachar and the chief of the bureaucracy, the Sahib-Divan Sadruddin Ahmad Zanjani.

daughter of Toghu son of Elgäi Noyan. After her he married Dondi Khatun, daughter of Aq Buqa son of Elgäi Noyan of the Jalayir. After her he married Eltüzmish Khatun, daughter of Qutlugh Temür Gürägän of the Qunqirat. After her he married Padishah Khatun, daughter of Qutbuddin Sultan of Kirman. After her he married Örüg Khatun, [830] daughter of Saricha of the Kerayit. After her he married Bulughan Khatun. He had a concubine named Nani whom Alafrang took after Gaikhatu's death. There was another named Esän, daughter of Beglämish, brother of Ujan of the Orulat.

He had three sons. [A232] The eldest was Alafrang, whose mother was Dondi Khatun. The second was Iranshah, also by her. The third was Ching Pulad by Bulughan Khatun.

He had four daughters. One was Ula Qutlugh. She was married to Ghurbatai. The second was El Qutlugh; she was married to Amir Qutlughshah.[1] Another was Ara Qutlugh. All three were born of Ayisha Khatun. He also had daughters by Dondi.[2] [



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Part Two, events leading to his enthronement; a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; a history of his reign and events that transpired therein.

In the beginning most of the amirs—and especially the group that had stirred up rebellion—were of the opinion that they would enthrone Baidu. When Amir Chupan, Qurumshi, and others set out for Gaikhatu, the rest wavered in their support of Baidu, who also refused to accept the office. Toghan, who had been the most eloquent in support of him, took fright and fled to Gilan with soldiers on his heels. They seized him and brought him back to the amirs. Baidu undertook to protect him and had him put under guard until Gaikhatu should arrive. When Gaikhatu realized that the amirs were waiting for him, he set out from Anatolia for Iran. [A233] At Ala Tagh he joined the ladies, amirs, and princes, and they all enthroned him in the vicinity of Akhlat on Sunday the 24th of Rajab 690 [July 23, 1291]. [831]

The amirs who had stirred up rebellion are arrested and put on trial.

When the banquets and celebrations were over, in early Sha'ban [early August 1291] all the amirs were arrested and trials were begun, for Gaikhatu wanted to have an investigation made of his brother Arghun Khan's death and the murders of the amirs and viziers. In the beginning he sat in on the trials himself. He asked Shiktür Noyan, who was the chief of the amirs, "What

[1] See text p. 945.

[2] Thus in the text. JT_{AZ}'s MS S adds a fourth daughter's name, Qutlugh Malik.

actually happened?"

"The amirs are present," he replied. "Let the emperor inquire of them so that my guilt and theirs may be clear."

The amirs said unanimously, "The rebellion was initiated by Taghachar and Qunchuqbal. Then they told Samaghar and Tagänä. In the end they all conspired together and divulged their plot to Shiktür. He said, 'I am also in with you on whatever you have decided.' "

When their confession reached this point, Shiktür Noyan said, "So many dominant amirs had made such wicked plans. I am a weak old man, and my brothers on whom I might have relied were with the emperor in Anatolia. Had I spoken in opposition to their plan, not only would I not have been given free rein, but the same thing that happened to Joshi and Ordu Qaya would have happened to me." [A234]

Gaikhatu pardoned and released him. After the trial was completed he showed all the amirs favor. Since they all had hopes of pardon after Shiktür Noyan was forgiven, they quickly confessed their crimes. Toghan was imprisoned, and Joshi's and Ordu Qaya's wives and sons wanted to take retribution on him for their fathers' blood. Aq Buqa was on bad terms with Toghan, and so was Örüg Khatun. Gaikhatu hesitated, however, to allow him to be killed. Örüg Khatun said, "If, with all the rebellion and strife Toghan has caused, you do not kill him and take retribution for the amirs he murdered, no one will serve you wholeheartedly from this day forth."

"Certainly that is what someone who does what he has done deserves," replied Gaikhatu. No sooner had Aq Buqa heard the emperor speak these words than he went out and sent Ordu Qaya's children to put an end to Toghan.

On the 9th of Shawwal [October 5, 1291] Gaikhatu encamped at Ala Tagh. The next day the amirs Taghachar, Qunchuqbal, and others, having been absolved of their crimes, performed *tägishmishi*.

On Friday the 4th of Ramadan [August 31] Gaikhatu set out to return to Anatolia. [832]

Gaikhatu goes to Anatolia; Shiktür Noyan is appointed as his deputy with absolute power.

When Gaikhatu set out from Ala Tagh for Anatolia, he appointed Shiktür Noyan as his absolute deputy in the realms of Iran. From there he went to Tabriz, and together with the amirs he went to Arran to spend the winter. He camped at Qara Chali on the banks of the Kura, his old *yurt*, and there he turned his attention to matters of state and finance, [A235] dispatching envoys and the red seal to all parts of the kingdom.

Toward the end of that winter, on Sunday the 28th of Muharram 691 [December 31, 1291], Yoshmut's son Prince Zambu died at Jaghatu.[1]

Gaikhatu had sent Prince Anbarchi with a division of soldiers to Khurasan, and he had stopped for the winter in the vicinity of Ray. Taghachar being a liege man of Shiktür Noyan's, he asked him for permission to see his children and set out for home. Sadruddin Zanjani was [Taghachar's] deputy, and he was sent to Qazwin with a Qazwini named Baba. [Sadruddin's] brother Qutbuddin sent a message saying, "The Turcomans of Anatolia and the Qaramanids have been victorious over Gaikhatu and killed him, and all the amirs are unanimously for Prince Anbarchi as emperor. It is necessary that my brother hasten to him and report what has happened so that he may cancel his expedition to Khurasan and return to Arran." Qutbuddin told this to Shaykh Jamal Shirazi, an attendant of the prince's, and he told the prince. Being extremely clever and intelligent, [Prince

[1]For Prince Zambu, see text p. 680 above.

Anbarchi] realized the necessity of maintaining cautiousness, so he sent one of his liege men, Mulayid by name, as an envoy to Shiktür to find out what was happening. Along the way Mulayid came across Taghachar, and Sadruddin said to him, "It is not wise for you to go to Shiktür. Return and go in haste so that the prince may come as quickly as possible and mount the throne." Mulayid, who was also clever and quick, said, "It would be appropriate for me to do that, but since our tents are near, I will go see my people and then return." When he passed by them he headed for Qara Chali, where he came before Shiktür. Along the way he saw envoys coming from Anatolia with *yarlighs*, **[A236]** for Gaikhatu had dispatched gifts and presents for the ladies, princes, and amirs. Among them he found a friend of his he trusted, and he asked him about Gaikhatu. He reported that Gaikhatu was hale and hearty. Mulayid realized that Sadruddin had tried to trick him, and if the truth came out Anbarchi and his amirs would not be safe. Immediately he went to Shiktür and discharged his mission as messenger for Prince Anbarchi in public. **[833]** After that he asked for a private audience, at which he reported everything from beginning to end. Shiktür Noyan, having already suspected what had happened, replied pleasantly and sent him back to Anbarchi with gifts and presents.

Shiktür himself mounted with two thousand horsemen, and the next morning they attacked Taghachar's quarters and seized him. He also took Sadruddin to his house and kept him imprisoned there until the springtime, when the news of Gaikhatu's arrival came and he sent them with five hundred sturdy horsemen to greet him. They came upon Gaikhatu in the vicinity of Arzan al-Rum.[1] He then passed through *hazara* after *hazara* until he dismounted in the summer pastures at Ala Tagh.

On Sunday the 12th of Rajab 691 [June 29, 1292], corresponding to the 14th of Altinch Ay of Luy Yil, the princes and amirs together gave written pledges and sat Gaikhatu on the throne again, as was customary, in Ala Tagh, after which revels and celebrations were held.

The office of vizier is transferred to Sadruddin Zanjani, and the office of chief justice is given to his brother Qutbuddin.

That summer Gaikhatu was in Ala Tagh. Ghazan set out from Khurasan to see him, but when he got to Tabriz he was sent back without having seen him. **[A237]**

Sadruddin Zanjani presented some of the vast wealth he had realized from those who had been killed. Taking refuge with Boraqchin Egächi, Gaikhatu's extremely influential nurse, Sadruddin requested the office of vizier. Shamsuddin Ahmad Lakushi was also seeking the same office with the support of a group of amirs. Through the good offices of Sharafuddin Simnani, Sadruddin curried favor with Amir Aq Buqa and made him his patron, and he also promised to provide all [those who supported him] with estates.

Around that time news arrived from Anatolia that an enemy army had come from Syria and Malik Ashraf had laid siege to Qal'at al-Rum. In the month of Rajab, Mänggü Temür's son Taichu Oghul, Taghachar, Buqdai Aqtachi, and Tammachi Inaq headed in that direction with a large army to repel the foe. In Sha'ban, Prince Sögä, Amir Temür Buqa, and Qaracha set out for Qal'at al-Rum via Akhlat and Erjish. In late Rajab, Malik Ashraf took Qal'at al-Rum, killing some of the inhabitants and taking others captive, and turned the fortress over to his castellans before withdrawing. **[834]** As Gaikhatu was returning from Ala Tagh, he married Bulughan Khatun in the vicinity of Albaq in the

[1]The modern Erzurum in Turkey.

month of Sha'ban 691 [July–August 1292].

On Tuesday the 18th of Ramadan of that year [September 2, 1292], at the Tasu station in the Tabriz area, Gaikhatu became indisposed, and it turned into a dreadful illness. The physicians Rubaybuddawla and Safiuddawla Nasrani were in attendance, and they treated him vigorously. Within forty days he had completely regained his health. [A238]

On the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja 691 [November 18, 1292], in the Arran winter quarters, the office of chief administrative officer was given to Sadruddin, and he requested of Gaikhatu that he be entitled Sadr-i-Jahan and his brother be called Qutb-i-Jahan. He got the title Qawamulmulk for his cousin and the office of chief justice for his brother. The governorship of Tabriz was also given to him, and that of Persia was given to Qawamulmulk.

On the 3rd of Jumada I 692 [April 11, 1293], Tägänä Totqavul died at Saray Mansuriyya in Arran, and his body was taken to Maragha.

On the 13th of Jumada II [May 21, 1293] Gaikhatu went to Tabriz. On the 12th of Rajab [June 18] he left Maragha for Siyah Koh.

On the 7th of Sha'ban [July 13] envoys from Qonchi Oghul arrived to express good will and ask for an alliance.[1]

On the 9th of the month [July 15] Qutlughshah Noyan and Örüg Temür Oghul's envoys, as well as those of Nawroz, arrived from Khurasan. That day also coincided with the arrival of Ayisha Khatun from Anatolia, and Baytmish came from Diyarbekir.[2]

On the 17th of Sha'ban [July 23] Mänggü Temür's son Gäräi Oghul, Qunchuqbal, and Doladai Idächi, all of whom who had gone on an expedition to Khurasan, returned.

Toward the end of Sha'ban camp was made in Ashkamar (?). Sadun of Georgia's son Qutlugh Buqa was executed there.

On the 12th of Ramadan [August 16] [the emperor] went to Ujan. On the 19th he went to Hashtrod, and from there he went out toward Maragha to Arran, where he wintered.

On the 28th of Rabi' II [March 28, 1294] emissaries came from Toqta under the leadership of Prince Qalintai and Bolad, arriving at court at Dalan Na'ur [A239] to propose a truce and treaty, and they also made all sorts of requests. On the 3rd of Jumada I [April 1, 1294] they were sent back with all honor.

On the 10th of Jumada I [April 8], a large city was founded on the banks of the Kura, and it was called Qutlugh Baligh. [The emperor] returned from winter quarters. In Bilasawar a review of the military was held.

In early Jumada II 693 [early May 1294] a council was held concerning *chao* (paper money).

On the 7th of Rajab [June 3] Mänggü Temür's son Gäräi Oghul died.

On the 16th of Rajab [June 12] Prince Baidu came to court at Ala Tagh, and Gaikhatu chastised him. On the 15th of Sha'ban [July 11] he was given permission to withdraw through the intercession of Boraqchin Egächi. [835]

On the 7th of Ramadan [August 1] they reached Ala Tagh, where a *quriltai* was held. It was finished on Thursday the 21st of the month [August 15].

The history of the unlucky chao, and the havoc it wrought in the kingdom.

Occasionally Sadruddin and some of the amirs discussed the *chao*, which was current in Cathay, and they made plans to introduce it here. This was proposed to the emperor, and Gaikhatu asked Bolad

[1] For the Jochid Qonchi, who ruled the Ulus Orda, see text p. 507 above.

[2] Baytmish Aqa is the amir named in the farman cited above.

Chingsang about it. He reported that the *chao* was a piece of paper on which was the ruler's seal, and it was used throughout Cathay instead of minted coins. The unit of currency there is the *balish* (bar), which goes into the imperial treasury. Since Gaikhatu was an extremely generous ruler and carried his liberality to such excess that the wealth of the entire world would not have been enough for him, he approved of this suggestion. Sadruddin wanted to implement an imposition in the kingdom **[A240]** that no one else had ever done. Therefore he made great efforts in that regard. Shiktür Noyan, the most intelligent of the amirs, said that the *chao* would cause ruination in the kingdom, defamation of the emperor, and dispersal of the peasantry and soldiers. Sadruddin countered that Shiktür Noyan was only trying to discourage the implementation of *chao* because he loved gold so much.

A decree was issued for it to be achieved soon. On Friday the 27th of Sha'ban [July 23, 1294] Aq Buqa, Taghachar, Sadruddin, and Tammachi Inaq set out for Tabriz to implement the *chao*. They arrived there on the 19th of Ramadan [August 13] and delivered the decree. Many *chaos* were prepared, and on Saturday the 19th of Shawwal 693 [September 12, 1294] the *chaos* were brought out in Tabriz and put into circulation. A command was issued that anyone who did not accept them would be immediately executed. For one week they were accepted out of fear of the sword, but in return for them very little was given to anyone, and most of the people of Tabriz chose to leave town. Goods and victuals were withdrawn from the market, and finally there was nothing to be found. In order to eat fruit the people had to resort to the orchards, and such a bustling city was totally emptied of inhabitants as ruffians and rabble stripped everyone they found in the streets, and caravans ceased coming. By night ruffians lay in ambush at the heads of streets leading to the orchards, and if an unfortunate happened to have acquired a load of grain or a basket of fruit by some ruse and was carrying it home, they would take it from him. If he resisted they would say, "Sell it and take the price in 'lucky' *chaos* so that you can show where you bought it." In short, everyone was caught in such a predicament. **[A241]** The poor raised their hands in supplication.

By chance one day Gaikhatu was strolling in the marketplace and saw how empty the shops were. When he asked what the reason was, Sadruddin said, "Sharafuddin Lakushi, who was the head man here, has died, **[836]** and it is a custom of the people of Tabriz to leave the market during mourning for their leaders."

One Friday in the congregational mosque Qutbuddin was mobbed until the crowd was dispersed. In the lanes food was sold for gold, and still people were killed on that pretext. Commercial transactions and tax revenues completely fell away. One day a poor man grabbed Sadruddin's reins at the head of the market and said, " 'The odor of scorched passions fill the world. If you don't notice, it's some nose you have!' " Moved by this, Sadruddin and his liege men obtained a decree for food to be sold for gold, and thereby the people grew bold enough to carry out transactions openly in gold. Therefore the *chao* came to naught and was abandoned, and the people were relieved of the nuisance.[1]

[1]Bar Hebraeus (*Chronography*, 496f.) describes the *chao* fiasco as follows: "Now since all the money which was collected in the whole of the dominion of the MONGOLS was insufficient for the liberality of the SÂHIB DÎWÂN, how was it possible for him to provide for the liberality of KAIJÂTÛ [Gaikhatu]? Then he began to think out vain imaginings—that he would make new money; but as his hand could not lay hands on the gold and silver he rejected them. And he promulgated a royal command that men should no longer use gold and silver. And he

made slips of paper from papyrus which could be written upon, and he stamped them with a mark in red, and he wrote [on them] and showed which was for one *dînâr*, and which for two, or three, or four, or five, and so on up to ten *dînârs*. And he called them *'Shâw'* [*chao*]. And the heralds proclaimed throughout the city, 'Whosoever buyeth and selleth, and taketh and giveth without [using] *Shâw* shall die the death. And whosoever hath in his hand silver, and doth not carry it to the offices of the Government to be stamped therein with [the word] *Shâw*, and giveth it up and taketh [in exchange] *Shâw* shall die the death.' And thus men remained in a state of great tribulation and indescribable difficulty for a space of two months.

And TÂBRÎZ, which was the royal city of the MONGOLS, remained like a desolate ruin. Men fled therefrom and dispersed themselves about the country, and only a very few people were seen in the streets (or, bazârs). After the prosperity which [TÂBRÎZ had enjoyed] words are not able to describe the famine, and scarcity, and hardship which arose therein. For men would not consent to use the contemptible slips of paper, and they clung to the use of money. And the people cried out against the SÂHIB DÎWÂN until at length they hurled insults and abuse at him when they were face to face with him. And they made him to hear jeers and scoffs, and they would not submit to be convinced and to hear his word. And he remained stupefied and astonished; to go back on his word (or, to withdraw it) would bring ignominy upon him, and to carry out his will he was unable. And there was not a single maker of verses who did not gibe at this act, and not a single singing man who did not string together poems and ditties and admirable verses [about it]. And being urged by those inside [the city] and those outside [it], the SÂHIB DÎWÂN issued another royal command, saying, 'Every man according to his wish and according to his inclination. If he wisheth for the *Shâw* let him use it, and if he wisheth silver [let him use it]. There is no compulsion for any man.' And the King of Kings also said, 'We wish you to have a comfortable existence, and a quiet life, and an abundance of good things, and moreover, we do not wish that everything which a man hath to give should be taken from him. But let every man use, according to what [his] need is for goods (i.e. flocks and herds) and equipment (or, furniture). In the twinkling of an eye let the slips of paper by thousands and by tens of thousands be sunk in the sea and done away. And now let every man who is not pleased [with them] know that we do put pressure on any man.' And there was great joy in every country and city, and the roads were opened [again], for during these two months the merchants could not trade, and the roads were cut, and the *khâns* (i.e. inns) were closed, and buying and selling ceased."

On Friday the second of Dhu'l-Qa'da 693 [September 24, 1294], corresponding to Toqusunch Ay of ___ Yil, Prince Anbarchi died in the vicinity of Nakhichevan. [A242]

Baidu rebels; the amirs disagree, and some rebel against Gaikhatu; Gaikhatu's end.

When Prince Baidu obtained release through Boraqchin Egächi's intercession and went back to his old camping ground, because of his hurt feelings he complained of Gaikhatu to his amirs both openly and by allusion. When the amirs Tödächü Yarghuchi, Chechäk Gürägän, Arghun Aqa's son Lagzi, and Hinduqur Noyan's son El Temür went to Baghdad, he won them over and united them with himself to rebel against Gaikhatu. Jamaluddin Dastjirdani, one of the Baghdad secretaries and tax collectors, conspired with them and made arrangements for his, the amirs' and the soldiers' necessities, weapons, mounts, money, provisions, etc. Baidu sent envoys to Baghdad to kill Muhammad Sükürchi, the *shahna* of Baghdad by Gaikhatu's command. Thus they openly announced their rebellion and began to create disorder. When Ghurbatai Gürägän learned of this, he sent a messenger to inform Gaikhatu of Baidu's rebellion and the amirs' conspiracy with him. He also advised Gaikhatu to guard himself from the treachery of the amirs Doladai Idächi, Qunchuqbal, [837] Tükäl, Eljidäi, and Bughdai, all of whom were in attendance upon him and were in on the conspiracy. Gaikhatu consulted with Amir Aq Buqa, had the amirs arrested and thrown into chains, and sent them to Tabriz for imprisonment—aside from Tükäl, who was in Georgia. Then from winter quarters in Arran he sent envoys to Bay

Buqa in Diyarbekir for Baidu to be seized and sent, [A243] but when the envoys reached the vicinity of Arbela on the banks of the Zab River they found Bay Buqa arrested and in the hands of Baidu's envoys. They turned back and came in all haste to report what had happened to Bay Buqa.

On Thursday the 28th of Rabi' II 694 [March 17, 1295], corresponding to the end of Ikindi Ay of ___ Yil, the amirs Aq Buqa and Taghachar were sent on a campaign against Baidu. Taghachar had sent a secret message to Baidu encouraging him to rebel. When they reached the banks of the Jaghatu river, Aq Buqa said to Taghachar, "You are a clever and tricky man. Do you realize what you are up to?" (Of course, he knew nothing of the message to Baidu.) When Taghachar heard this, he imagined that Aq Buqa knew his secret and was speaking about that. Frightened, he conspired with the *hazara* amirs in the middle of the night and set out for Baidu's side. When Amir Aq Buqa saw this, he turned back and went to Gaikhatu's court in the Ahar region with three hundred of his elite horsemen. Gaikhatu was perplexed and wanted to go to Anatolia. Some of his unwise attendants said, "It is not prudent to hand over crown and throne to a rebel and take flight. Our soldiers are stationed throughout the region. Let us assemble and go out to fight the enemy."

From there he returned to Arran, and the next day he went to Bilasawar. Buqu's son Amir Hasan, who had been his attendant from the cradle, fled with his companions in the middle of the night and headed for Baidu. When the news reached Qunchuqbal and Doladai in Tabriz, they got out of prison and fled. Amir Irinjin, Baichaq, and some others conspired and got Baidu's son Qipchaq Oghul out of prison and took him to his father.

On Thursday the 6th of Jumada I [March 24, 1295] Taitaq and [A244] Toghrilcha did battle in the vicinity of Hamadan with Bashmaq Oghul and Qaracha, Sultan Ahmad's son-in-law. Victory was Taitaq's. Tükäl, coming with a troop from Georgia, sent a messenger to Tabriz to the amirs who were imprisoned, saying, "I am heading for Arran with a large troop to help Prince Ildär attack Gaikhatu. You must join me as soon as possible." [838] They departed at once and joined Tükäl on the banks of the Kura. Together they set out in search of him. The Ba'arin *hazara*,[1] which was in Bilasawar, found out where Gaikhatu was. They went there and seized him and then turned him over to the rebel amirs for execution on Thursday the 6th of Jumada I 694 [March 24, 1295], corresponding to the 7th of Üchünch Ay of ___ Yil. Tammachi Inaq, It-Oghli, and It-Buqi, who were his intimates, were killed along with him. It-Quli, who had been in charge of the session where Baidu was investigated and punished,[2] was arrested and sent for Baidu to execute however he saw fit. When he got there Baidu said, "He carried out the action at the command of the padishah. He is not to blame." He therefore spared his life.

Aq Buqa and Taichu were arrested, and when Ghazan was battling Baidu they were taken near Hashtrod and killed.

On Wednesday the 19th of Jumada I 694 [April 6, 1295] at the junction of the Kökrä and Jaghatu rivers the amirs sent Amir Ramazan to Prince Ghazan to announce Gaikhatu's death. Emissaries were also dispatched to Baidu for him to come in all haste and mount the throne. When Baidu heard this, he rejoiced and killed a number of amirs with whom he was on bad terms.

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[1]Reading *BARYN* (Ba'arin) with the variant in JT_{AZ}.

[2]This episode, in which Baidu was flogged by It-Quli at Gaikhatu's order, is briefly alluded to in the *Jami'u't-tawarikh* (see text p. A239 above); for a fuller account, see Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:138, 140.

[A245] Then he set out for this region. His history will be contained in the section of Ghazan Khan, God willing.

Part Three, on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections.

[A246] ~

ℭ SECTION SEVENTEEN

THE HISTORY OF ABAQA KHAN'S SON GHAZAN KHAN, IN THREE PARTS.

His lineage is as follows: Shah Ghazan Khan, son of Arghun Khan, son of Abaqa Khan, son of Hülägü Khan, son of Tolui Khan, son of Genghis Khan. He was among Genghis Khan's noble offspring in the fifth generation, and he was the sixth khan. His life span was thirty-two years, [842] five months and twelve days. Of that period he was on the throne of the khanate for nine years.[1]

Part One is on his lineage and his history from the moment of his blessed birth until the time of Arghun Khan's accession; a mention of his wives and children, and a genealogical chart of his noble branch.

Part Two is on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; a history of his reign and the battles he fought and the victories he achieved. [A247]

Part Three is on his conduct and character; monuments of his justice and beneficence, charity, and piety; the pronouncements and orders he gave for the benefit of all people; and rare stories and unusual events not included in the two previous sections: these are divided into two divisions, one further subdivided into forty stories, and the other on various and miscellaneous events and incidents.

Part One, on his lineage and his history from the moment of his blessed birth until the time of Arghun Khan's accession; a mention of his wives and children, and a genealogical chart of his noble branch.

Ghazan Khan was the eldest son of Arghun Khan. Arghun Khan requested Ghazan's mother, Qultaq, the daughter of Kihtar Bitigchi of the Dörbän tribe, at the age of twelve from Küräk Temür, the brother of Uruqtu and Mulai. Her elder sister Ashlun was married to Prince Tübshin. Qultaq was extremely beautiful, and Arghun Khan loved her exceedingly, so much so that on the day she was being brought to the *ordu* for the wedding he wanted to go out to greet her, but the amirs Sartaq and Jochighan forbade it. He was so infatuated that he went to a pole in the court tent, sat down on a stake, and watched her from afar. In short, after the wedding ceremonies the noble components of Ghazan Khan's being were mingled, and the "oyster shell" of that "chaste moon" became pregnant with an imperial pearl. After nine months, [A248] at the most felicitous hour of dawn on Friday the 29th of Rabi' I 670 [Novem-

[1] Section missing in JT_{AZ}; taken from JT_K.

ber 4, 1271], corresponding to the first of Biryegirminch Ay of Qoyin Yil, at Abuskun in Mazanderan,[1] under the auspicious ascendant of the constellation Scorpio with the portion of fortune and the portion of the unseen rising, the regal Ghazan Khan stepped from nonexistence into the world. All the expert astrologers who were in attendance took celestial readings and cast horoscopes with all care. Finding his natal extremely auspicious, they all said of one accord, " 'I have looked into your ascendant and have seen that your estates will be a hundred thousand souls.' " All agreed that he would be an extremely magnificent and awe-inspiring ruler, **[843]** and unanimously they cried, " 'Lofty are his ascendant and his luck; his throne will be raised to the shining sun.' "

He was given to a wet nurse of good character named Moghalchin, the wife of a Cathaian named Eshing who had come with Qultaq Khatun. She was a pure woman of good conduct who was suitable for nursing princes. Her own son Hindu is still alive. In short, this kind nurse raised him in the lap of compassion.

While he was still in the cradle, in accordance with the line of poetry that says "In the cradle he speaks out of the felicity of his grandfather, and traces of nobility shine as proof," he loosened his tongue with eloquent words and phrases to the astonishment of all.

It is the Mongol custom for the husbands of princes' nurses not to be allowed to approach their wives, **[A249]** but Eshing the Cathaian lay with his wife during that time, and she became pregnant. Her milk caused diarrhea in the prince, and so he was taken away from Moghalchin.

At the age of three he was seated on a horse. He was given to the mother of Hasan, the amir of the *tuqchis*, of the Suldus tribe. (Hasan's father's name was Ashtu, and his mother's name was Ashtai. Ashtu's son is the Tolai who serves as an *idächi* and *ba'urchi*.)

When the prince was three years old, Arghun Khan sent Amir Qutlughshah from the winter quarters in Mazanderan to Abaqa Khan's court on several matters of business, and he joined the court at Mughan. Abaqa Khan inquired after Prince Ghazan and was told that he was three years old and was already riding horses. Abaqa Khan developed a craving to see him, and when Qutlughshah was setting out to return he said, "I have grown old, and from time to time thoughts of the afterlife cross my mind. My son Arghun loves his son Ghazan, and since he is his only son, he will not want to part with him, **[844]** but I desire that he be sent to me to learn to shoot sparrow hawks and *turumtai* [merlin] and to hunt *alaghu* [killer?] lions."

When Amir Qutlughshah delivered this message to Arghun, he said, "I have only this one son. How can I send him away? However, my father's command is law, so it would be best for me to go to court and take him there with me." At the beginning of the spring that fell in the year 673 [1275], he set out from Mazanderan for his father's court with the prince at his side **[A250]**, joining the court at Qonqur Öläng. When Abaqa Khan heard that they were arriving, he was so anxious to see the prince that he went out to greet them, and when he saw him he lifted him from his horse and sat him in front of his own saddle, rejoicing at the sight. Since he could discern traces of regality in his features, he said, "This boy is worthy of being with me, and I will raise him." Even though he already loved Arghun very much, his love for him increased on account of the affection he bore for Ghazan, and all the while he was

[1] Ábuskún was the port of Jurján (see Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 438) and is more or less the modern Bandar Turkman on the Caspian.

encamped Abaqa Khan was constantly engaged in banquets and revelry [845] and spreading largesse for the safe arrival of the child.

When it came time to send [Arghun] back, Abaqa Khan said, "Let your son Ghazan remain here for me to raise."

Since the senior Bulughan Khatun had no male child, Arghun said, "If so ordered, I will give him to Bulughan Khatun as a servant and page." Abaqa Khan approved.

Bulughan Khatun had already set out for Sughurluq, and Arghun went out a stage after her, offered her a goblet, and turned Ghazan over to her before returning to Khurasan. Bulughan Khatun was extremely happy and said, "This is a gift from God. He will be like a child of my own." Arghun left ten of his liege men with her—[among them were] Hasan, Kökä, Majar, Adram, Buqa, Qardaghmish, Quljai, and Altun Buqa Aqtachi of the Ongqut. [A251] Abaqa Khan said, "Let Ghazan be in this *ordu*, and let the *ordu* be in his name. After me, let this *ordu* belong to him, and let him be my successor."

In short, Prince Ghazan lived in Bulughan Khatun's *ordu*, and he attended Abaqa Khan's court. Since he was a child, [and] Abaqa Khan loved him more than his own young son Gaikhatu, if Gaikhatu hurt Ghazan during play, he punished him for it.

Since Abaqa Khan was annoyed by the press of crowds, when he married Tödäi Khatun, whom he loved very much, he took her nearly half a league away from the *ordus*, and none of his brothers or sons was allowed there. However, he loved Ghazan so much that he had him camp nearby, and in drunkenness and sobriety, in hunting grounds, during travel and at home, at any and all times, he kept Ghazan with him and could not bear to be away from him for a moment. He always used to say, "Great good fortune shows on the boy's head."

Ghazan was very precocious. [846] In his early youth he gathered children and youths and taught them the Yosun and Yasaq and methods of hand-to-hand combat. He assigned them to ranks of *aqa*, *ini*, *anda*, and *quda*, and if any of them trespassed his bounds, he requited him after the manner of the Yasa and chastised him. He did not engage in sport and play as other children do, but when he played he had images of men and horses made of felt and cloth, put arms on them, set them opposite each other like two opposing armies, and then ordered them to fight. [A252]

When he was five years old, Abaqa Khan turned him over to Yaruq Bakhshi for his education, and he taught him Mongolian and Uyghur writing and their sciences and customs. Over a period of five years he learned these things to perfection. Thereafter he began to learn to ride and shoot.

Still from his mouth came the odor of milk,
but his thoughts were on swords and arrows.

He constantly practiced falconry and rode horses in a manner that astonished all.

In the year 678 [1279–80], when Abaqa Khan went to Khurasan to repel the Qara'una army that had ravaged Fars, he took Bulughan Khatun and Ghazan with him. Arghun came out in greeting and joined the court at Simnan. Thus father and son saw each other again. When they moved out of Simnan, they went hunting at Akhri Koh,[1] which is between Simnan and Damghan. Prince Ghazan was eight years old. There he brought down prey, and since it was his first hunt, they stopped in Damghan for three days to perform *yaghlamishi* on his hand and celebrate.[2] Qorchi Buqa, who was a *märgän*, i.e. a good hunter, performed *yaghlamishi* on the prince. When

[1]This should be the fairly low (8000-foot) spur of the Alborz Mountains that eventually becomes the Kuh-i Daristan considerably east of the Simnan–Damghan line.

[2]For the Mongolian custom of *yaghlamishi*, see text p. 383 above.

he set out from Damghan, since it was early spring and the grass had not yet come up fully, he ordered Bulughan Khatun and Ghazan to go via Mazanderan while he took the Bistam road. They went via Shahrak-i-Naw and joined Abaqa Khan in the meadows of Radkan.

When Abaqa Khan set out for Kitu in Jam and Herat he sent Arghun Khan toward Ghor and Gharcha to repel the Qara'una. **[A253]** "If so commanded, let me go and offer my father a goblet," said Ghazan. Abaqa Khan assented, gave him a bottle of special wine, and told him to go after Arghun. **[847]** He offered him a goblet in Husayn's garden below Tus, bade him farewell, and returned.

When Abaqa Khan was sending Saljuq Khatun to Damavand, he sent Ghazan back with her. He summoned Maichu Bakhshi, Amir Taramdaz's father, and his mother Tükältäni and said, "I have complete trust in you, and so I am turning Ghazan over to you as a son. Yaruq Bakhshi of Cathay will also be with you. Go with Saljuq Khatun to summer pastures in Damavand so that Ghazan may have a good time." That summer they were in Damavand, and when autumn came and Abaqa Khan returned, Ghazan rejoined him at Varamin in Ray.

Abaqa Khan loved him so much that early in the morning he used to put an old hat on his head and go into Ghazan's quarters in disguise, get into bed and play with him, stripping him naked. He used to tell Ashi'tai Egächi not to put a pillow for him, and she did not. Although it is the custom of princes for a pillow to be bound to their saddles, he used to order that he be mounted on a bare saddle so that he would get toughened up.

Toqiyatai Khatun often used to say, "Since I have no child, if the padishah gives me Ghazan as a son, it is his to command." But since Abaqa Khan loved Bulughan Khatun very much and wanted her *ordu* to be Ghazan Khan's, he used to reply, saying, "His father Arghun gave him to Bulughan Khatun as a son. **[A254]** How can he be taken away from her?" He also used to say, "The signs of fortune and good luck on this child's forehead are obvious." He also used to quote a Mongolian proverb that says "He is like a tooth in the middle of a belly"—i.e. a soft belly in which a tooth has grown—and playfully he used to call him that.

When Abaqa Khan was returning from Baghdad and died in Hamadan on the 20th of Dhu'l-Hijja 680 [April 1, 1282], Ghazan was ten years old. He wept so much over the death that all the ladies and amirs were greatly moved by his grief.

Arghun Khan came from Khurasan and reached the *ordus* at Maragha, but he returned after Ahmad's enthronement. Ghazan remained, as before, with Bulughan Khatun.

In the year 681 [1282–83], when Bulughan Khatun was spending the winter in Baghdad, the princes Gaikhatu and Ghazan were with her. Ahmad was in Arran, and Arghun went from Khurasan to Baghdad, where he stayed that winter. When spring came Bulughan Khatun set out for Khurasan, and Arghun requested her and married her. Ghazan remained in her *ordu* as before. When Ahmad set out for Khurasan, **[848]** Arghun requested that he be allowed to return, as has already been stated in the section on Arghun.[1] She sent Ghazan to him, and he joined him in the vicinity of Simnan. Ahmad saw regal glory in him, showed him favor, and consoled him. At Bistam he gave him permission to withdraw. When Arghun came before Ahmad, Ildär was with Ahmad and spoke stupidly about Arghun. Ghazan was so eloquent on his behalf that all were astonished by his repartee.

[1] See text p. 789 above.

After God gave Arghun victory and he set out for Azerbaijan in pursuit of Ahmad, Bulughan Khatun also set out in that direction. Ghazan was left in Khurasan as Arghun's representative, and most of the *aghruq*s and *ev-oghlan*s, Esän Buqa, who was the officer of the *ordu*, **[A255]** and all the treasuries remained there for Ghazan.

Some time after [the senior] Bulughan Khatun died, Arghun married the [junior] Bulughan Khatun who is now alive and settled in her *yurt*. When he inventoried the storehouses of the deceased Bulughan Khatun, he took a few items of clothing and gold and silver utensils for himself. As for the rest, he said, "These stores, *yurt*, and *ordu* belong to Ghazan by order of Abaqa Khan. They are to be sealed." Those who had seen the storehouse reported that no one had ever possessed its like, for there were more jewels, utensils, and precious pearls therein than could be described. The reason for this is that, because Abaqa Khan loved Bulughan Khan excessively, every time he went into the treasury he picked up a precious jewel and gave it to her in secret. When the treasurers pilfered things after Bulughan Khatun's death, Ghazan found out about it and was constantly asking for an investigation, but the treasury remained sealed.

When Arghun Khan died, Gaikhatu married [the junior] Bulughan Khatun against her will and refused to let Ghazan go to her. As has already been said in the section on [Gaikhatu,[1] Ghazan] was sent back from Tabriz, which was hard for him to take, but he bore his lot patiently until he triumphed over Baidu after Gaikhatu's death and became padishah, at which time he married Bulughan Khatun.

In early Dhu'l-Hijja 694 [mid-October 1295] right was done, and when Arghun Khan came from Khurasan and mounted the throne, he left Ghazan there in his place. After that they never met again. His history in Khurasan during that period will be mentioned in two [upcoming] sections, God willing. **[849, A256]**

[1]See text p. 833 above.

His wives and children.

First Ghazan married Yedi Qurtqa, daughter of Mänggü Temür Gürägän of the Suldus; her mother was Tughlughshah, the sister of Mubarakshah (son of Qara Hülägü, son of Yesü[n]to'a, son of Chaghatai's son Mö'ätükän).

Next he married Bulughan Khatun Khurasani, daughter of Amir Tasu;[2] her mother was Arghun Aqa's daughter, [and her name was Mängli Tegin].

Next he married Eshil Khatun, the daughter of Noqai Yarghuchi's son Tugh Temür Amir-Tümän.[3]

Next he married Kökächi(n) Khatun, who had been brought from Mongolia; she was a relative of the senior Bulughan Khatun's, and he installed her in Toquz Khatun's and Toqiyatai Khatun's place.

Next he married Bulughan Khatun, the daughter of Otman and granddaughter of Abatai Noyan; by her he had a son named Alchu, who died in infancy.[4] [By her] he also had a daughter named Öljäi Qutlugh, whom he married to his nephew.[5]

Next he married Dondi Khatun, [daughter of Amir Aq Buqa; he had no children by her, and she died before Ghazan Khan].

Next he married Kärämü Khatun, daugh-

[2]This is yet a third Bulughan Khatun, of the Eljigin clan. See text p. 126 above. The senior Bulughan Khatun, who raised Ghazan, was a Baya'ut (text p. 138), and the junior Bulughan Khan, Otman's daughter whom Ghazan also married, was a Qunqirat (text p. 122).

[3]See text p. 868 and p. 924.

[4]He was born 9 Jumada I 697 (February 22, 1298); see text p. 933.

[5]See text p. 956 below for the marriage of Öljäi Qutlugh to Prince Bistam.

ter of Abatai Noyan's son Qutlugh Temür;[1] and he installed her in Kökächi Khatun's place. **[850, A257]**

Part Two, events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; a history of his reign and the battles he fought and the victories he achieved.

Events leading to his enthronement, from the time Arghun Khan stationed him as his viceroy in Khurasan until the time of Baidu's conquest.

His history in Khurasan during his father's time.

When Arghun Khan escaped, with the Creator's assistance, from Ahmad's clutches and went in pursuit of him to Azerbaijan, where he mounted the throne, he had left Prince Ghazan in his stead in Khurasan. He gave him that realm along with large troops and entrusted the border, which is one of the greatest frontier areas, to him. In accordance with his father's command he dwelt there and tended to the affairs of the region. Envoys were constantly coming and going for any and every item of business. Amir Nawroz was in attendance, and he performed valiantly in military affairs.

In Dhu'l-Hijja 687 [January 1289], when Prince Ghazan returned from wintering in Merv, and Nawroz, who was with him, grew apprehensive over the rumor that Buqa and his liege men had been killed, [A258] he said, "Since rumors of the foe are coming, I want to go home and inspect my *hazara*. If need be, I will mount on expedition." On this pretext he got permission and departed, leaving at court his wife Princess Toghan[2] with his mother, Sürmish, his brothers Yaratai Ghazan, Hajji, and Narin Hajji, and his nephews.

Arghun Khan sent Amir Tägänä as leader of the amirs and as governor to Khurasan, and he and Buqa were in attendance. Ghazan, however, did not find Tägänä's conduct pleasing, and since he did not suit his nature he could not do what he wanted. **[851]**

Amir Qutlughshah Noyan had returned from Azerbaijan and taken up residence in the Khujan[3] vicinity on account of an indisposition from which he was suffering. Nawroz went to Dara-i-Jaz,[4] which was their wintering place, and that winter Prince Kingshü spent the winter in Herat by imperial command. When spring came, Prince Ghazan decamped from Merv to Sarakhs and spent a few days there. After that, he went to Qara Tapa in Sarakhs and indulged in banquets and hunting while his animals were being fattened.

Because of the fear he harbored of Arghun on account of the accusation of Buqa, Nawroz kept sending messages with excuses saying that the gout prevented his coming to court. Summoning his troop commanders and his retainers, he said, "I have heard that a decree from Arghun Khan has reached Prince Ghazan, and it says, 'Because Nawroz and his henchmen conspired with Buqa they should all be ar-

[1] See text p. 937. Her name occurs indifferently as Kärämü and Kärämün.

[2] Variant: Toghanchaq ~ Toghanchuq, the Princess Toghanchuq of text p. 740 above, daughter of Abaqa Khan.

[3] In the text خوجان, an attested variant spelling of Qúchán; the variants in MSS L, I, & PB in JT_{AZ} have Khabúshán, the area along the Atrak River west of Quchan.

[4] Dara-i-Jaz is the modern Daragaz directly north of Rádkán and very near the Iranian border with Turkmenistan. There is another place of the same name near Gurzuwan in modern Afghanistan.

rested and executed.' " Because Prince Kingshü had married Nawroz's sister, [A259] Nawroz also sent him a message with similar contents that frightened him into joining him.

Around then Sadaq Tarkhan and Beglämish, whom Ghazan had sent to Arghun Khan's court, arrived. Ghazan stayed in Qara Tapa for a month. Rumors of Nawroz's insurrection and rebellion were rife, and during that time Amir Qutlughshah also arrived. Nawroz's mother Sürmish, Princess Toghan, and his brothers and nephews who were there asked for permission to leave on the pretext that Nawroz had given a daughter to Negübäi's son Sarban and everyone was waiting for them to go to hold the marriage. Promising to return after the banquet, they left and joined Nawroz.

In early Rabi' I 688 [late March–early April 1289] Ghazan decamped from Qara Tapa and went to Tus and Radkan. He sent Sadaq as an envoy to Nawroz to say, "We have decamped and will arrive there. You must come out to the Murghana River, which is the Kashafrod."[1] When Sadaq came before Nawroz, Nawroz seized him, tied him up tight, and beat him, asking, "You were at Arghun Khan's court. Tell me what he said about me!"

"It was all good," he replied. Then [Nawroz] threatened to kill him, and in fear of his life Sadaq mumbled a few meaningless words. [Nawroz's] mother, Sürmish, and Princess Toghan prevented Nawroz from killing him, but he was thrown into chains and put in prison. Then Nawroz sent word out and began to rebel.

Ghazan had camped at the Mu'in Bridge on the Kashafrod. [852] On Thursday the 27th of Rabi' I 688 [April 20, 1289] Nawroz and the soldiers he had attacked the royal camp. [A260] By chance, Buqa, Tägänä, Küräk, and other amirs had gone into the river, and such a huge throng had gathered that the camp had to be moved away from the river next to a hill. Since divine favor was with Ghazan, [when] Nawroz attacked he thought [the crowd] was the camp, so he encircled them, as was the Mongol custom. The alarm was given and shouts were raised. Through divine favor Ghazan had risen early and was washing his face with his intimates there, and Amir Qutlughshah was mounted. When the attack came and the shouts grew loud, Ghazan mounted and set out with Amir Qutlughshah via Nishapur for the Sangbast Ribat.[2] By divine grace he escaped from that unforeseen sedition.

Nawroz seized Amir Buqa, Tägänä, and Küräk and ordered the *ordu* and tents to decamp and sent them to Bazaw...gan.[3] Everything was plundered. He killed Buqa and kept Tägänä and the other amirs imprisoned with himself.

When Ghazan reached Nishapur, the amirs Satilmish[4] and Mulai were there and joined him. Then he set out for Mazanderan. His personal chain mail, to which he was quite attached and which was extremely fine, had been accidentally thrown away by the *akhtachis*. They looked for it for a long time, but it was never found. The reason for going to Mazanderan was that Prince

[1]The Kashafrod flows southeast from Rádkán into the Harírúd south of Sarakhs.

[2]Nishapur is the conventional Anglicized spelling. According to legend it was named Nay Shapur because it was a red beed *(nay)* at which the Sassanian Shapur founded a city. The Arabicized form is Naysábúr, although Abu'l-Fida (*Taqwim*, 450) says that in his day (ca. 1330) it was known as Nisávur and the name Naysábúr had been forgotten. Sangbast, still there, is roughly forty kilometers south of Mashhad, about half way between Mashhad and Farímán.

[3]This probably represents Buzangán, which lies half way between Mashhad and Sarakhs. The Arabicized name was al-Búzján, a dependency of Nishapur (see Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 454).

[4]Satilmish ~ Satalmish.

Hulachu was there, and rumors were being spread that he was in league with Nawroz, [A261] for Nawroz had written letters to the surrounding regions with the superscription *Hulachu yarlighindin, Kin[g]shü buyruqindin* ("by decree of Hulachu, by command of Kingshü").[1]

Ghazan, wanting to seize Hulachu before he could reach Nawroz, galloped as fast as he could and reached the outskirts of Shahrak-i-Naw on the fifth day after mounting in Nishapur.[2] Amir Kür Temür remained separate, and the amirs of the Mazanderan division joined the prince. Hulachu was outside Jurjan near Kur Daghi. On Friday the 7th of Rabi' II [April 30, 1289] they charged down on Hulachu. When they reached his tents the alarm was given. Hulachu had the gout. Without putting his boots on, he came out with his arrows and started to flee. When the soldiers reached his tent and didn't find him, the amirs Mulai and Bayanchar went out in pursuit of him. They seized him near Sang-i-Sawad, brought him back, and pillaged his tents. When they brought him before the prince and asked him about Nawroz, he denied everything, saying, "I have no knowledge of him. I was not allied with him. I have never had such a thought."

That day Ghazan camped in the vicinity of Jurjan. The next day he sent Hulachu to Arghun Khan escorted by Bai Temür. Remaining there one day, he held a review of troops [853] and then set out for Khabushan, Tus, and Radkan to repel Nawroz. On the seventh day he camped in Sultan Maydan in Kilidar,[3] a distance of nearly eighty leagues. At day's end information arrived from the scouts that the enemy's army had been spotted. An order was given for all the soldiers to arm themselves. When the enemy soldiers saw the victorious army from afar, [A262] they went to Radkan. That night the regal banners were in Sultan Maydan, and such a heavy rain came that most of the breastplates and armor were ruined. The next morning, the 15th of Rabi' II [May 8, 1289], the regal banners set out for Radkan in search of Nawroz.

At midmorning, in a place called Inchkä Su,[4] they came across Nawroz, and both sides drew up battle lines. The victorious army charged bravely and fought fiercely, particularly Amir Qutlughshah. On the other side Kingshü, Nawroz, and Tägänä stood firm, and eventually a chink was made in the army of this side and they fled, many regal banners left where they had stood. [Ghazan] ordered the amirs Qutlughshah, Satilmish, and Sö'ätäi to reassemble their troops, but no matter how hard they tried they couldn't do it. Then the regal banner moved out via Arghian to Juwayn.[5] On the heels of the amirs, Uighurtai Ghazan's and others' troops arrived, but from the entire region of Juwayn not a soul came to court except Mihtar Najibuddin Farrash, who came out and made obeisance as soon as they arrived in the village of Zerabad. He presented extremely fine horses and provided all manner of good service. (Of course, when the padishah became firmly seated on the throne he ordered that he be suitably rewarded. He made him an intimate at

[1]For the sense of the superscription, see note at text p. 829 above.

[2]The location of Shahrak-i-Naw ("Newburg") is not known, but according to the preceding citation (text p. 846) it should have been between Damghan and Radkan.

[3]Kilidar is still there, some forty kilometers west of Radkan and forty-five kilometers south of Qúchán; and Sultán Maydán is about five kilometers west of Kilídar.

[4]Inchkä Su is Turkish for 'narrow river,' which could be any of the many rivulets in the area.

[5]Juwayn is the district in Nishapur along the Juwayn River, which flows from the mountains north of Nishapur to south of Jájarm.

court, [A263] gave him the village of Zerabad, which was *enchü*, gave him a decree making him *tarkhan*, and appointed him as treasurer. In the village of Buzinjird, a dependency of Hamadan, the emperor built a *khanaqah* that is an extremely fine building and possesses many endowments in villages and real estate. The superintendence of the endowments was given to him and his offspring. In short, he received imperial favor, and everyone knows that anyone who performs good service for kings will be rewarded and gain respect in the eyes of all. Until the present, which is the reign of Öljäitü Sultan—may God make his reign eternal—he continues in that post and is highly respected. In truth he is an honorable man of good conduct and possessed of virtue who was worthy of the patronage of kings, and he constantly does charitable acts, and many pious, learned, and other people of all classes have benefited from his existence.)

In short, when the regal banners came near Jajarm, a council was held. "Would it be best for us to go to Arghun Khan's court," they asked, "or should we halt at Kalpush?"

"Since we have dispatched the envoys Yighmish and Irmini Bala," [854] Ghazan said, "we should wait patiently to see what order is given." He therefore stopped at Kalpush. Since that place was Uighurtai Ghazan's *yurt*, and since he also commanded Mazanderan, he performed good services. Scouts were stationed as far as Samanqan and Jarmaqan.[1]

During those days Nizamuddin Yahya came from Bayhaq,[2] bringing supplies for the *ordu*, fine horses, gold and silver utensils, [A264] tents and pavilions, carpets, vessels, pack animals, and camels. He performed good services for the amirs and then returned to Bayhaq as ordered to arrange for tribute and provisions for the army.

Two days prior to the battle with Nawroz, Amir Aladu and other Qara'una amirs had attacked Nawroz's tent and plundered everything. When Nawroz learned of this, he set out after them. Kingshü and the others camped in Radkan. As was the custom of the Qara'unas, after plundering they broke into two or three bands, deserting Amir Aladu, and some of them joined Nawroz while others went home, where they fomented strife and trouble. When Aladu saw how unruly and uncontrollable they were, he moved his tents to a protected valley in the vicinity of Badghis and went himself to court. Ghazan had clemency on him and showed him much favor.

For forty days camp was maintained in Kalpush. When the reinforcements arrived from Arghun Khan, their leader Prince Baidu and Nurin Aqa and his son joined the court and spent several days in banquets. From there they decamped for Samanqan under a favorable ascendant.

When Nawroz learned of the approach of the soldiers from Persia and realized that they were going to attack him, he sent his tents and retainers to Herat while he himself went to Jarmaqan. When he saw that he did not have the force to offer resistance, he turned back, and the victorious army went in pursuit of him as far as the Jam area. In the village of ...khar Saray, which is above Jam, Öljäitü and a band of Qara'unas surrendered along with Yäkä Yandun's son Tammachi, both Nawroz's liege men. [A265] When they reached Kharjird in Jam,[3] Nawroz had rounded up every quad-

[1]Jarmaqán (Arabicized as Sharmaqán) was a small town near Isfarayin. See Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 458.

[2]Bayhaq was the district west of Nishapur. Its seat was Khusrawjird (modern Khusrawgird just west of Sabzavár). See Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 442.

[3]Kharjird (modern Khargird) is a few kilometers south of Khwáf (now Rúd) on the road leading

ruped he could find in Khurasan—both those belonging to him and his soldiers and those belonging to the Arabs, Turcomans, and others. When the victorious army arrived on their heels, they found all the mountains and wilderness from the gates of Jam to the gates of Herat full of the animals he had rounded up. In several places some of them had sickened, died, and putrefied so badly that it was impossible to pass. The Mongols seized those animals and took them away: **[855]** in the villages a sheep was sold for a pittance. Since it had been ordered that no attention be paid to *olja* [booty], they couldn't take more. Nawroz picked up the cash and goods that were light enough to carry and set out through the waterless wilderness for Farah and Sabzawar[1] with Princess Toghan, his brothers' households, and a few others.

Since it was the hot season, Ghazan did not think it prudent to send his soldiers out after him, so he camped at the gates of Herat next to the Malan Bridge and sent the amirs out in search of Kingshü and the great *ordu* in Badghis. When Kingshü learned of this, he and his wife, children, and retainers left for the mountains of Ghor and Gharchistan. He had the amirs of the great *ordu*, Tägänä, and the Qara'una troops that were with him all decamp and go to Herat. It was a measure of Kingshü's steadfastness that during that entire period he had not spent one dinar from the personal treasuries or from the belongings and flocks and herds of the amirs' houses that were there—indeed, he had rendered good service.

Several days later they decamped from Herat **[A266]** and went to Radkan. From there Uighurtai Ghazan was sent with Tägänä to Arghun Khan's court to report on the situation in Khurasan. Despite the turmoil and rebellion that held sway in Khurasan, Ghazan did not neglect one iota of justice and equity and exerted himself to the utmost in taking care of the peasantry. He issued a decree that no soldier or anyone else put an animal in anyone's sown field or orchard. Absolutely they were not to graze their animals in grain fields, and they were not to cause damage to the land or use force on the peasants.

The Qara'una band that had been stationed in the vicinity of Jam was moved from Radkan to Shutur Koh for the summer, and there they spent their time indulging in revelry and wine with Prince Baidu, Amir Nurin, and other amirs, whom Ghazan received very well.

During that time reports came in from scouts that the enemy had been spotted, so the regal banners set out for Radkan. It turned out to be a false report. [Ghazan] was drinking so much wine that he developed an indisposition. From there they went to Khabushan, and his illness lingered for nearly forty days before he regained his health completely. During that time Amir Shiktür Aqa and Toghan arrived from Arghun Khan's court, and that summer and autumn they were in the vicinity of Khabushan, Radkan, and Shutur Koh. When the weather turned cold they decided to spend the winter in Nishapur. Ghazan spent the winter in Mawedi. Prince Baidu wintered in Shamagan **[856]** between Bayhaq and Nishapur. That winter the cold was extreme and so much snow fell that most of the horses died and the men were left to go on foot. **[A267]**

When the spring of 689 [1290] came, they moved to summer pastures in Radkan, Khabushan, and Shutur Koh. That year there was security on all fronts, and the strongboxes were brought from Arghun Khan's court and distributed among the

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southeast from Turbat-i-Haydariyya.

[1]Farah is the region, now in southwestern Afghanistan, northeast of Seistan. Sabzawar (now Shíndand) is north of the town of Farah.

soldiers. Toghan went to the Badghis vicinity and came back. In early summer, because provisions were not to be found in Khurasan, an order was given that Prince Baidu and the soldiers who had gone from Persia and Azerbaijan should return, and that Nurin Aqa should be in attendance. Ghazan went out as far as Bam and Arghian to bid farewell to Baidu, and then he returned.

During that summer a group of Qara'unas revolted and entered the district of Juwayn. Their leader was Danishmand Bahadur, and they wrought havoc. Amir Mulai was assigned to repel them. That summer and autumn Ghazan hunted in the vicinity of Khabushan and Radkan while the amirs saw to the affairs of the military and civil administration, collected taxes, and made arrangements for provisions.

Ghazan then ordered that the winter would be spent on the Tedzhen in Bavard, and he ordered a dam built on the river called Kal Tedzhen. He also founded several villages. That autumn Khwarazmi Tarkhan came from Arghun's court to review the fiscal operations in Khurasan. Ghazan ordered whatever had been commanded to be done. By command Toghan's agents in Quhistan were seized and brought to court, and all the scribes and tax collectors of Khurasan were imprisoned or put under guard.

Toward the end of the winter a group of Qara'unas revolted in Sarakhs and went to Merv. [A268] The regal banner set out for Dara-i-Murgha, and Aladu Noyan was sent to deal with them and bring them back into submission. For a time [Ghazan] was in Arjah and Shugan. From there he went to Sarakhs and camped at Qara Tapa, which is called Sher Sayl.

Amir Nawroz's rebellion.

In 690 [1291] a rumor was heard that Nawroz was coming with Sarban, Äbügän Oghul, Örüg Temür, Yisa'ur's amirs, and a large army to attack Khurasan. The reason for this was as follows.

Previously, when Nawroz withdrew in rout from Herat and fled, he went to Qaidu. After performing many services for him, he requested an army. As he requested, Qaidu sent him off with an army, and on his heels he dispatched his son Sarban with troops. [857]

*Amir Nawroz goes to Qaidu Khan in Turkistan.

Nawroz and a ragtag group crossed the Oxus and set out for Badakhshan to see Prince Qaidu, the son of Ögödäi Qa'an's son Qashin, saying, "A pawn won't become a queen unless it moves." When he came before Prince Qaidu he made a great display of his devotion and allegiance, but Qaidu interrogated him on the reason for his leaving his homeland. In answer he said, "It was this devoted slave's fervent wish to see this regal court, for reports of the honors to be attained here and the renown of the prince of this mighty court have spread throughout the world." Without mentioning his fright and fear, he related his history and finished his speech with these words: "He who knows and sees all is aware that I am more innocent than Joseph's wolf of the crime and treachery of which I have been accused."

Never has it crossed my tongue or mind, and never has it occurred to me.

"Then what was the cause of your rout and flight?" Qaidu asked.

"It is exactly like the story of the fox running in haste. A jackal asked why it was running away. 'The king is seizing donkeys,' the fox answered. 'Since you aren't a donkey,' the jackal said, 'why are you running away?' 'My friend,' the fox replied, 'before it can be proven that I am not a donkey, I would suffer many injuries from pitiless nobodies.' "

Qaidu was highly pleased by this story, showed him great favor, and housed him near himself, undertaking to give him much more.

For three years Nawroz wandered through Turkistan like a donkey in mud or a chameleon in water, making up for his unfortunate period. Since he was by nature stubborn and proud, even in exile and want he conducted himself with Qaidu's amirs and advisors not like a stranger or a guest, for Nawroz had lived for thirty years in the center of the realm of Iran and Khurasan in luxury, wealth, and splendor under the Mongol khans, and in the Third and Fourth Climes his father Arghun Aqa's word was law [858] and he possessed untold lands, property, cash, herds, and flocks. Among a foreign people, although he had lost his nobility and lands and abandoned home and family, he could not tolerate Qaidu's amirs' overbearing demeanor, and they did not show him respect or conduct themselves in a friendly manner. This notwithstanding, he did not give in and kept on as haughty as before until he grew homesick and asked for permission to return home. After showing him much favor, Qaidu gave him thirty thousand horsemen with the princes Äbügän and Örüg Temür and the amirs Yisa'ur, Köpäk, and others as reinforcements and sent them to attack Khurasan and wipe out Nawroz's enemies. The soldiers they had stationed in the vicinity of Amuya were also put under their command as well as the soldiers that wintered and summered with [Qaidu's] son Sarban on the banks of the Oxus, Badghis, and Sheberghan. Nawroz set out in the vanguard.

In the year 690 [1291] reports came in that Nawroz was headed for Khurasan with the armies of Transoxiana and Turkistan.*[1] Ghazan sent Qabartu out with a body of warriors to reconnoiter. They went as far as the Murghab and returned, saying, "The foe is really coming, and there are many soldiers." Since the soldiers were not assembled at the time, they decamped from Qara Tapa and set out for the place known as the Murghana, or Kashafrod, and waited for Amir Qutlughshah and his soldiers, who were wintering in Herat, to arrive. Amir Könchäk was sent to summon the soldiers of Mazanderan.

When they reached the Mu'in Bridge, Amir Mulai asked for permission to go to Quhistan in order to bring the soldiers who were there. Since reports of the enemy's approach were pouring in, they decamped from there and camped above Imam Riza's shrine,[2] [A269] waiting for Amir Qutlughshah.

One day Qaban Akhtachi came from Azerbaijan, reporting that the amirs who had fomented rebellion there had killed Joshi, Ordu Qaya, and Sa'duddawla and sent him [Qaban] together with several trouble-makers to stir up trouble in Khurasan. He had come and reported that the armies of Azerbaijan and Persia were coming from Arghun Khan. [Ghazan] was perceptive and clever enough to realize that what Qaban was saying was a lie, but since reports on the foe were constantly coming in, he did not bother to investigate the matter.

The next day Amir Qutlughshah arrived and reported that the enemy army had reached the Sangbast Ribat. Ghazan rewarded him, gave him a royal tunic, and sent him back by night to bring the soldiers to him the next morning below the shrine so that they could do battle. [859]

At midnight a report came in from the scouts that the enemy army had crossed the

[1] This section is given in JT_{AZ} in приложение 4 (p. 477f.).

[2] I.e. the shrine that has since become the city of Mashhad.

Mu'in Bridge. The prince realized that the imperial *ordu* and the ladies would have to be sent to Isfarayin that night. The next morning, which was the first of Rabi' II 690 [April 3, 1291], he mounted. The amirs Nurin Aqa, Aladu, Uighurtai Ghazan, and others were in attendance. Having moved to below Imam Riza's shrine, he stopped there for a moment and arrayed the army while waiting for Amir Qutlughshah's arrival in order to do battle. At noon Chamcha came from Amir Qutlughshah and said, "When we reached the Sangbast Ribat, all the soldiers had set out in the direction of Nishapur for Janak and Ishaqabad." **[A270]** On his heels came Amir Qutlughshah. After a while the army came into view. Since they were many, and there were only a few on this side, the amirs held council to decide whether to fight or not.

"It would not be wise for us to fight them," said Aladu as he quoted the Mongolian proverb: " 'It is easy to tangle with a foe but hard to break loose.' You have answered to Arghun Khan for many battle days," he continued. "This day I will be answerable."

The prince decided they would pull back to a place where all the soldiers could gather, and from there he had them go to Radkan, with the enemy on their heels. At the end of the day they fell upon the enemy army near Tus and did battle. The next day they decamped, stopping in several places to do battle. It happened that he stopped for the night in Sultan Maydan, and the next morning he decamped. Aladu said, "Since battle is not possible now, and my tents and those of most of the soldiers have gone toward Juwayn, if so commanded, let me go in search of them." Having been given permission, he left. Ura Temür, the father of Shirin Egächi, also said, "My tents and soldiers have gone to Nishapur. Let me go bring them." He too departed.

Uighurtai Ghazan loved Prince Mubarakshah's daughter Tüzmish Khatun, and he had sent her with his tents to Kabudjama. He had in mind to get her and go to Nawroz. He too left on the pretext that he was going in search of his tents **[A271]** and to organize the Mazanderan soldiers and guard that region. Having received permission, he left too.

The amirs Nurin Aqa, Qutlughshah, and Sö'ätäi were in attendance. [Ghazan] had them move along the Arghian road. News of the foe was constantly coming in. In Isfarayin he stopped for a moment, passed on from there, and camped in the village of Kisirgh,[1] a dependency of Isfarayin. **[860]** At midnight Nurin, Qutlughshah, and Sö'ätäi learned that a band of Qara'unas which they had brought into the *ordu* for ___,[2] were intending to rebel and had conspired to revolt and withdraw. They reported this situation, and they thought it wise to move off and let Amir Qutlughshah stop and tend to the situation while the regal banners proceeded toward Jurbad, arriving the next morning. The band pulled back from there and fell upon the tents of Könchäk, Qutlugh Khwaja, and other *sükürchis*, plundered everything they could find, and joined the enemy.

The enemy army kept on coming in pursuit as far as Jurbad. When the padishah arrived there he ordered the tents of Sartaq's son Qachir, Suqar, Sö'ätü, and other Qara'unas who had camped there to go to Jajarm and Bistam, and he stayed there until the end of the day. When Amir Qutlughshah arrived and reported the approach of the enemy, he decamped and went to Jajarm, where he stayed the night. The enemy pulled back from Jurbad.

More killing, pillage, and destruction

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[1]Kisirgh ~ Kisirq: the name is verified by Ala'uddawla Simnani, "Fi dhikr asami mashayikhih," *Opera Minora*, p. 5.

[2]Unknown word, باباى.

were wrought that year in Khurasan than can be described. The city of Nishapur was besieged, but God kept the people safe, through Ghazan's fortune, from falling into the evil hands of the infidels. **[A272]** However, the villages were raided and many captives were carried away. In Barubaqi in the Nishapur vicinity, where the people are courageous warriors, the enemy attacked, but it is a well fortified place, and many people took refuge there with their belongings and animals. The enemy went into a valley, and the local people poured down on them from the slopes, killing nearly a thousand of the enemy's horsemen. Pulling back from there, they went to the Mashhad shrine in Tus and plundered it. They even carried off four silver globes that had been placed on top of the tomb. In Khurasan so many soldiers were killed that when they reached Badghis and had a review, nearly five thousand horsemen were missing. For this Nawroz was indicted and beaten.

The next day the royal banners moved out of Jajarm and went to Bistam and Damghan. All the amirs knew of Arghun Khan's death, but they kept it from Ghazan. When he reached Bistam he stopped there for a day because the ladies were there. From there he went to Damghan. Prior to that he had sent Aladu's brother Abishqa on a mission to Arghun Khan. When he heard of Arghun Khan's death he stopped in Damghan, all the inhabitants of which had gone away. Some had gone with Shah Ildüz to Gird Koh, and others had holed up in the village of Mayan,[1] **[861]** a well fortified place. Therefore Abishqa turned back from Damghan **[A273]** and rejoined the court at Bistam to report on the situation of the people of Damghan.

When the royal banners stopped in Damghan, not a soul came out, and no gifts, provisions, or fodder had been arranged. Ghazan Khan grew angry and ordered the notables of the town, who were holed up in Mayan, to come out, but they refused. He therefore ordered the place besieged, and after three days and nights of battle, they asked for amnesty and submitted, presenting a large quantity of cash, goods, provisions, cattle, and sheep for the soldiers. Ghazan Khan was so clement and kind that he pardoned these offenders, but he ordered the fortress destroyed. (After his enthronement he had the place rebuilt.) From there he proceeded to Simnan.

In the midst of all this, Mu'inuddin Mustawfi, the divan chief, and a group of *bitigchis* who were going to Nishapur were seized and brought to court. He paid them no attention and ordered their patents and *al tamghas* [red seals] given back to them. They were given permission to depart.

When Ghazan Khan reached Simnan, the amirs held council and informed him of Arghun Khan's death. The prince held mourning there and ordered the feathers removed from hats according to Mongol custom. Amir Mulai came across the desert to Simnan from Quhistan and joined the court, where he was very well received. An order was given that Amir Satilmish's sister should be given to him.

When Uighurtai Ghazan left Sultan Maydan and went to Kabudjama and Jurjan, he still had the same dastardly notion. Picking up Tüzmish, he went to Sultan Duvin and Astarabad, where he announced that the province belonged to Qaidu. **[A274]** He also harassed the Mongol soldiers who were in the area and stirred up trouble. Since the great amirs were not present, Saighan Ayachi, Mamlaq, and others conspired to make a surprise attack on him and drive him away. They pursued him until they chased him out of Jurjan and Kabudjama. He and a few others became wander-

[1] Máyán, still there, a few kilometers east of Dámghán.

ers. Prior to that he had harassed the sayyids, citizens, and peasants in Mashhad of Tus. [862]

Ghazan Khan's situation after Arghun Khan's death until he sets out for Azerbaijan during Gaikhatu's reign and then returns from Tabriz to Khurasan.

After that, the royal banners stopped for a few days in Simnan before moving out for Firozkoh via Damavand near Mishan, where they camped for a few days. Bulughan Khatun Khurasani gave birth to a son there, but the child died.

When they came to Firozkoh news arrived that Gaikhatu was coming from Anatolia. The amirs who had stirred up trouble in the *ordu* dispersed, some joining Gaikhatu and others uniting with Baidu. Toghan fled to Khurasan. Therefore Ghazan ordered that Mulai be arrested and imprisoned. When the news arrived that Toghan had been seized, Mulai was set free through the amirs' intercession.

When the news of Gaikhatu's election as padishah was confirmed, Amir Qutlughshah was sent as emissary to Gaikhatu to report on the devastation of Khurasan and the army there. A group of amirs like Horqudaq, Cha'urchi's son Qara, [A275] Qutlugh Temür, and others was sent to Khurasan.

In the summer of 690 [1291], [Ghazan] camped in the village of Asiran, which is between Firozkoh and Simnan and is also called Nägätü Yaylaq, and there he constantly held banquets and hunted while the administrators gathered provisions for the soldiers and collected the taxes of the province.

Amir Qutlughshah reached Gaikhatu's court in Arran and reported the situation, but Gaikhatu was too busy with revelry and sport to pay much attention. Amir Qutlughshah returned to Ghazan Khan.

In the autumn the royal banners proceeded to Damghan and Bistam and from there to Kalpush. Qutlugh Khwaja and Lala were sent to Bayhaq to summon Nizamuddin Yahya because he had committed outrages in Khurasan like killing a group of notables even though they were attached to him and taking too much from the people. Fearful, he declined to come.

The royal banners went via the fortress of Janashik to Jurjan. That winter was spent in Sultan Duvin in Astarabad.

Gaikhatu sent Prince Anbarchi and the amirs Doladai, Qunchuqbal, and El Temür to Ghazan to reinforce the army of Khurasan, and they paid homage to him in Sultan Duvin and were ordered to winter in the Qara Toghan area.

Toward the end of winter reports had it that Nawroz had come to the Nishapur area and was headed for Juwayn to get Nizamuddin Yahya out of the Andimad fortress. [A276] Since the weather was still cold and the animals were lean, the royal banners went to Kalpush and spent a few days there. Heralds were dispatched in all directions. [863] Nawroz and a few men made a raid as far as Juwayn and then pulled back.

The royal banners returned to Jurjan to fatten up the animals.

In the early spring of 691 [1292] he sent Prince Anbarchi and the forces that had come with him to Dehistan, Yazir, Nasa, and Abivard. Horqudaq was sent with them to arrange for provisions and necessities lest they harass the countryside and wreak devastation. The royal banners also set out.

That year, there was such scarcity on account of the disturbances in Khurasan that a hundred maunds of grain could not be purchased for a hundred dinars. Khwaja Sa'duddin was appointed over all the divan chiefs to arrange for the soldiers' provisions and to collect the taxes of Khurasan, Mazanderan, Qumis, and Ray. During that ex-

pedition most of the soldiers derived sustenance by hunting.

The royal banners camped along the banks of the Herat River, which is the Chuqchuran.[1] They were greatly hindered in crossing by the flooding of the river. Prince Anbarchi and the amirs of Persia arrived.

News came from a scout that the enemy army had been spotted. The royal banners moved to Badghis and camped in Yoldaq in Badghis. Heralds were sent in all directions, but no sign or news of the foe was found anywhere. **[864]** Since the soldiers' provisions were exhausted, and supplies were not to be had, the soldiers stole each other's horses and ate them. **[A277]** They were sorely vexed by lack of food. The amirs reported the situation. "The barley in Herat is nearly ripe," they said. "It would be best to go there." So saying, they set out and camped beside the Malan Bridge. The nobles and grandees of Herat were not in the city because of the strife and turmoil. Malik Shamsuddin Kurt was residing in the Khaysar Citadel, and he had imprisoned his eldest son, Fakhruddin, on account of an offense he had received. His younger son, Ala'uddin, he had sent to be in attendance at court.

Since the province of Herat had been devastated by the passage of troops and had not been restored, Ghazan had clemency on the inhabitants and ordered that they not be harassed. The people of Fushanj,[2] however, had gone into the fortress, and when the armies of Persia arrived and had requested provisions, they had not given anything and fought. Ghazan Khan was angered by their action and ordered that place besieged. It was taken with much difficulty, and many horses, cattle, sheep, and provisions were taken from there, and most of the people were taken captive. **[865]**

When the royal banners pulled back from Herat they went to Fushanj. The people there reported their plight, and [Ghazan] had mercy on them, ordering their women and children who had been taken captive all to be returned. Thus having won them over, he mounted under favorable auspices and set out for Radkan.

Since Gaikhatu was not sending money for the troops of Khurasan, and many soldiers had assembled there, [Ghazan] decided to go to Gaikhatu and orally report the situation exactly as it was. Later, however, he canceled his trip and went to Shutur Koh. Since there was no report of the foe, and since provisions could not be found, he gave Prince Anbarchi and the armies of Persia and Azerbaijan permission to leave.

[Ghazan] spent the summer at Shutur Koh and built the Murad Pavilion. **[A278]** Never before had rulers built anything in that area.

Around that time news arrived that rabble had gathered in the town of Jizhad in the district of Khwaf, put to death the sons of the malik of Zuzan and a group of notables of the area, and taken a fortress. An order was given for the amirs Sö'ätäi and Mulai to mount an expedition to deal with them. When they approached, Shah Ali, the son of the malik of Seistan, had come from Quhistan greedy for Khwaf and laid siege to the fortress. **[866]** The amirs attacked him and drove him away, seizing his soldiers, putting most of them to death, and plundering their possessions and animals. Shah Ali managed to get out of the fray by stealth and took flight.

After that, the amirs rendered the fortress submissive, killing the troublemakers and fomenters of strife. They placated the peasantry and sent them back to their labor

[1] I.e. the modern Chaghcharan in Afghanistan.

[2] Fushanj (~ Pushang ~ Bushanj) is a well-known village seven leagues from Herat (Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 454).

before withdrawing.

In Sha'ban of 691 [July–August 1292], an order was given for Imaduddin the *khatib* of Nishapur, a grand man who had overstepped his boundaries on account of rumors about Nawroz, to be arrested and brought from Nishapur for execution.

That summer nothing much happened. When winter came [Ghazan] wintered in Sultan Duvin in Astarabad. He sent Amir Nurin to Samanqan and Shaqan.

In early spring a rumor of the foe was heard, and the royal banners set out toward Jurjan, Shahrak-i-Naw, and Murchabad. There Amir Nurin came to court. In early 692,[1] he decamped from there and spent a few days in Samalqan. Reconnoiterers were sent out in all directions, and the rumor proved to be false, so once again he thought of going to Azerbaijan. **[867, A279]**

Ghazan goes to Ala Tagh to see Gaikhatu, but he turns back from Tabriz; Nawroz is routed; the victory at Nishapur.

Having consulted with the amirs, he decided to go to Azerbaijan. Stationing the great amir Qutlughshah Noyan and others to guard Khurasan, he turned back at Samanqan with the amirs Nurin, Satilmish, and Sö'ätäi in attendance. Proceeding via Shahrak-i-Naw, they entered Mazanderan. Amir Qutlughshah also came to be in attendance as far as Tamisha. Then, having wed Jirghutai's daughter, he turned back. The royal banners proceeded from Tamisha to Shuzil in the province of Mazanderan,[2] where the great *ordu* was. Nearly thirty-one leagues were traversed in one night. One of the *muqaddams* [chieftains] of Mazanderan took fright and did not come to court, for which he was branded a rebel. Ghazan, however, did not pay much attention and continued on toward Persia and Azerbaijan via Shahdiz into Firozkoh.

Halting for several days at Damavand, he assigned Amir Satilmish and Khwaja Sa'duddin to assess and collect the taxes of Khurasan, Mazanderan, Qumis, and Ray and to see to troop provisions, and then he set out for Tabriz, **[868]** accompanied by Nurin Aqa. He sent Yighmish ahead to announce his arrival, but he returned to him in the vicinity of Abhar and said, "Gaikhatu says, 'What need had Ghazan of coming here? He should return to Khurasan. Let him send others to conduct his business, and his requests will be granted.' "

Ghazan said, "Since we've come this far, how can we turn back without having seen each other?" He sent Amir Aladu and Mulai ahead by post horse to conduct his business while he continued on toward Tabriz. At Pul-i-Zirih, **[A280]** Arghun Khan's elite khwajas Najib, Ambar, and Rayhan came.

When he reached Tabriz under good auspices he stayed there several days, but Gaikhatu's emissaries arrived one after another to say, "Let Ghazan turn back." In the end Kämjü and Nardu arrived and said, "He said for you to turn back this very day. He has also sent a little something."

Ghazan paid no attention and replied, saying, "Since he doesn't want to see us, we don't want to see him a hundred times over." So saying, he withdrew from Tabriz under favorable auspices and camped in Yüz Aghach. He requested Amir Tugh Temür's daughter Eshil Khatun, and the marriage was held there.

Amir Muhammad Idächi, who had been named as amir of Isfahan, **[869]** arrived and presented suitable gifts. He was warmly received and became a member of the court.

A month later the royal banner set out

[1]The year 692 began on December 12, 1292.

[2]Neither "Tamisha" nor "Shuzil" has been identified; Arends reads them similarly, из Тамишэ...до Шузиля (p. 156). Tamisha occurs on text p. 792 and again on text p. 923; "Shuzil" does not occur again.

toward Khurasan. At Abhar, the khwaja and other emissaries Arghun Khan had sent to the Qa'an to bring back one of the senior Bulughan Khatun's relatives to be put in her place arrived with Kökächin Khatun and Chinese and Cathaian rarities suitable for kings. Ghazan Khan camped there and married Kökächin Khatun. After the marriage was concluded, he sent a tiger and several of the other gifts to Gaikhatu. Then he set out for Damavand.

When he reached the vicinity of Firozkoh, emissaries from Amir Qutlughshah arrived to give him the good news that they had done battle with Nawroz and defeated him, and that he had withdrawn in rout and on foot to the mountains of Nishapur. All of his possessions, herds, and horses had been captured.

The royal banners set forth for Damghan and Bistam. At Bistam, Amir Qutlughshah and the amirs arrived to present the booty they had taken, and they were shown all sorts of favor. [A281]

From there they entered Jurjan via the Khurramaba Rod and camped in Sultan Duvin in Astarabad, where they banqueted and hunted. Amir Qutlughshah fell critically ill from having drunk too much, and the physicians were ordered to attend him until he regained his health. From that time on, he swore off drink, and until the present he has not had a drop.

Kia Salahuddin, who avoided presenting himself when they reached his territory on their way to Azerbaijan, came forth upon the return from Tabriz and presented himself at court in Ray. Through Amir Nurin's and other amirs' intercession Ghazan Khan pardoned his offense. However, no sooner had he returned to his own territory than he rebelled again. Ghazan Khan ordered Amir Sö'ätäi to deal with him. That winter he was polished off, [870] and much wealth and many animals were brought from there to be divided among the soldiers.[1]

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[1]Beginning here JT_K has two versions of the text printed in two columns, extending to p. 878. The left-hand column agrees with the text of JT_{AZ} and is translated above. The right-hand column contains the following wordier and somewhat fuller account:

When the spring of 693 [1294] began, the prince set out toward Damghan in the direction of Damavand, emerging via Sultan Maydan at Firozkoh. He summered at Damavand, engaging every day in celebrations, banquets, hunts, and falconry. Amirs Mulai and Horqudaq reported that the people of Nishapur were about to rebel. The prince sent envoys and edicts containing promises and threats, but it did no good. At the beginning of autumn he set out to hunt, and in Dhu'l-Qa'da 693 [September 23–October 22, 1294] he arrived at Nishapur and stopped in Mawedi. In the lead Sahib Sa'duddin Sawaji was sent into the city as an emissary to advise the people to make peace and surrender. Qazi Sadruddin, Pahlavan Umar, and the people of Nishapur hastened out to him, and he gave them promises and threats. In reply they said, "We are servants, but we fear for our heads and our lives. If we receive assurances of our lives, we will make haste to come out." [871]

Sa'duddin undertook to report this to the court in such a way that no harm would come to them or to their possessions. Immediately Qazi Sadruddin, Pahlavan Umar, and a huge crowd came out of the city and went to the great amirs.

From Mawedi the prince decamped to the outskirts of Nishapur. He granted the miscreants surety of their lives and said, "How can we let the kingdom and subjects be ruined or driven to desperation by the seditiousness of a group of ignorant busybodies? You are commanded to turn over the group who have been causing sedition, Fakhruddin Ra'is, Husamuddin Aybak Khita'i, Abubakr Ayisha, Usman Mishkani, and Muhammad Abdul-Malik, and to pay the tribute so that we may withdraw from here in safety." The Nishapuris made excuses to keep from surrendering them. An order was given for the Nishapuris to be besieged. The people of the city took refuge in the congregational mosque. The soldiers plundered the city quarters and then headed for the mosque. Within one hour they had made holes in the mosque walls in several places, and cries and pleas for amnesty arose from the women and men. Out of his great clemency the prince forgave the wretches despite the enormity of their transgressions and forbade the soldiers to kill [872] or pil-

lage. However, because the soldiers had poured down all at once into battle, it was not possible to keep them from it, so the prince himself mounted and went into the city, where he executed several soldiers and commanded that their limbs be hung on the gates. With this, the soldiers ceased killing and pillaging. The troublemakers were found and put to death. Not a single human being was allowed to be taken prisoner, and not a single animal was taken out of the city.

Then, after the citizens were placated, they were set to restoring and planting. An order was given for Qazi Sadruddin and Pahlavan Umar to come to the prince, and the imperial banners headed toward Mazanderan, where the winter was spent in Sultan Duvin.

The story of Nawroz's regret and repentance and his subsequent surrender and obedience.

Although Amir Nawroz had been renowned in Khurasan for his courageousness, valor, and bravery, he was blamed by all for his rebellion against his benefactor. For a long time, free of all encumbrance, he stumbled around like a blind camel, spending every night in a different place like the moon, [873] never staying in the same place two nights in a row. When he struck in all directions, he and his mighty soldiers charged right and left. He concentrated solely upon discharging tasks of utmost danger and taking on difficult expeditions. He stirred up trouble and unrest, his mind was plagued by demonic temptations and selfish thoughts, and he tormented himself with imaginings. What his end would be was hidden from him. Toghan Khatun, his sympathetic wife and confidant, was a princess of great intelligence, and between them was total agreement and affection. When she saw her husband sorrowful, regretful, and saddened, she loosed her tongue in good advice, saying, "Friend of my bosom and kind confidant, know that there is a cause for every thing. Every cause has a motivation, and every motivation has a manifestation. The affairs of the world are based upon happiness as well as upon misery. Since, as a matter of course, throne and fortune do not always favor a person, and felicity seeks to turn away from favoring a person, the more you think something is beautiful, the uglier it appears. A wise man, however, should remain firm and stable in the face of the mutability of affairs. [874] Even though things may deviate from the center of your desire, in the end they will come back to the initial point, like the circumference of a circle, and return to the beginning. To place one's foot on a bramble or to put one's hand on a snake's tail is better than withdrawing the foot of resignation into the skirt of inattention. It often happens that fate veils the countenance of what is right from a wise and clever man, and destiny hides the right course of action from him. In the face of fate manliness and competence are not enough, and bravery and courage do little good against chance. There has never been a rose without thorns or wine without a hangover. In the end, these impossible knots are solved, and old wounds heal. You have been given such mighty things to do and been handed such a difficult fate, and yet you have learned nothing from them. It is not hidden from the wise that one cannot box with a banner or strike a blow to a wave in the sea. Now, if you want rest and repose, and you regret and repent what has passed, go to the Prince of the World, gird your loins with the belt of obedience, stand before him on one foot like a candle, keep yourself solely among the ranks of his favored servants, for your welfare and safety lie in submitting and surrendering to him and in abandoning disputatiousness, quarrelsomeness, and contentiousness. [875] Relative to the prince's generosity and valor, your offense is like a dust mote next to a mountain or like a mosquito next to a raging storm. By humility and entreaty wash away the dust of contention from the page of his mind with the water of apology and amends, for a sincere apology has a great effect in clearing away difficulties. Clear the air of your offense by showing the innocence of your intentions and the truth of your speech. Live the rest of your life in the shade of his daily-increasing imperial fortune."

For a moment Nawroz remained transfixed, as silent as a fish. Finally he smiled like a rose blossoming and said, "I am worrying about the final outcome and thinking of my head. A head is not a leek that will grow back when it is cut.

Beware! Keep a lookout for the right moment, for you are not a leek that will grow back when it is cut.

Nonetheless, no matter how many the causes for contention may have been, the right action for us lies in truce, and success lies in accepting this advice. If the prince agrees and fortune is favorable, therein lies the best course for us."

When this notion had taken root in their minds, [876] she sent Eygü Temür Khatun, a relative and co-religionist of hers, to the prince's court to convey Nawroz's regret and repentance. "He is sorry for what he has done," she said, "and hopes for pardon through your clemency. At present he is not in

rebellion against the court. If, through the machinations of fate and destiny, he was emboldened to undertake unwarranted actions, it was out of fear for his life. If the prince grants him pardon, deigns to overlook his offenses, and accepts to gaze upon him with favor and reckon him among his servants, he will have ennobled him and elevated his head to the skies. Henceforth, so long as there is life in his body, he will serve single-mindedly."

When Ghazan heard this good news he was greatly relieved, for he considered Nawroz's support to be a major part of his fortune, but he did not pay much attention to the woman's words.

Around the first of Muharram 694 [November 21, 1294] Nawroz sent his good liege men Satilmish and Esän Buqa with a few others to the prince's court to say, "Even though your old but guilty servant Nawroz has committed too many offenses to hope for pardon, [877] he has not despaired of the innate generosity and valor of his master and son of his master. He conveys his submission, servitude, weakness, and humility and says that despite his thousands of sins he is still a servant and servant's son to this dynasty. Having been duped into disloyalty and bewitched by self-interested persons, who succeeded in creating a rift between the sun and its shadow, he says, 'I am miserable in being deprived of court and the sight of the imperial countenance. Like a gristmill, I revolve around myself and remain where I was in the beginning. If no crimes were committed by servants, kings' ability to pardon would never have appeared. If the prince will wash away this slave's sin with the water of pardon and penance, henceforth, as long as there is life in my body, I will act and strive in servitude. I am ready to apologize for my shortcomings and to make expiation for what has passed for the remainder of my life provided that the prince not remember my past offenses and not remind me of my past faults and slips. "We will make up and take the path of fidelity anew provided that no one remember what has passed." ' " [878]

The prince, moved by the great clemency in his innate nature, accepted this sincere repentance and apology and forgave him his faults and offenses.

If you still intend to make peace, come back, for you will be more acceptable than you were.

Then the prince said, "Kindness and forgiveness should never be denied to offenders. If Nawroz's heart is at one with his tongue and he keeps his word, we will overlook all his crimes and offenses."

On both sides a solemn pact and covenant was written. When the pact was completed, Nawroz's people said, "If a troop comes as reinforcements to Maruchuq so that Nawroz can join them when he severs his connections with the enemy, it would be good, for if the enemy learns of it and comes after us, together we can repel the foe."

In reply the prince said, "Since it is the dead of winter, and the borders and frontiers are secure, we will move out to that region as though to go hunting." Then he showed kindness to Satilmish and Nawroz's other amirs and sent them off with an edict restoring Nawroz to favor. Nawroz was as overjoyed at this news as a lover is with the arrival of his beloved. He made a pact with Örüg Temür Gürägän to clear all traces of the enemy from the Amuya vicinity. When this news spread abroad, Örüg Temür was chided and blamed. Frightened, Nawroz pulled back and took his troops to strike Yisa'ur and kill some people. Thus his connection to the amirs of Transoxiana was completely severed. Nawroz took the road to Khurasan.

When Prince Ghazan saw that the words [of Nawroz's envoys] were free of digression and ornament, he judged the inner contents by the title on the cover, but he submitted the test of this coin to the opinion of the amirs. Each one spoke in accordance with his station and ability. The great amirs Nurin and Qutlughshah said supportively, "Nawroz is a man of cunning, and it is not known whether at base he is fair or foul. To make peace with one's enemies is like having a serpent as a companion. It would be best to draw him here by the magnet of enticements and the amber of promises. [879] If he accepts the message and comes willingly and without displaying signs of rebellion and disobedience, then his heart must be in conformity with his tongue. This is what occurs to your majesty's servants: your majesty may add to it whatever seems appropriate to him."

Since fortune was favoring the Prince of the World, he paid no attention to them and said, "Based on the pact and covenant that have been made, there is firm friendship and trust on both sides."

The prince decided to go there. While hunting with the amirs Nurin and Qutlughshah and many soldiers, he proceeded toward Yazir, Nasa, and Abivard. When he reached Kushk and Bir Husayn in the Yazir region, Nawroz's brother Hajji and Chardu Bahadur's son Injil [Ejil?] came again as emissaries and repeated what they had said before. The prince showed them favor.

From there he went to Dasht-i-Khawaran near Sarakhs. Now this was in the dead of winter, and there was bitter cold, and it was raining and snowing. In the middle of Safar [January 4, 1295] they decamped and stopped in Dalan Quduq, from which they went to Sheberghan. When they emerged from the mountains and hills, between Merv and Sheberghan they saw a vast plain filled with many tents and animals grazing. Out of suspicion they stopped where they were, thinking, "If, God forbid, he had had any thought of mutiny or treachery, much damage could have been wrought by his might."

Prince Ghazan ordered Ba'udai, the chief officer of the *qorchis* (meaning that the *saqa* and the *gäjigä* [rear guard] were in his charge), to investigate that army. He went in haste and quickly came back to Nawroz's liege man Satilmish and said, "This army is Nawroz's horde." The prince sat atop a hill, thinking and looking down on the valley in amazement. Nawroz had might, power, and strength.

When Nawroz learned of the prince's arrival, he and Princess Toghan came out of their tent in the midst of all that cold and snow, mounted, and went out to greet him. Near the town of Baghshor, which the Mongols call Möre Shupurghan, he was honored to perform *tägishmishi*. Presenting nine fine horses, he said, " 'To place a locust's leg before Solomon is insulting, but it is a display of skill for an ant.' " [880]

In accordance with the might and felicity of the time and place several banquets and celebrations were held at that river. Since civilization, people, and settled places were distant, and no wine was to be had, an order was given for the amirs to do *yarashmishi* [reconciliation] with water. At that place he ordered a stele erected, which the Mongols call *oba*.

Nawroz kissed the ground humbly and said, "If I have done anything amiss or failed in my duties to the emperor, it is hoped that the prince in his perfect clemency will pardon my mistakes, for no creature is free of imperfection and flaw."

If no mistakes were ever made, pardon by rulers would not be necessary.

Ghazan said, "When suspicion emerges from the dust of doubt, and the veil of misgiving is lifted, if some trace of former alienation remains it should be erased from the tablet of the mind, for new agreement annihilates all old quarrels. Now my trust in your love and affection is more than can be expressed." With such affectionate expressions he allayed Nawroz's fears and soothed his troubled mind.

With such special favor the shah honored him and disregarded his guilt.

Ghazan ordered that henceforth he should be at ease.

In truth I intended to chastise you greatly, but when you entered you apologized for the past.

"As long as you continue on the right path and your words and actions are correct, you will continue to be promoted and your wishes will be granted. God is witness to this promise, and I will never even contemplate breaking this pact.

Your are safe and secure from me, and the God of the world is my witness. [881]

However, regardless of the fact that I have total and complete trust in your word, my mind cannot rest at ease unless you swear an oath and make a covenant that you will not break or seek to subvert so long as you are in power," said Ghazan.

Therefore they swore the most binding of oaths to confirm the pact that had been made in their absence by their emissaries, and they made a covenant that they would not hurt each other. Nawroz sealed his covenant with an oath that he would serve the khanate in complete servitude as long as he was in power.

When the oath had been sworn, Ghazan Khan said, "What is past is past. Henceforth and in the future, in repelling enemies and dealing with rebels we will act as one hand."

After that, Ghazan Khan took the road to Panj Deh and Maruchuq, and there the officers of the Qara'una troop received the honor of performing *tägishmishi*. Then he went via the Andkhud road. The sons of Umar Oghul, Eygü and his brothers, joined the court. While marching from there to Faryab, the scouts came across the foe, and during a skirmish several were killed. Then he took the road to Sheberghan across a large, waterless wasteland.

From there Nawroz turned back with the Qara'una troop and turned his reins toward his own *yurt*. The foe, following in the rear like an unforeseen calamity in fear of the Qara'unas, struck the mothers of children. That night they camped in Inchkä Su in the vicinity of Sheberghan, and a command was given, saying, "Let no one was light a fire or cook lest by the light of the fire the enemy become aware of our presence. In the morning, while the foe is still fast asleep, we will make a surprise attack." The enemy, however, having learned of the arrival of the imperial banners, left the road

and went to San-u-Charyak. When, at the Sheberghan river, the prince heard of the enemy's retreat, he sent Amir Qutlughshah with a group of officers in pursuit of the foe while he himself camped in the vicinity of Juzjanan.

In the month of Rabi' I 694 [January 1295], the officers came upon the enemy and pounced on them like leopards. They rejoined the prince at Juzjanan, and all proceeded together under good auspices. [882] When they reached Faramarzan, Nawroz's wife, Toghanchuq, and his tents were there. After banqueting and reveling, he set out in the direction of Sarakhs and stopped at Qara Tapa in Sarakhs. At that stage Bughdai Idächi came from the center of Azerbaijan and His Highness Gaikhatu Khan to report the rebellion by Baidu and his officers. Since Nawroz's tents had gone in the direction of Badghis in Herat, Nawroz obtained permission here to depart. The prince proceeded along the road to Arjah and Shugan. Baidu's emissaries arrived with a man named Qutlughshah at their head and reported that all the *aqa-ini*, amirs, and noyans were in agreement that the prince should proceed to the center of the state and take up the crown and throne that were his by inheritance and merit. After showing the emissaries great favor and rewarding them, the prince sent them back, and he also dispatched a messenger to summon Nawroz. He stayed a while in Radkan at the Gulasp spring, and from there he proceeded via Khabushan to Dubar. Since the *ordus*, tents, and amirs' soldiers were in Mazanderan, and Qara Buqa's son Prince Sögä had reached Mazanderan by Gaikhatu's command, the prince determined to hasten forward. He entered Shahrak-i-Naw in Jurjan and stopped in Sultan Duvin in Astarabad, which was his birthplace, where he reveled for a while. He took counsel with the great amirs concerning Baidu and sent Ura Temür Idächi to Baidu with a message saying, "We are determined to go to the capital and will arrive shortly. What needs to be said will be said in the presence of the *aqa-ini*." After that, Ghazan realized how much he owed Nawroz for his good services and singled him out for reward and favor, putting him in charge of all fiscal affairs of the empire and elevating him in status above all his peers. An imperial edict was promulgated, saying, "All territory from the banks of the Oxus to the frontier of Persia held by us, for all of which Arghun Aqa was deputy on behalf of our good fathers, we do hereby entrust to Nawroz and put into his capable hands." And thus the seal of rule and power fell into Nawroz's hands.

That winter was spent in Mazanderan, and there was no report from any direction. When spring came they set out for Damavand, emerging on the Chahar Deh road and spending a month in Damghan. From there they set out via Sultan Maydan[1] for Firozkoh and spent the summer in Damavand. From there he sent the amirs of the army Mulai and Horqudaq to Khurasan, and they sent word back that the people of Nishapur were acting up and not giving their all. Ghazan Khan paid no attention, and indeed out of his native clemency he often dispatched envoys to warn and threaten them. It did no good. In the autumn he set out in that direction, arriving in Dhu'l-Qa'da 693 [September–October 1294]. He camped in Mawedi and sent Khwaja Sa'duddin into the city to warn them and advise them to submit, for it was not fitting for old servants to be killed on account of the actions of a few corrupt trouble-makers.

When Khwaja Sa'duddin went into the city, Qazi Sadruddin, Pahlavan Umar, and the nobles of Nishapur came forward and said, "We are concerned for our lives. If the khwaja accepts to give us amnesty, we will come out [A282] and pay homage." [871] Khwaja Sa'duddin made a pledge, saying, "I will present your petition, and I will see to it that you will not be harmed." Qazi Sadruddin and Pahlavan Umar came out of the city along with a group of people and went to the great amirs, who sent them to court.

Ghazan Khan decamped from Mawedi and then stopped in the vicinity of Nishapur and said, "We are not going to destroy our own land and subjects on account of a few busybodies. Let them turn over the trouble-makers Fakhruddin Ra'is, Husam-

[1]Thus in the text, but a route from Damghan to Firozkoh via the Sultan Maydan in Khurasan is absurd. It must be a different Sultan Maydan.

uddin Aybak Khata'i, Abubakr Ali Ayisha, Usman Mishkani, and Muhammad Abdul-Malik, and let them pay their taxes correctly so that we can withdraw from here in safety."

They, however, delayed in turning over the persons named above, so a command was given for Nishapur to be besieged. The inhabitants took refuge in a strong mosque as the amirs entered the city, each from a different direction. When the soldiers had them surrounded, they ceased what they were doing in fear and fright. The soldiers plundered the city quarters and lanes as they headed for the mosque. Then, having driven several mines, they gained the walls and dragged the poor people out yelling and screaming. The people requested amnesty, and Ghazan Khan was so clement that he granted it to the wretches despite their many offenses. [872] Although several people had been killed, he ordered that the soldiers be prevented from pillaging and killing, but since the soldiers had begun moving all at once, it was impossible to control them. Ghazan Khan himself mounted and went into the city, where he had one or two of the *gazigtäns* executed and ordered their limbs hung from the city gates. The soldiers were cowed by this and stopping their killing and plunder. The trouble-makers mentioned above were caught and executed, but [Ghazan Khan] would not allow a single animal to be taken from the district. Having thus won over the population, he put them to work restoring and rebuilding the agriculture. It was ordered that Qazi Sadruddin and Pahlavan Umar should set forth with the court and the royal banners moved toward Jurjan. That winter was spent at Sultan Duvin in Astarabad. [A283]

Nawroz submits and comes back to Ghazan Khan's court, where he gives a banquet and offers gifts.

In early Muharram 694 [November 1294], Nawroz's liege man Satilmish arrived on Nawroz's behalf and said, "Nawroz says, 'I am your ancient servant and offspring of your servants, [873] but on account of bad people's slander I exiled myself from your court. If the prince will have mercy on me, pardon my offenses, and not remind me of my crimes, I will come to court, and serve valiantly from this time forward.' " Inasmuch as the padishah was perfectly clement and just, he pardoned Nawroz's offenses and regally accepted his apology. At the end of his mission Satilmish said [on Nawroz's behalf], " 'If the padishah shows mercy, let him send an auxiliary troop to Maruchuq, for when I turn away from this group I will join them, and if anyone comes in pursuit of me, they can assist me in repelling them so that I may reach the court through the padishah's good luck.' "

To this the padishah replied, "Since it is winter and there are no reports on any side, I will move out myself in that direction, ostensibly to go hunting."

Satilmish was shown much favor and withdrew to deliver a message saying that Nawroz was expected to keep his word. The padishah meanwhile set out accompanied by the great amirs Nurin and Qutlughshah.

When he reached the territory of Yazir, Nawroz's brother Hajji [874] and Chardu Bahadur's son Ejil arrived on Nawroz's behalf at Kushk and Bir Husayn, bearing the same message that Satilmish had delivered. The prince rewarded them and left there for Sarakhs, where he celebrated the new year and then decamped for Dalan Quduq.[1] [A284]

When they emerged from the mountains and hills they found the Merv and Sheberghan plain filled with tents and animals.

[1]Dalan Quduq ~ Dalan Qudugh, Mongolian for Seventy Wells.

An order was given for Ba'udai, the chief of the *qorchis*, to investigate. After a time he returned with Satilmish, Nawroz's liege man, who said, "It is Nawroz camped there, waiting for the arrival of the royal banners." The padishah stood atop a hill, and immediately Nawroz and Princess Toghan rode down and performed *tägishmishi*. The padishah remained in that village for three days, and banquets were held. Since the nearest town was far away and there was but little wine, he ordered the amirs to mix it with water and to set up a stele, which the Mongols call *oba*.[1] He pardoned Nawroz and showed him much favor.

Then he returned to Maruchuq, setting off down the Shakh road. Nurin Aqa was beset by a severe attack of the gout, and he suffered greatly during that trip. The commanders of the Qara'una division, **[875]** Toghai and others, joined the court. Then he decamped to Andkhui. The sons of Umar Oghul Eygü and others joined the retinue. He set off for Faryab. A scouting party came across an enemy scouting party and killed many of them. Some were taken prisoner and brought to court. They were interrogated and said, "The enemy army is in Faryab and Juzjana[n]."

When Ghazan camped in Faryab he stationed there his treasury, baggage, and soldiers whose horses had gone lame. Then he set out for Sheberghan, but the road was all waterless desert. He camped by night near Sheberghan in Inchkä Su and ordered that no one light a fire lest the enemy discover them. Thus they would be able to surprise them the next morning. **[A285]** The enemy, however, had already learned that the royal banners had reached Faryab, so they had withdrawn and taken the San-u-Charyak road out.[2] The victorious army camped along the Sheberghan river, and an order was given for the great amir Qutlughshah and others to go in pursuit of the enemy while the royal banners made camp in that area. The Qara'una troops, which had taken refuge in places of difficult access in fear of the enemy, all came to court, and they were ordered to proceed to Sarakhs. **[876]** The amirs who had gone out in pursuit of the enemy caught up with them in the vicinity of the San-u-Charyak mountains, and in early Rabi' I 694 [mid-January 1295] they fought a fierce battle. The enemy was defeated, and many of them were killed. The amirs came back to court with many captives and countless articles of booty.

They remained there for twenty days, and all the soldiers who were in attendance took grain from the storehouses, ate it, and gave it to their horses. There was such an abundance that no diminution was felt.

During those days Nawroz also joined the court, and after that, Ghazan Khan decamped from there. When they reached Faramarzan, Princess Toghan and Nawroz's tents were there. They gave banquets for several days and presented as many gifts as they could.

From there he moved out toward Sarakhs. When they reached Qara Tapa, Bughdai Akhtachi came from Gaikhatu to report the opposition of Baidu and the amirs. He paid no attention.

Nawroz requested leave to take his tents back to Badghis, and the royal banners remained there for a few days before setting

[1] Several such memorial stones still exist—not this one, of course. An example is the one set up by Amir Temür when he was in pursuit of Toqtamish Khan in 1391. It was discovered in the Altyn Chuk mountains near the Karasakpay river in Kazakhstan and is now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. See N. N. Poppe, "Карасакпайская Надпись Тимура," in *Государственный Эрмитаж: Труды Отдела Востока* 2 (1940): 185–87. See also Thackston, *Century of Princes*, 68, note 6.

[2] Sán-u-Ch(ah)áryak is the modern Sangcharak in Afghanistan.

out down the Arjah and Shugan road. [877] When he reached Dara-i-Jaz, he set out for Radkan in order to hunt stork. An emissary named Qutlughshah and a group of envoys came from Baidu to report Baidu's opposition to Gaikhatu. "The *aqa-ini* and the ladies and amirs are in agreement," they said, [A286] "that the Prince of the World should move in that direction and sit on the throne of emperorship, which belongs to him by inheritance and by merit." The prince paid no attention and sent the envoys back. He held council with his great amirs and sent a messenger to summon Nawroz. After staying several days in Radkan and at the Gulasp spring, they came to Khabushan, and several days later they set forth. When they camped at Davir,[1] Nawroz came. Since the *aghruqs*, most of the soldiers, and Prince Sögä, who had come from Gaikhatu, were in Mazanderan, the prince decided to go to Sultan Duvin in Astarabad and thence to Persia and Azerbaijan. Entering Jurjan via Shahrak-i-Naw, he camped in Sultan Duvin in Astarabad, where a few days were spent in banquets and revelry. He sent Ura Temür Idächi to Baidu to say that he would be following close behind. [878...883*[2]]

Ghazan Khan leaves Khurasan for Persia; he does battle with Baidu in the vicinity of Hashtrod and Qurban Shirä.

After dispatching Ura Temür Idächi, Ghazan Khan moved out from Sultan Duvin under favorable auspices and headed for Persia and Azerbaijan. Taking the Chahar Deh road, he entered Damghan. He wanted to have a look at the Gird Koh fortress, but the amirs said, "Since such an important task lies ahead, it would not be auspicious to go into a fortress." An order was then given for Tajuddin Eldüz's sons, who were the wardens of the fortress, to come out with their wives and children. [A287] They turned over the keys to Khwaja Sa'duddin Habash and surrendered the fortress.

When Simnan was reached, Ordu Buqa came from Gaikhatu with several loads of *chaos* and white and vermilion paper. Ghazan Khan said, "In Mazanderan and this area it is so damp that iron implements and weapons do not last. How can paper last?" So saying, he ordered it all burned.

From there he took the Firozkoh road to Tihran. Boralghi and the amirs of Persia paid homage there. When they arrived in Khayl-i-Buzurg, Ura Temür Idächi came back from Baidu and said, "He has gone back on his word [884] and is entertaining notions of being the ruler. The amirs Taghachar, Qunchuqbal, Doladai, and others who were stirring up trouble and killed Ordu Qaya, Joshi, and others, since they were afraid of Ghazan, have all agreed to support Baidu and are planning mischief."

Since Ghazan Khan had not imagined Baidu's opposition, he had not brought many soldiers, and his companions had not brought their weapons of war. They had even left the royal *tugh* and regal drum there. Therefore he took council with the amirs and in all regal audacity paid no attention. He sent Mulai and Yighmish on an embassy to Baidu to say, "We are coming ourselves. Where shall we meet?" And he requested *örüglük* [safe passage]. When he reached Aq Khwaja in Qazwin, Shadai Gürägän, who had been sent by Baidu and his amirs, came to court and spoke the very

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[1] Here the name in both JT_K and JT_{AZ} is دویر (Davir); in JT_K p. 882 it is دوبر (Dubar). Neither has been identified.

[2] The text of JT_K from p. 878 through the end of p. 882 has been translated in the note that begins on trs. p. 606. Beginning on p. 883, JT_K has two versions printed in double columns. The left-hand column agrees with the text of JT_{AZ} and is translated here. The right-hand version agrees so closely in information with the left-hand version that it is not necessary to translate it, but it is wordier and takes more space. The left-hand version ends on text p. 895; the right-hand version continues to p. 898.

sort of words masters of deception and dissimulation use. The gist was as follows: "I had no notion or desire to be padishah, but because of the distance of Prince Ghazan, sedition and *bulghaq* [disruption] have erupted in the *ulus*. [A288] Therefore, *aqa-ini* and amirs are agreed to elevate me to the rule. [885] Now, anything the prince desires will be granted, and there will be no stinting, but he must turn back from the place to which he has come."

Ghazan paid no attention and continued on. When he reached Qonqur Öläng, Mulai and Yighmish arrived and repeated the same carefully crafted words. That very day Na'uldar came as a herald from Baidu and was allowed to perform *tägishmishi*, for which he was amply rewarded. Decamping from there, he took the Muslim Ribat road and camped. Shadai Gürägän and Baidu's envoys were summoned and had them so interrogated that Shadai Gürägän despaired of his life. Harsh messages were sent concerning Baidu's rule. During the time that Mulai and Yighmish had gone there, Ildär had said in drunkenness, "We *aqa-ini* have agreed to elevate Baidu to the rule. If Prince Ghazan does not agree, there will be disagreement amongst us." In short, he dismissed the envoys and ordered the amirs Nurin and Qutlughshah to array the army. Esän Buqa Bitigchi was dispatched on a mission to say, "We are coming." [886] Taking the Tükätü road, he crossed the Safedrod, and the next day, Tuesday the first of Rajab 694 [May 17, 1295], corresponding to the 2nd of Shün Ay, the news of Prince Ghazan's imminent arrival reached Baidu, who sent Prince Ildär and the amirs Elji'idäi and Chechäk out as an advance force. On this side Amir Qutlughshah and Nurin Aqa manned the left wing, while Prince Sögä, Boralghi, Nawroz, and other commanders stood in the center with Ghazan Khan. When they were near Baidu, he sent Bughdai Akhtachi forward, and he spoke in every way possible of peace, friendship, and kinship. Ghazan did not deign to pay attention. [A289]

The armies clashed. Amir Qutlughshah in the vanguard stood as firm as a mountain. Since Prince Ildär had boasted so much, it was required by Ghazan's fortune that he be the first to suffer chastisement. No sooner had the drums of the center been sounded and the soldiers of the center begun to move than Amir Qutlughshah charged them. He swept the division aside with one attack, so by the time the news reached the center, they had been routed. Nearly eight hundred men were killed, and the rest had fled. Ildär's lieutenant Taghai was killed, and Arslan Oghul was brought to court on foot. [887] The army of Khurasan wanted to attack in unison, sweep them away, and annihilate them, but Ghazan Khan was innately so merciful that he forbade it. "All these soldiers are servants of our fathers and forefathers," he said. "How can we kill them simply on account of the mischief of a few troublemakers who elevated Baidu to the rule?" Nawroz and the other amirs insisted that he should take advantage of the situation, but he yelled at them to be quiet.

When the captive Arslan Oghul was brought in, his own cousin Boroltai said, "Since he has drawn a sword in the face of the servants of the crown, if the padishah gives permission, I will kill him." The padishah paid no attention and ordered robes, hats, belts, and boots brought from his personal treasury and put on him, and he ordered one of his own equerries to give him a mount. Then he ordered those who had been wounded in battle brought in, and he put balm on their wounds with his own blessed hand and gave them medicine dissolved in wine. (Of course, as a reward for such clemency and mercy, God placed the whole of the kingdom in his royal hand.)

When Baidu and his amirs saw that Ildär

and Tükäl, their greatest champions, had been routed, [888] they realized that they did not have the power to resist. They therefore took the path of accommodation and intercession, and in the midst of the battlefield, on top of a hill, Baidu and his amirs Taghachar, Doladai, [A290] and Qunchuqbal came, and the Padishah of Islam, even though he had defeated and crushed them, processed out to them, surrounded by his retinue. With him were Nawroz, Nurin, Qutlughshah, and Sö'ätäi. The members of the two delegations met and exchanged pleasantries. "A covenant and pact must be made that we will not harm each other," he said. The amirs on this side shouted, "First the issue of the rule must be settled! Then the matter of pacts and promises." In short, wine was brought and drunk with gold dissolved in the goblets. Those who were Muslims took each other by the hand and swore oaths that they would harbor no evil. The matter of the rule was to be settled the following day. When day was done everyone withdrew to his own place. In that midst, the *evoghlans* of the great lady Bulughan the elder, Horqasun, and others deserted Baidu and joined the court.

Since the armies of Baghdad and Mughan were near, Baidu kept sending envoys to get them to come while the talks were going on. [889] From moment to moment commanders were arriving with their troops, and by the end of the day they constituted an impressive number. The next day the two armies proceeded together to Qurban Shirä. The padishah's army entered a narrow valley a league long. There was only one road. Kökätü Bahadur and two thousand horsemen charged and took the head of the valley. Qunchuqbal was coming behind him to assist. When Baidu was informed and realized that it would result in battle, he dispatched an envoy to have them open the road and not prevent passage. He was angry over their action.

That night they camped opposite one another but so near that they could all drink from one spring. All the soldiers spent that night holding their horses and armed, and no one rested.

The next morning, which was Monday the 7th of Rajab [May 23, 1295], a group came out to arrange a truce. Amirs like Tugh Temür and Sö'ätäi agreed [A291] that a court tent would be pitched in the middle and Tödäi Khatun, whose *yurt* was the nearest, would come and swear both sides to a truce.

Just then Qunchuqbal came and said, "If Ghazan gains the victory, Amir Aq Buqa will attack us amirs." Therefore he was executed that very day.

After much discussion it was decided that the amirs would gather in the midst of the battlefield and, with each other's approval, [890] put an end to it. From this side went the amirs Nawroz, Nurin, Qutlughshah, and Tugh Temür; from Baidu's side went Taghachar, Qunchuqbal, and Doladai. Deliberations continued until noon, Baidu's forces increasing moment by moment. When the amirs saw that this was the case, they decided to send to Prince Ghazan the *ordus* of Arghun Khan, the great lady Bulughan, Örüg Khatun, and Prince Kharbanda along with the other princes and to turn over his possessions and treasury. Furthermore, from that side of the Sapedrod, Persia, Khurasan, Qumis, and Mazanderan would be Ghazan's, along with half of the realm of Fars and the entirety of the *enchüs* there.

When this was told to Ghazan, he said, "Let them turn over Taghachar too along with the one Qara'una division that was Arghun Khan's personal *enchü* so that this can be definitely decided and we can withdraw."

Baidu replied to the amirs, saying, "Prince Ghazan knows that Arghun Khan consid-

ered me too like his own son, and he assigned every son winter quarters in some area, to be accompanied by an amir. Taghachar and the Qara'una troop were my constant companions in Baghdad. [891] If he decides according to what Arghun Khan commanded, it is his to rule."

The padishah and the amirs settled upon that and said, "Let him turn over what has already been fixed so that we may withdraw."

Baidu sent Doladai to court with food and wine to perform *tägishmishi* and offer a goblet. The padishah indicated that they would pull out on the Siyah Koh road. Baidu and his amirs did not agree to this because the Qara'una troop was there and they were afraid that [A292] if Ghazan Khan went that way, those soldiers would join him and once again trouble would be stirred up. Bolad Chingsang was sent to court to tell Ghazan to return the same way he had come.

The next day Baidu sent his son Qipchaq with a group of amirs to perform *tägishmishi*, offer toasts, and say, "Baidu says, 'Since the prince has come here auspiciously, and peace and agreement now prevail between us, if we part without seeing each other for a moment, everyone will imagine that we are still on bad terms. It would be better for us to sit for a while and renew our pledge to meet again. Then he can depart auspiciously.' " The amirs Sö'ätäi and Tugh Temür went back and forth several times to arrange this request, and finally it was decided that a tent would be pitched between the camps and that the two, accompanied by several of their elite, would come and see each other for a time. [892]

That day the padishah showed Qipchaq much favor, clad him in robes of honor, sat him on a horse, and sent him back. Then, in consultation, Nawroz, Nurin, and Qutlughshah disagreed with the plan, as did the astrologers, who reported that it was an inauspicious day. Sö'ätäi and Tugh Temür were sent to Baidu to say, "Not only is the day not auspicious but evening is also nigh. We can meet in the morning."

[Ghazan] then told Nawroz and Tugh Temür to stay and go to Baidu the next morning to arrange diplomatic matters and get the *ordus* moving. Then, by night, after fires had been lit in all the tents, [Ghazan] slipped out and rode so fast that by morning he had crossed the Sapedrod. The amirs who were there joined him. Proceeding via Deh-i-Manar, he spent the night in Zanjan.

The next day, he sent Kür Temür from Muslim [Ribat] to Baidu to say, "We have set out for Damavand. We have left the amirs Nawroz and Tugh Temür there. You must keep your word to allow the *ordus* and the ladies to leave and to stick to the terms of our oral agreement." [A293]

From there he passed by Qonqur Öläng and went to Kararod, [893] which the Mongols call Türgän Müräń.[1] There Kashhar Bakhshi came to deliver a message from Baidu: "It was expected that we would meet again and have a chance to converse for a while. Since the prince moved off, doubtless he considered it best. Now each of us must keep his word."

The padishah sent back Ibrahim Sükürchi with the bakhshi, and he delivered a message to Baidu, saying, "It is imperative that you let Nawroz, Tugh Temür, and Kür Temür finish their work and send them back as soon as possible."

From there he set out for Damavand, where he spent that summer.*[2] When the amirs Nawroz, Tugh Temür, and Kür Temür returned, Baidu produced unreasonable excuses for not arranging fiscal and diplomatic matters and for not sending the

[1] Türgän Müräń, Mongolian for "swift river."

[2] The discrepency between the two versions that began on text p. 883 ends here.

ladies and *ordus*. That he did not keep his promise angered the padishah, who ordered all the amirs and their troops to go to pasture and fatten up their animals.

What had happened to Nawroz and the others is as follows. When they went before Baidu and requested that a decree be issued concerning the rule and that he allow the *ordus* and ladies to depart, Baidu grew apprehensive over the padishah's departure and held the amirs under arrest. **[894]** He dispatched Qunchuqbal, Doladai, and Elji'idäi as an advance troop in pursuit, he himself setting out the next day. On Wednesday the 9th of Rajab [May 25, 1295], they crossed the Sapedrod, and on Friday the 11th of Rajab [May 27] Kür Temür came on his mission. The amirs' troops spread out as far as Sharuyaz and then turned back and joined Baidu in the vicinity of Sujas.

On Monday the 14th [May 30, 1295] they marched to the hill at Sharuyaz and then returned. **[A294]** Baidu asked the amirs in council, "What's to be done with Nawroz and Tugh Temür?"

"They cannot be harmed," they said in agreement. Tükäl, who was trying to get Nawroz killed, said, "Ghazan's mainstay is Nawroz. He must be killed." Taghachar and the other amirs refused to allow this because of kinship and friendship. Taking offense, Tükäl left to go to Georgia, where his home was, and did not return until after Baidu's death.

Taghachar had grown to hate the idea of Baidu's rule because of Tödächü's opposition to him. Sadruddin also encouraged him in this because the vizierate had not been given to him. Uniting himself with Nawroz in order to strengthen Ghazan's cause, he persuaded Nawroz to make a show of agreeing with Baidu and making a pact with him. **[895]** After that, Baidu patronized Nawroz and reported that he had made a pact and covenant with him to send Ghazan bound. Therefore he received permission to withdraw and was singled out for particular favor. The emirate of Yazd on Baidu's behalf was settled on his son Sultanshah, and ten thousand dinars' worth of billets against Yazd were issued to him.

On Tuesday the 15th of Rajab 694 [May 31, 1295] Nawroz, Tugh Temür, and the other envoys were sent back, and the next day Elji'idäi, who had gone out in pursuit of Ghazan, came back. Baidu turned his reins in the direction of Sughurluq, arriving at the great *yurt* there on Saturday the 19th of Rajab [June 4, 1295].

*Events that occurred between Baidu and Nawroz.

After Prince Ghazan departed, Amir Nawroz and Tuq Temür were kept under guard and tortured for a week, threatened with being killed, beaten, and cursed. Nawroz never gave in under questioning but bravely and magnificently gave adamant responses. Unable to do anything with him, the amirs made his brother Lagzi, one of Baidu's pillars of state, a go-between to create a truce between Baidu and Nawroz since they knew that the stability of the realm and the *ulus* lay in obtaining Nawroz's agreement, for "only lead works on diamonds." Lagzi encouraged Nawroz with all sorts of promises to become friendly toward Baidu and tried to get him to break his pact with the prince. "My brother," Nawroz replied, "after the old rebellion and disobedience, it has been three months since I swore a solemn oath to Ghazan in Sheberghan that so long as there was life in my body I would neither oppose him on any account nor offer any sort of resistance. I swore I would be a friend to his friends and an enemy to his enemies. Under what dispensation can I break my pact with him? You want me to be reprehensible in this world and castigated and chastised in the next life? My love and support for Ghazan

Khan are such that so long as his reign continues, they cannot change until my life ends, for today he is the khan by right and the emperor absolutely. Whatever he commands, I consider obedience a necessity. He is truly Nawroz's king and khan. I have nothing to do with anyone else."

"Brother," said Lagzi, "So long as you persist in your belief in this, you will never escape from these people with your life."

"We are resigned to what God has ordained," said Nawroz. "What has fate ever drawn that has not been scratched out, and who has ever been born who has not died? If God has ordained that I should die here in this manner, who can change it? If he has not so ordained, I have no worry about even a hundred thousand undefeatable enemies. **[899]**

Baidu's amirs came in straight-away and entered the discussion, trying to mollify Nawroz and win him over, but in any discussion Nawroz was too clever to be toppled by an opponent. He dropped the reins of discussion fearlessly, taking no consideration of his opponents and accounting them as no more than "wind in a warehouse" or "a basket in the water." The amirs despaired of him and said to each other, " 'The cavalier of the world, Dastan son of Sam, cannot be tricked into putting his head into a snare.' "[1]

Since Nawroz knew exactly what his opponents were thinking, and seeing that it was in his best interests to be crafty and dissimulating and to placate and be agreeable, he made a secret pact with Taghachar that they would help each other bring Baidu down. In order to placate Taghachar, the amirs agreed to try to get Nawroz set free—all save Qunchuqbal, who refused to agree to anything except the total destruction of Nawroz. To Baidu he said, "Your enemy has been caught. Kill him! Don't let the opportunity slip away."

Since Nawroz knew that his only chance for escape lay in trickery, deceit, dissimulation, and humility, he began to curry favor by complimenting the amirs and working his deceit by saying, "I will obey whatever Baidu Khan commands." Baidu Khan summoned him in private and praised him greatly for his manliness and valor, saying, "I have found your demeanor to be better than what I was led to believe, and what I have seen is better than what I had heard. Your manliness, stout-heartedness, courage, and bravery are known. Your steadfastness, valor, and courage are the same.

A king is worthy of kingship who patronizes such servants. / He who has one like you behind him need have no worry of difficult days.

Now that you are seeking deliverance from me, if you will renew your pledge and promise that you will seize Ghazan and turn him over to me, swear a solemn oath that you will not break your promise."

In accordance with the dictum "Necessity cancels discretion," Nawroz swore without hesitation that he would turn Ghazan over bound up. Poor Baidu was taken in. He showed him favor, gave him a billet payable in Yazd for a thousand dinars, and assigned the emirate of Yazd to Nawroz's son Sultanshah, his son by Sultannasab Khatun, the daughter of the Atabeg Ala'uddin, the son of Atabeg Mahmudshah.

On Tuesday the 15th of Rajab 694 [May 31, 1295] Nawroz and Tuq Temür were given leave to depart. **[900]** Nawroz raced off with the speed of the wind, like an arrow shot from a bow or a streak of lightning. In four days he went from the vicinity of Maragha to Firozkoh in Damavand. On the 27th of Rajab [June 12] he arrived at Prince Ghazan's court, where he attained the honor of *tägishmishi* and reported what had happened. "There was nothing to be done with them but to plead and entreat

[1] A quotation from Firdawsi, *Shahnama* (Moscow, 1967) 6:251, line 553.

until, through the lord of the world's good fortune, I managed to escape from the claws of the roaring lion," he said.

"Which of Baidu's amirs did you find the most intelligent?" the prince asked.

"Qunchuqbal," he replied, "who was the most adamantly determined to spill my blood. The affair was like the story of the owls and the ravens in *Kalila and Dimna*."[1]

In order to fulfill his promise, Nawroz wrapped up a brass kettle *(ghazan)* and sent it to Baidu. Baidu and his amirs were amazed by this subtle word play[2] and rare joke, but there was nothing they could do about it. To Baidu the amirs said, " 'The lion you caught in a trap you let go, and you were made ridiculous.' " He regretted having let Nawroz go, but there was nothing to be done—as has been said, anyone who overcomes his foe but allows the advantage to slip away will never again have power over him, and regret and remorse profit nothing.*[3]

The blessed breast of the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan is expanded by the light of faith as he and his amirs profess Islam in the presence of Shaykhzada Sadruddin Hamoë Juwayni—may his blessedness endure forever.

When God has willed from all eternity to make one of his servants felicitous and to single him out for various favors, once the elements of that person's being are intermingled, a receptivity to felicity is kneaded and mixed in his innate nature. [A295] The truth of this assertion is confirmed by the prophetic dictum "Felicitous is he who is felicitous in his mother's womb." After that, the nurturer of divine grace raises him in the cradle with the hand of favor and elevates him gradually through the stages of perfection. [901] With the passage of months he is guided to look upon the actuality of things so that he may contemplate forms and intrinsic meanings and be informed of the truth and falsehood of every thing. By means of this power of discrimination and contemplation the signs of felicity move from potentiality to actuality, as does that which is required by divine wisdom at the time of willing such felicity, in accordance with the text of the Koran, **for the command of God is a determinate decree.**[4]

By virtue of the foregoing, when divine favor and will necessitated that the lassitude that had invaded the Islamic nation with the vicissitudes of months and years and the succession of days and nights should be rectified by one of his particular servants who would take over the rule of towns and cities, it made Ghazan Khan the happy recipient of the lights of right guidance and divine inspiration. When he was with his grandfather Arghun Khan in his early youth, he was turned over to one or two bakhshis, to whose path and beliefs he was amenable, and Arghun Khan ordered that they should exert themselves to the utmost to teach him and encourage him in acquiring their customs. They were constantly in attendance upon him and always encouraged him in their beliefs. He was so intelligent and clever that in a short time he had learned to perfection the most obscure points of their teachings. [902] Indeed, he acquired such perfect mastery that he became highly expert in the art of the

[1]The story to which reference is made is that of the owls and the ravens, on how best to deal with an implacable enemy (Nasrullah, *Kalila u Dimna*, 191–201). In Husayn Va'iz Kashifi's late fifteenth-century setting of these fables, it is the lead story in the chapter on "observing the situation of one's enemies and never being safe from their plots and deceitful tricks" (*Anvar-i Suhayli*, 265–73).

[2]Reading with Vassaf (*Tarikh*, 320), who quotes this passage verbatim, ايهام for JT_K's چريك.

[3]The text between asterisks (trs. p. 617 to here) is omitted from JT_{AZ}.

[4]Kor. 33:38.

bakhshi. [A296] However, by virtue of divine influence, he gazed into the mysteries of idolatry and contemplated the truth of various religions and communities with his piercing mind and unfailing insight. Through the effulgence of inspiration, the rays of the light of the Muhammadan religion shone upon his enlightened mind, and inwardly he was inclined to the Nation of the Truth, but he continued firmly and steadfastly in his former path. In order to show his fervor, he built lofty idol temples at Khabushan in Khurasan, and he performed his duties in such a way that all the bakhshis and monks were astonished by his degree of asceticism and rigor. Nonetheless, he was very serious in searching out God's mysteries and ascertaining the right way.

When he came together with Baidu, and the amirs were present for the pact and covenant, the Muslims swore on the Koran, while the Mongols swore on gold. In this regard Nawroz said, "How would it be if the padishah of the world were to strengthen the religion of Islam with his own faith?" [903]

"This thought has been on my mind for a long time," he answered.

All of a sudden Nawroz took out a one-of-a-kind polished ruby, bent his knee, and said, "Although it is improper for a *qarachu* [commoner] to be so bold as to offer a *beläg* [gift] to princes, will the kind padishah deign to keep this *beläg* until your servant arrives back at court?"

After that, when Nawroz and the other amirs returned from Baidu unsuccessful, the padishah grew angry and voiced a notion about chastising him. Nawroz once again brought up the topic, and the great Shaykhzada Sadruddin Ibrahim, the son of Qutb al-awliya Shaykh Sa'duddin Hamoë,[1] was present. He was usually in attendance upon the padishah, who constantly asked him about the religion of Islam and posed questions about fine points to him. In accordance with the dictum "God expands to embrace Islam the breast of him whom He wishes to lead," the descent of the *sakina*[2] into his blessed breast strengthened the light of faith in his mind, a right guidance took control of him. He said, "It is true that Islam is a very strong and obvious religion. [A297] It embraces all religious and secular foundations. The miracles of the Prophet are attractive, and the traces of their soundness are obvious and without suspicion on the pages of time. Continuity and close observance of its obligations, supererogations, and strictures lead one to God, while the worship of idols is sheer insufficiency and alien to reason and knowledge. For a rational person to place his head down before an inanimate object is utter ignorance and stupidity, and to one who possesses spirit and intelligence it appears horrible. It certainly follows that no complete human being could acquiesce in having others place their heads on the ground before him. In truth, the form of an idol is worthy of being placed at the threshold of a gate so that all who pass through may tread on it. Also, the agreement of all people in being Muslim and the rejection of idolatry are not metaphorical."

In short, Ghazan Khan, at the beginning of Sha'ban 694 [June 1295], together with all the amirs, pronounced the profession of monotheism in the presence of the great Shaykhzada Sadruddin Ibrahim Hamoë, and they all became Muslim. That month

[1]Shaykh Sa'duddin Hamoë (~ Hamawayh ~ Hamúya), a well-known religious figure who died in 650/1253 and was buried in Bahrabad. He was intimately associated with Najmuddin Kubra, the eponymous founder of the Kubrawiyya Order. See Jami, *Nafahat*, 428–30.

[2]The word سكينة *sakina* (a cognate to the post-Biblical Hebrew שכינה) occurs several times in the Koran (2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18, 26). It is usually taken to mean a divine aura of tranquility.

they gave banquets and occupied themselves with religious acts. [Ghazan Khan] rewarded all the sayyids, imams, and shaykhs, giving them purses and alms, and he issued strict orders for the building of mosques, madrasas, khanaqahs, and charitable institutions. When the month of Ramadan came, he occupied himself with acts of devotion in the company of imams and shaykhs.

It is obvious to all who have any intelligence that the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's conversion to Islam was true, [904] sincere, and free of any taint of hypocrisy, for with all his might, majesty, and dominion, compulsion was out of the question, and given his lack of need and necessity, hypocrisy was not a possible factor.[1]

[1]The text of JT_{AZ} departs here from JT_K; the texts converge again below at text p. 914. Instead of what follows in JT_K marked by asterisks, JT_{AZ} has the following:

The Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's imperial banners proceed toward Baidu a second time, and his amirs surrender.

After Ghazan Khan pronounced the word of monotheism and all the amirs [A298] followed him in becoming Muslim, Baidu's emissaries—one Qutlughshah by name and the other Shaykhu'l-Mashayikh Mahmud—arrived. They used all their powers of eloquence, and Shaykh Mahmud took the opportunity to convey to Ghazan messages from the amirs who were with Baidu that they were supportive of Ghazan. Having delivered this message and received gold seals in reply, they were given leave to depart on the third day. When Shaykh Mahmud returned and delivered the gold seals to that group, they all put their hopes in the Padishah of Islam's victory and were unanimous in their support of him. Since Sadruddin Zanjani had no expectations of Baidu's being emperor because the vizierate had been given to Jamaluddin Dastjirdani, and he was encouraging Taghachar to rebel, they were wary of his machinations. Having been amply rewarded, he was given a patent and badge, and sent as governor to Anatolia. When he set out and reached the vicinity of Hashtrod, he sent his household and retainers with Amir Yaghlaqu, who was accompanying him, to Tabriz while he himself proceeded unencumbered to Saraw on the pretext of collecting on a loan. By that road he went to Gilan. When he set out from Sughurluq headed in the direction of Anatolia, he sent Mängli, his old slave and confidant, to Qazwin to inform his brother Qutbuddin of his plans. He too got out of town on some pretext and headed for Gilan, where he joined his brother, and the two of them proceeded together to the court of Ghazan Khan at Firozkoh. In the presence of Amir Nawroz, who had recently come from Khurasan, they delivered pleasing words purportedly from the tongue of Taghachar. Since Nawroz had mustered the army, a command was given for all the soldiers to gather. This took place in Shawwal.

Since Baidu was fearful and wary, he sent Qutlughshah back with insincere words. [A299] The Padishah of Islam was too clever not to know that this was not free of treachery and deceit. He ordered Qutlughshah stripped naked and questioned while being beaten with sticks and clubs. He revealed everything about Baidu, his officers, his army, and his plans for attack. "They sent me," he said, "to find out whether you were headed in that direction or not." Then an order was given for him to be chained and imprisoned in the fortress of Ustunaband at Habalrod.

On Friday the 15th of Shawwal [August 28, 1295] the imperial banners proceeded to Ray, with the amirs Nawroz and Qutlughshah in the vanguard. As was his custom, Nawroz started a rumor of there being a plethora of soldiers. When the Padishah of Islam reached Habalrod, Amir Chupan and Alinaq's son Qurumshi Gürägän were received at court, having fled from Baidu. The Padishah of Islam was delighted by their arrival and took it as a good omen. He rewarded them amply and gave them robes, hats, and jewel-studded belts.

From there they moved and camped at the Qoha River, where they remained for a few days. The amirs Chupan and Qurumshi said, "If the Padishah of Islam rewards us, will will serve valiantly and act in concert in the vanguard with the great amirs Nawroz and Qutlughshah." The emperor gave them permission, and they joined the amirs. After that, the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan left Bulughan Khatun there and set out after the amirs. When he reached Aq Khwaja in Qazwin, Argha Bitigchi, the brother of Bughdai Akhtachi, came from Nawroz and represented that the amirs Taghachar and Bughdai had parted from Baidu and were coming to the Padishah of Islam. They joined Nawroz. The emperor set out from there to Sujas, and from there

***The story of Shaykh Mahmud's coming on an embassy from Baidu Khan to report the amirs' preference for Ghazan Khan.**

Because Tödächü, backed and supported by Baidu, was in a constant struggle with Amir Taghachar, Amir Taghachar had grown sick and tired of Baidu's success. So too Sadr Chawi, who had been eclipsed and downtrodden by the vizier Jamaluddin Dastjirdani's opposition, encouraged Taghachar in his opposition to Baidu. These things caused strife and *bulghaq* [unrest]. [Amir Taghachar and Sadr Chawi] wanted to send someone secretly to Ghazan in order to express their support of him. Shaykh Mahmud Dinavari, who had been named *shaykhu'l-mashayikh* [chief religious authority] and was one of Bulughan Khatun's protégés [was selected]. Örüg Temür had come to supervise the removal of Bulughan Khatun from Ghazan's *ordu*, but Baidu kept procrastinating and making up excuses, saying, "Now it is the middle of winter. We will have to wait until spring." Örüg Temür, refusing to wait, made hasty preparations for the removal of Bulughan Khatun. Sadruddin instructed Bulughan Khatun to go and say that **[905]** Shaykh Mahmud should go on an embassy and offer an apology while behind the scenes he could report their support and quell the fires of contention to the benefit of both sides, for Shaykh Mahmud had been a confidant of Arghun Khan and was a man whose word was believed. He was accordingly appointed, and, in accordance with the dictum that says "Send a wise man but do not charge him with words," the Amirs Taghachar, Chuban, Qurumshi, and Bughdai Idächi and the *ev-oghlans* sent messages of glad tidings announcing their fealty. On Sunday the 18th of Sha'ban 694 [July 3, 1295], Qunchuqbal performed *tägishmishi* at Doladai's house and took Baidu's daughter Yol Qutlugh [in marriage]. Shaykh Mahmud was sent on an embassy with a liege man named Qutlughshah, and they reached Prince Ghazan's *ordu* at Damavand. In Qutlughshah's presence the shaykh delivered the ladies' message, while in secret he spoke for the amirs. In order to allay suspicions he spoke long and eloquently, saying, "Thank God, the bonds of friendship and the relationship of *aqa-ini* remain sound and firm."

Baidu responded, saying, "There was much objection to my ascending the khan's throne. I have no dispute with Ghazan over the throne, crown, or khanate, for 'worthy of father's throne and crown is no one in the world save a son.' " **[906]**

Inasmuch as Baidu patronized Christians like bishops, priests,[1] and monks, Shaykh Mahmud was in total support of Prince Ghazan on account of his having converted to Islam and sent a message saying, "I have something to say and would like to say it in private." Ghazan ordered a friend of his to invite Shaykh Mahmud's liege man Qutlughshah to his house for a party, and then [Shaykh Mahmud] went [to] Ghazan and said, "Baidu is not worthy of the crown or suitable for the office of khan, for he possesses neither the aura of divine assistance nor good judgment. All of Baidu's amirs, noyans, and soldiers are warm in their support of you, except for Qunchuqbal, Tükäl, Toladai Idächi, and Elji'idäi, who are in trepidation on account of their mistakes and errors. If the royal banners move out from here, the whole *ulus* and throne alto-

Prince Kharbanda and Prince Ildär arrived. When he came to Bihistan on the banks of the Sapedrod, the amirs Doladai Idächi and Hinduqur's son El Temür came to court with a group. From there they marched and...

[1] Of the two words in the text, the first is *játhuliq*, ultimately derived, via Uyghur via the Syriac ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ, from the Greek *καθόλικος*. The second is *qasís*, which is also, via the Uyghur ꡀꡎꡎꡎ, from the Syriac ܩܫܝܫܐ *qashshíshá* 'elder, presbyter, priest.'

gether will be turned over to you. 'Worthier of the kingship are you than he, particularly since Nawroz is your servant.' "

Ghazan Khan's amirs and confidants praised him, saying, "In discharging his obligations to Arghun Khan and in supporting the prince, he recognizes his obligations for favors from Abaqa Khan, but it is necessary for him to return home in order to report new situations by messengers daily, and in order for him to invite other amirs who can be trusted with secrets [907] to support this prince so that new favors may be attached to the old and so that you may effect the victory of the religion of Islam, something that is obligatory upon all Muslims. In return for this worthy service, when the hereditary and acquired crown and throne are taken for the prince, there will be no more trusted advisor in his service than you."

Shaykh Mahmud undertook to discharge these tasks. Nawroz worried that the prince's success would be achieved only through offensive, deceit, and trickery. So he deceived Baidu's emissaries and thought up a stratagem by plotting with a Mongol who would show up unexpectedly at the gates, covered with dust from the road as though he had just arrived, and say, "Äbügän Oghul has crossed the Oxus with thirty thousand warriors and camped in the vicinity of Herat. He has sent me with a message for Ghazan that he will pledge his fealty. If the prince needs soldiers, a hundred thousand fully equipped horsemen are ready and prepared. Whenever it is commanded they will hasten to serve." In accordance with Nawroz's plan, the envoy delivered this message. In their very presence the prince gave Nawroz a thousand pieces [908] of fine clothing and textiles[1] to take out to greet them with. He also wrote [billets for] a hundred thousand *taghars* against Balkh, Herat, Jam, and Bakharz to supply them. Nawroz immediately requisitioned a horse from the post station and set out with the speed of the wind for Tus.

After witnessing this, Shaykh Mahmud and Qutlughshah requested permission to withdraw, and as they proceeded from station to station they broadcasted the word that an army as numerous as the sands of the desert had come to pledge fealty to Ghazan. When they reached Baidu's *ordu* they spread the word that Ghazan and his amirs and liege men were occupied with a rebel army and had no time either to scratch their heads or to rub their eyes since Nawroz had set out for Amuya with an elite troop. There was great rejoicing over this news, and the *chärig* and tents were given permission to withdraw, while in secret a positive reply to the amirs was brought, and they were very happy.

Ildär became aware of this, and he said to Shaykh Mahmud, "You went and stirred up trouble by scattering brambles of dissension along the road and flaming the fires of strife." Shaykh Mahmud denied it, but in order to maintain appearances he and Sadruddin Zanjani invited Taghachar and some other amirs who were Baidu's mainstays.

Now between Sadruddin Zanjani and Jamaluddin Dastjirdani [909] there was outright hostility. Baidu Khan had turned over the emirate of Anatolia to Taghachar Noyan, and Sadruddin had gone at Baidu's command as vice-commander. Sadruddin knew exactly how to handle Taghachar but he detested the office of vice-commander of Anatolia because he thought himself much too grand for such an office. Jamaluddin, realizing that he had no immunity to [Sadruddin's] seditiousness, wanted to get him as far away as possible by having him made vice-commander of Anatolia. Sadrud-

[1]The terms used are *nasíj* (woven fabric), *nakh* (thread), and *kamkhá* (silk velvet).

din figured that the only way he could get his revenge on Jamaluddin was through the prince. He had a lot of debts, but he put his creditors off with false promises by saying that he was heading off to Anatolia but was going to be staying in Tabriz for a few days to tend to necessities and raise money for the road. He, his brother Qutb-i-Jahan, and his cousin Qawamulmulk united in their efforts to destroy Baidu and help Ghazan. Then, after loading up all the gold, silver, rugs, and gold- and silver-brocaded carpets he could, he decamped toward the end of Ramadan 694 [mid-August 1295] and set out with the speed of lightning, accompanied by all his retinue and hordes. **[910]** By doubling his speed he reached the top of the hill over Gilan in two days and nights, but he traveled so fast that most of his retinue were left behind and the mounts were ruined. A group of soldiers in the region pillaged his baggage train, and the same day Qunchuqbal and a host of amirs set out after him like the wind. Unable to catch up with him, however, they were forced to turn back in disappointment.

Amira Dibaj, the padishah of Fuman, immediately hastened out to greet Sadruddin and gained access to him by performing pleasing services like offering banquets and gifts and even by sending his own vizier as a guide.

On the 7th of Shawwal 694 [August 20, 1295] [Sadruddin] reached the prince in the Firozkoh meadow, and there he expressed his fealty. Prince Ghazan welcomed him warmly, and Sadruddin, speaking for Taghachar as usual, reported the amirs' fidelity and support as well as Baidu Khan's weakness and inability. Prince Ghazan did not pay much attention to his words, which could have been lies as easily as the truth. After that the great amirs Nawroz, Qutlughshah, and others held council in private, to which they invited Sadruddin too. The prince said, **[911]** "If Taghachar helps us, we will soon achieve our aims."

"Taghachar's assistance and obedience are up to me," said Sadruddin, "for when the army moves from here, Taghachar will come out with his soldiers to greet and assist you—provided that the prince give me his assurances that when he has secured the throne he will give me the office of vizier. Then I will undertake to see to it that the victorious Nawroz and his troops will array themselves and make a surprise attack on Baidu and his commanders via Gilan, for Taghachar is like the poem that says 'My eye is in expectation of the sight of you; my ear is listening for your words.' "

The prince promised that when the seal of the khanate was on his finger he would grant the request. Sadruddin immediately dispatched a spy to convey this information to Taghachar.

Meanwhile, Qutlughshah, who had formerly been a liege man to Shaykh Mahmud, came back from Baidu to report everything. Ghazan ordered him stripped naked, and then, with beating and torture he was interrogated about Baidu and his amirs and soldiers. "Tell me truly why you have come," Ghazan asked.

"As a spy," he answered, "to confirm whether you intend to do battle with them or not."

He was imprisoned in the Ustubawand fortress in Habalrod, and the prince set out quickly under favorable auspices. On Friday the 15th of Shawwal [August 28, 1295] he set out toward Habalrod for Ray. Nawroz and four thousand horsemen went as an advance guard, and Sadruddin Zanjani went with him. After Sadr's escape from Tabriz, Amir Chuban and Ali Inaq's son Qurumshi Gürägän, both of whom belonged to Tödächü's *tümän*, said, "The horses in the herds are *qadaq* [useless], **[912]** and news of Prince Ghazan's arrival is constantly coming in. If we are given permission, we will mount the horses so that

they may be *yaraq* [fit]." They were given an order to mount, and they and five hundred horsemen mounted the rested horses. Early during the night they took flight and joined the prince, before whom they attained the honor of *uljamishi* and were given robes, jewel-studded belts, and pieces of clothing. To Prince Ghazan they said, "If so ordered, we will outstrip Nawroz and Qutlughshah in valiant performance."

From there they went to the province of Ray, where they camped at the Qoha river. The prince meanwhile occupied himself with arranging and supplying his army.

Amir Nawroz mounts in the vanguard; Baidu Khan and his commanders are seized; Prince Ghazan Khan arrives at the place of his father's throne; Baidu Khan's death.

In organizing and supplying his army Prince Ghazan relied upon Amir Nawroz's every word, and Amir Nawroz in turn hoped to make up for his past mistakes and acts of rebellion to get himself reinstated in good graces. The prince sent messages to Muslim rulers and sought assistance and help from friend and stranger alike, making pacts and covenants with them so that they would help and assist him. Nawroz threw into chains and prison everyone he found on his way in order to keep his secrets hidden until he reached the borders of Sujas and Suhravard next to the Safedrod. Then he dispatched envoys and messengers in all directions, the contents of their message as follows: "Prince Ghazan has set out for the place of his father's throne with twelve *tümäns* of soldiers. Three *tümäns* have been sent with Äbügän Oghul to Hamadan; two *tümäns* have been sent to Sarab, Ardabil, and Mughan; two *tümäns* are going under Nawroz's command as an advance troop. The remaining five *tümäns* in the center and wings will come with the Prince of the World Ghazan. Since he has unsheathed the sword of good fortune, anyone who draws a blade against him will be considered a rebel and will forfeit his life, possessions, children, grandchildren, and descendants. Therefore, let anyone who loves his life and possessions come and submit." All, far and near, quaked in fear and trepidation at this threat.

On Thursday the 2nd of Dhu'l-Qa'da 694 [September 13, 1295], Toladai, who was in command of Baidu's forward guard, informed [Baidu] of the imminent arrival of Ghazan and Nawroz with a numerous army. Baidu was dumbfounded. **[913]**

"Nawroz has fulfilled his promises with treachery," he said. "It will not be long before he reaps his just reward." Thus bidding farewell to his barren kingdom, he indicated that Taghachar was to be summoned. "It has been heard that Ghazan is on his way to us with a large army," said Baidu. "How can we repel them?"

Taghachar sent back an answer, saying, "Be easy of mind. For the time being, go out and greet them, and do not allow yourself to fear, for we will take care of repelling the enemy." By such trickery he fooled him into exposing himself to catastrophe. Baidu did as he was told and stationed Elji'idäi and Barulai on the left. From that side, Sadruddin sent a spy to Taghachar telling him to separate himself from Baidu and get himself over to the other side by nightfall. When

The blackness of dark night spread a carpet of raven feathers over the plain; / you'd say the face of the celestial sphere, like rusted steel, had been polished with pitch,

the faithless Taghachar camped apart with a group of commanders like Su'unchaq's son Sarban, Bughdai Akhtachi,[1] and Shunqusun, a commander of a thousand. They decamped and went out to greet Nawroz,

[1] In JT_K the name is Tughdai throughout; in JT_{AZ} it is Bughdai. We will opt for Bughdai.

rejoicing in each other's company like the zephyr and springtime. Then the soldiers, like hunted beasts that suddenly find an opening to escape, set out one after another, and the commanders and soldiers abandoned their *yurts*. By morning it was as clear as day to Baidu that Taghachar, the leader of the commanders, and a large group had abandoned him and gone over to the enemy. Paralyzed with fear and trepidation, he knew he was incapable of standing up to Nawroz, so he chose to flee together with a group of amirs who had despaired of their lives and possessions and who had no choice but to take flight. On Friday the 15th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [September 26, 1295] he went from the banks of the Safedrod to Maydan-i-Sulaymanshah, which the Mongols call Na'uri. The instant Taghachar and the amirs went over, without battle, they fled with the speed of the wind before the shining splendor of Ghazan Khan's fortune.

The entire army fell to flight: doomsday befell all at once. / Without having seen battle they fled, shedding armor from their bodies. **[914]**

At the end of that day Saighan Hulachu, a commander of a *hazara* from Hinduqur's son El Temür's *tümän*, joined Amir Nawroz with his *hazara*. On Saturday eve El Temür, a *tümän* commander, went over to him with his guard troop and Prince Kharbanda and most of the amirs. By midnight Baidu was aware of his failure. Immediately taking flight, he went via Azerbaijan with Qunchuqbal, Chechäk, Elji'idäi, and a few others in the direction of Ujan and Marand, heading for Georgia and Istiman [?] and relying upon Tükäl.

When the news of Baidu's retreat reached Nawroz, he immediately sent Bughdai Akhtachi's brother Arghai Bitigchi to Prince Ghazan with the good news that Baidu had been defeated, the enemy soldiers had been dispersed, and Taghachar and the other amirs had joined them. "Come with the speed of the wind," said the message, "and adorn your head and foot with the crown and throne, for I am heading for Georgia in pursuit of Baidu." Prince Ghazan was delighted by this good news and set out in haste. When he reached Sujas, Prince Kharbanda and Prince Ildär paid homage. When they set out along the banks of the Safedrod and Bihi[s]tan, Amir Toladai Idächi, Hinduqur's son El Temür, and other commanders paid homage. From there the prince came out via ___.[1] Here Prince Esän Temür paid homage. Then he*[2] camped in Yüz Aghach in Maragha, waiting for the amirs **[A300]** Nawroz and Qutlughshah, who had gone out in pursuit of Baidu, Ildär, and Tükäl in the direction of Nakhichevan and the Aras [the Araxes].[3]

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[1]Unidentifiable place name, جناغمر.

[2]The discrepancy between JT_{AZ} and JT_{K} that began on text p. 904 ends here.

[3]Instead of the matter that follows in JT_{K} down to text p. 918, JT_{AZ} has the following:

After that he proceeded to Ujan. Amir Bayanchar came from Nawroz and Qutlughshah, saying, "Baidu has been seized and taken from the vicinity of Nakhichevan to Tabriz. He says he has some things to say to the emperor. What is commanded?" The emperor knew full well that he had nothing of any consequence to say and was only seeking a pretext. An order was given that he not be brought to court; an end could be put to him where he was. Baidu had been taken out of Tabriz to the garden at Naykash. On Wednesday the 23rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da 694 [October 4, 1295] he was put to death there.

An edict was given that all the *bakhshis*' temples and houses of worship, as well as Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, were to be destroyed in Tabriz, Baghdad, and other Islamic places, and for that victory most of the people of Islam rendered thanks since God had not seen fit to grant this wish to past generations.

After that, the Padishah of Islam set out for Tabriz. Sadruddin Zanjani, who had gone to the city to make arrangements, came out as far as Kandraw to greet him. Since he wanted to show off his position to the people, he made so bold as to speak [to the emperor] while still mounted on his horse. Amir Mulai, who was the bodyguard of the day, told him twice that such was not his privilege and that he should not make so bold. Sadruddin paid no atten-

tion, so Mulai struck him several times with his whip and drove him away. For this and several other reasons Sadruddin suffered a set-back.

On Wednesday the 23rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da [October 4, 1295], the Padishah of Islam arrived in the outskirts of Tabriz and settled with all magnificence in the palace at Shamm. Elji'idäi Qushchi, in accordance with imperial command, was executed without a trial. All he had was given to Bulughan Khurasani. After that, Nawruz and Qutlughshah arrived, and Bulughan Khatun and the other ladies came from Sughurluq and held banquets in the Adiliyya kiosk. Qunchuqbal and Chechäk were put on trial. Qunchuqbal was executed in expiation for Aq Buqa's blood. [A301] From there they proceeded to Qara Tapa. Chechäk was beaten, and Tödächü was set free. Amir Nurin was sent with a troop to Khurasan and Mazanderan, and the emperor returned to Tabriz, where a proclamation was made that everyone should mind his own business and no one should apply force to any other, they should not stir up sedition and strife, and not a fraction of a coin was to be given to anyone without authorization by the gold seal. All the people reposed in the glory of the Padishah of Islam's justice, and all raised their voices in prayer for his ever-increasing fortune. Untold alms were given in thanks for "the world had languished long without king or leader: now a worthy emperor has come to be its head." From Tabriz, Amir Mulai was sent to be governor of Diyarbekir and Diyar Rabi'a. Amir Nawroz was amply rewarded, and an edict was promulgated that the vizierate of the entire *ulus* was to be given to him. For the time being he was to remain in Tabriz, but when he had tended to the affairs of the people, he should follow the emperor to Arran. On Monday the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja 694 [October 17, 1295] the emperor left Tabriz to winter in Arran. While still in the Tabriz vicinity he married Bulughan Khan. Although his father Arghun Khan had known her carnally, since they had joined under a difference of religion (the lady was a Muslim), this marriage was legal. The marriage was celebrated under favorable auspices, and the customary banquets were held. After that they proceeded via Ahar and Peshkin to Mughan. They camped in the vicinity of Abubakrabad in the village of Pul-i-Khusraw. Two weeks later Nawroz arrived, and all the ladies, princes, amirs, ministers, and notables gathered at Qarabagh in Arran and agreed unanimously that the Padishah of Islam should be emperor. All gave *möchälgäs* [written pledges] to that effect, [A302]

*On the first of Dhu'l-Hijja the prince arrived in Tabriz, and after him Taghachar. The good news of Baidu's dethronement and the elevation of Ghazan Khan to the throne was announced to the people, and by imperial command on Saturday the 8th of Dhu'l-Hijja 694 [October 19, 1295] the destruction of temples, Christian churches, and Jewish synagogues was begun, and temples in which idols were housed, clappers, and crosses were entirely eliminated from the region of Azerbaijan, particularly Tabriz.

Nawroz pursued Baidu like a falcon. When his horses were exhausted he sent Qurumshi and Buqur's[1] son Shadi with four thousand horsemen in pursuit of Baidu. By exerting themselves, they caught up with him, seized him, and brought the poor, distraught man to Nawroz. [915]

By way of reproach Nawroz said to him, "Didn't we make a pact and covenant with each other that I would bring Ghazan and turn him over to you? Since I was honest with you, kept my word, and brought Ghazan, why did you break your promise and turn and take flight before we arrived?"

Baidu lowered his head in shame and begged to be sent to Ghazan, who had taken up residence in Ujan. Nawroz sent Bayanchar to Prince Ghazan to announce Baidu's seizure. Bayanchar went to Ghazan in Ujan and reported that Baidu had been caught by the armies of Georgia, saying, "Tomorrow he will arrive under escort by two hundred cavalrymen, for they should have reached

and Sunday the 23rd of Dhu'l-Hijja 694 [November 3, 1295], corresponding to the 23rd of Toqsunch Ay of Qoyin Yil, was chosen for his enthronement. Under a favorable ascendant the Padishah of Islam was seated on the throne, and all the ladies, princes, and amirs knelt in their proper places, held forth goblets, and pronounced congratulations upon his blessed accession.

[1] Reading بوقور for the text's توغو. See text p. 919 below, where the name occurs again.

Tabriz today. He begged and pleaded, saying, 'Take me to the prince in order that I may say what I have to say.' "

When this good news reached Prince Ghazan, he rejoiced and was happy, but he did not fall victim to excessive pride. "Why are they bringing him to me?" he asked. "Let them finish him off there." So saying, he indicated to Sö'ätäi Akhtachi that he was to go as quickly as possible and dispatch Baidu without delay. Sö'ätäi and the advisors and elite courtiers came across him in the Naykash garden above Tabriz. As Mongol custom demands, they spent the entire day drinking and eating, humbling themselves and paying him court, but by nightfall on Wednesday the 23nd of Dhu'l-Qa'da 694 [October 4, 1295] his life had been ended, the period of his rule having lasted no longer than the blossom of a rose before the petals of his good fortune were cast to the autumn winds of calamity.

Ildär took flight to Anatolia, and Tükäl to Georgia. Baidu's son Qipchaq Oghul was executed in the vicinity of Kastavur [?], a dependency of Maragha on the 15th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [September 26, 1295].

Thus is the nature of the world and time for a crown to be snatched from the head of X and placed on the head of Y, but a raw melancholy remains firm in the bottom of the hearts of both. We may imagine in our pride and conceit that leadership and princely rank can be attained without divine guidance through mere effort, but do we not know that kingly rank is a divine gift? Unless the *humay* of eternal felicity casts its shadow one cannot realize or exercise leadership, as the wise have said, "If the crown of fortune comes from heaven, it settles only upon the head of one who has been designated for great good fortune." [916]

Anyone who seeks the reins of greatness must wash his hands generously with blood.

Thus ends the story of Baidu Khan, praise God.

After Baidu's misfortune, the world-conquering monarch Ghazan Khan set out from Ujan with his retinue. When he reached the vicinity of the city, the chief cadi Muhyiddin and the imams, shaykhs, ulema, and sayyids of the city of Tabriz were received. When he reached the Kucha-i-Baghha [lane of the gardens], Prince Sögäi paid homage.

On Wednesday the 23rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da 694 [October 4, 1295], he entered Tabriz with a magnificence and pomp that had never before been witnessed from any khan and dismounted at the royal palace in the Shamm meadow. "The lost ring of state returned to Solomon's hand."

The lost kingdom was regained: the escaped bird was caught again.

From near and far people came to pay homage and bask in the bosom of imperial favor. With his superior intelligence and insight, Ghazan Khan could fathom in one glance how things were and gain awareness of secrets and know what was profitable and what was injurious to the state.

Then an imperial decree was issued to the effect that it should be heralded in every assembly that people were to live at peace with each other and eschew force and compulsion. All were to avoid the paths of enmity and domination and keep clear of tyranny and oppression. They were to speak to underlings with justice and equity, and there was to be no oppression of the weak by the strong. He thus compelled the people to practice good conduct, and he forbade all illicit acts, encouraged acts of charity, and made people avoid evil. Envoys were dispatched to all corners of the kingdom to deliver this good news. He also approved the destruction of idol temples that Nawroz had carried out by imperial decree, and once again it was heralded that Jewish synagogues, Christian churches, and Magian monasteries should be razed.

Idols were smashed, bound to poles, and paraded through the city.

In short, all who came to pay homage were maintained in their positions and offices and received with all honor, while those who chose the path of rebellion were stripped of their titles and their estates were given to others. **[917]** After that, Elji'idäi Qushchi, the son-in-law of Prince Alafrang who had caused so much strife, came in trepidation on account of his past sins, accompanied by Alafrang. An order was given for Elji'idäi to be executed without the benefit of a trial.

A banquet was given in the Adiliyya Kiosk in a garden in Tabriz, and on Friday he decamped from there to Qara Tapa and Dehkhwaragan, where he waited for the arrival of the amirs Nawroz and Qutlughshah. The ladies Örüg and Bulughan followed him there, and on Tuesday the 29th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [October 10, 1295] Jirghadai, one of Baidu Khan's close advisors, was executed. Malik Fakhruddin, the governor of Ray, was sent by imperial command to Tabriz to announce that tax monies should not be given to the likes of Nawroz or others and that the amirs should not meddle in fiscal affairs. This news reached Nawroz in the vicinity of Khoy. In Maragha he professed his fealty, and on Wednesday the first of Dhu'l-Hijja [October 12, 1295] Nawroz dismounted from campaign, and the seditious amirs who had caused so much unrest were brought in chains and put on trial.

"What answer have you for such improper speech and behavior?" [Ghazan] asked them. "Did you think there was no one left of Arghun Khan's progeny to repel your evil?"

Neither has Arghun's seed disappeared from the earth, nor has the poison of the stinger been remedied. / Growling, he approached, placed the crown on his head, and softly cleansed his breast of vengeance.

All at once they fell into stunned silence. The monarch of the world, despite their multifarious crimes, was inclined to forgive them all on account of his clemency, which was as deep as the sea. On Thursday the 2nd of Dhu'l-Hijja [October 13, 1295] Amir Taghachar and the ladies came from Sughurluq to Qara Tapa to pay homage.

After that, Nawroz, Nurin, and Qutlughshah held a special session to investigate the offending amirs. Bulughan Khatun and some amirs interceded for the release of Qunchuqbal, but Hajji,[1] Nawroz's brother, Aq Buqa's son-in-law, and the monarch's special favorite, insisted on retaliation for Aq Buqa's blood.[2] On Saturday the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja [October 15, 1295] Qunchuqbal was made to taste oblivion in the vicinity of Khusrawshah, a dependency of Tabriz.[3] Toladai, Chechäk, and Idächü were beaten, released, and assigned to Khurasan to find expiation for their crimes in the field of battle against the enemy. Since Khurasan had been left devoid [of protection], news of the arrival of the enemy was constantly being spoken of. The padishah assigned Nurin Aqa with a troop to guard Khurasan.

Since autumn had begun, the padishah set out **[918]** for winter quarters in Mughan. Realizing how much he owed Nawroz for the favors and deeds he had performed, the padishah issued a decree awarding Nawroz the unconditional emirate and vizierate of all lands and peoples from the Oxus to Syria and from the banks of the eastern sea to the farthest end of the western sea. "Say what you need," said the padishah, "and your wish will be granted." Nawroz knelt and said, "The red seals that have adorned

[1] For Nawroz's brother Hajji, see text p. 80.

[2] See text p. 889 for Qunchuqbal's execution of Aq Buqa.

[3] Khusrawshäh, still there, although the name has latterly been changed to Khusrawshahr, is about twenty-five kilometers southwest of Tabriz.

edicts and decrees have had their faces veiled to Islam and faith, but now the padishah has taken up the customs of Islam and converted to the pure faith. If so ordered, it would be better now for the seals to be adorned with the names of God and the Apostle of God. Also let the square shape of the red seal be changed to a circle, which is the best of all shapes, to reflect the fact that we have changed and altered. So too let the padishah designate who is in charge of what in every office and establish the place for every seal and sign. Some of the provinces are well maintained and flourishing, while others are in disrepair: what does the padishah command in this regard?"

Ghazan Khan granted his requests, and in conformity with the dictum "When a noble person promises, he keeps his word," he gave the office of head of the bureaucracy to Sadruddin Zanjani and the office of chief secretary to Malik Sharafuddin Simnani, who had enjoyed his favor before the realm was conquered. The office of *mustawfi* [auditor general] of the divan he gave to Mu'inuddin, and Malik Fakhruddin Hasan was appointed to the general overseership. The governorship of Tabriz went to Sharafuddin Abdul-Rahman.

When all affairs had been settled in this fashion, he set out from Pahnabad in Tabriz on Saturday the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja [October 17, 1295] in the direction of Peshkin to winter in Mughan.*[1]

The Padishah of Islam begins to arrange military and civil affairs after his glorious accession.

After the celebrations and rejoicing, he turned his attention to organizing and arranging affairs of state. On Wednesday the 30th of Dhu'l-Hijja 694 [November 10, 1295] he sent Amir Taghachar as commander and guardian of Anatolia because he was a man who was mercurial and it was best to have him as far from court as possible. **[919]**

On Friday the 31st of Muharram 695 [December 9, 1295] envoys came from Khurasan to report that the princes Dua and Qaidu's son Sarban had entered Khurasan and Mazanderan on account of the absence of imperial troops and begun to pillage. The Padishah of Islam consulted with his commanders, and it was decided that Prince Sögä and Amir Nawroz would go there to repel them. Sögä went to his tents, and no matter how many times he was summoned to appear, he came up with excuses for staying where he was. The Padishah of Islam sent Horqudaq to bring him. Sögä spoke seditiously in a drunken state and it was reported to the imperial hearing, but the emperor was too grave and noble to pay attention. **[A303]** When Sögä did finally appear at court, he was received very warmly and assigned to Khurasan. With him in the vanguard were sent the *tümän* commanders Barula son of Khwaja son of Yisa'ur Noyan of the Olqunu'ut tribe and Arslan Oghul, who was a descendant of Jochi Qasar. Nawroz and Horqudaq were sent in the service of Prince Taichu Oghul. Hajji Narin, Nawroz's brother, and Satilmish, an old liege man of his, were appointed as deputies. They departed from the *ordu* on Friday the 21st of Safar [December 30, 1295]. On Monday the 24th they set forth in the direction of Persia. Suddenly news was received that Toqai Gürägän, the commander of the Oyirat who was in Diyarbekir and that region, had set out for Syria with the amirs Yesütäi son of Tash Mänggü Qushchi and Köktäi Bahadur, along with their households and Oyirat *hazaras*. Amir Mulai had mounted to repel them, but they had defeated him and proceeded.

On the last day of Rabi' I [February 6,

[1] Matter between asterisks missing from JT_{AZ}.

1296] news was received that Ildär had fled with three hundred horsemen. Buqur's son Shadi and Eshik Tughli's brother Inabeg had come upon him with three thousand men and fought a battle in which he was victorious. He tarried for a time in the vicinity of Erzurum, but in the end he was seized in a village. He was put to death by Iqbal, son of Uruqtu, son of Elgäi Noyan.

On Thursday the 20th of Rajab [May 24, 1296] Yesütäi, son of Tash Mänggü Qushchi, who had stirred up trouble in Diyarbekir, was put to death.

On the 6th of Rabi' II [February 12, 1296] Boralghi Qi[ya]tai Sükürchi, who had allied himself with rebellious amirs at the end of Arghun Khan's reign and who had meddled in seditious affairs ever since, was executed. [A304]

Sögä and Barula contemplate opposition; the army sets out to deal with them; the final outcome of that affair.

When Sögä and Barula set out from Arran, they held council with many soldiers along the way, saying, [920] "They are sending us to Khurasan in order to divide up our women and children here and give them to the army of Khurasan." After consultation they agreed first to repel Nawroz and then to attack the *ordus* and elevate Sögä to the throne. This happened at Kararod, which they call Türgän Müräп. Nawroz learned of this decision and attacked Sögä in the morning. A pitched battle was fought, during which Barula was killed. Sögä took flight in the direction of Kharraqan and Sawa. Horqudaq and a retinue of riders went out in pursuit, caught him in the vicinity of Kharraqan, and brought him to Markoy in Ray. Horqudaq said to Laodai's son Sati,[1] who was in agreement with him, "You kill Sögä." He went into a tent to kill him in the accustomed manner for princes, but Sögä pulled a knife, stabbed Sati in the stomach, and killed him. A liege man of Horqudaq's named Bai Temür ran in, grabbed the knife, and killed Sögä.

At that time the Padishah of Islam had left Abubakrabad to hunt in Aq Baq. On the 8th of Rabi' II [February 14, 1296] Satilmish Kälchi came from Nawroz to report Sögä's insurrection. The Padishah of Islam turned back immediately and camped next to Mänggü Temür's bridge [A305] with the amirs Qutlughshah, Satilmish, and Sö'ätäi in attendance. The next morning he dispatched men to arrest Qonqurtai's son Esän Temür and Barula's brother Qurumshi for having taken part in Sögä's insurrection. After a trial Esän Temür, who was the vanguard of the Mongol expeditionary force and his *amir-ordu*, and Qurumshi were executed. The amirs Qutlughshah, Chupan, Satilmish, Sö'ätäi, and Elbasmish gathered the soldiers, and during the *yasamishi* [muster] Amir Mulai arrived from Khurasan with news that Nawroz had killed Sögä and Barula, that Amir Nurin had seized Chechäk and Doladai in Khurasan, and that everything was all right. Most of the enemies had been vanquished, and those who remained had made Arslan Oghul their chief and come to Bilasawar, whence they had gone to Saray Mansuriyya and Deh Baqi and camped. The Padishah of Islam immediately ordered the amirs Chupan, Sülämish, Qurumshi, Toghrilcha, Taitaq, and Elbasmish to mount and repel them. They clashed in the vicinity of Baylaqan, and a fierce battle was fought. The amirs who were with Arslan Oghul—Tüläk, the cousin of Ujan the *amir-silah*, and Eshik Tughli's son Inabeg from the Jalayir, Taichu Bahadur's son Ghazan, [921] Musa Tarkhan, and Narin Ahmad's son Sergis—held sway that day. From among our soldiers Toghrilcha was so severely wounded that he almost fell. Alinaq's son Qurumshi saved him, [A306]

[1] Arends reads these names as Сати сыну Лаодая.

and Horqudaq and Barim, with two thousand men, went to help our soldiers.

The next day they made a concerted stand, and [the enemy's] soldiers submitted without a fight, and their officers retreated. Horqudaq returned, captured Sergis, and took him to the *ordu*. The others amirs went after those who had fled. They captured Tüläk and brought him in. He was executed together with Sergis.

On Wednesday the 23rd of Jumada I 695 [March 29, 1296] Arslan Oghul was captured, brought in, and killed. Taichu Bahadur's son Ghazan was executed after him. During those days Sadruddin Zanjani was seized, and the taxes that Jamaluddin Dastjirdani had assessed him were demanded. Bulughan Khatun protected him, and through her intercession he was saved and transferred to her baggage train.

On Thursday the 7th of Jumada II [April 12, 1296] the Padishah of Islam mounted to visit Pir Ibrahim, and two days later he dismounted at his *ordus*. He sent Amir Horqudaq to be chief officer of Fars to supervise fiscal affairs and collect taxes.

That year there had been war between Toqta, the padishah of the Ulus Qipchaq, and Noqai, the son of Tatar. Noqai had been killed, and his people had scattered. Noqai's wife Chini Khatun and his youngest son Büri came to the Padishah of Islam to seek his support in revenge for Noqai's blood. In his supreme compassion, the Padishah of Islam gave them condolences and assuaged their wrath.

On the eve of Wednesday the 26th of Rajab [May 30, 1296], the Padishah of Islam gave his sister Öljäi Temür, **[A307]** who had previously been Tükäl's wife, to Amir Qutlughshah.

Since Taghachar had been the cause of much unrest and strife, and since the Padishah of Islam wanted to eliminate completely all causes for sedition, he sent Amir Kharmanchi[1] to Anatolia that winter so that, together with Baltu, Arab, and the amirs of the Anatolian army, he could placate Taghachar and then, when an opportunity was at hand, execute him in private. Although the Padishah of Islam was loathe to have him killed, he issued the order in the best interests of the state. In this regard he said to his close associates, "In olden times there were two kings at war with each other in Cathay. One of them was beaten and his army was scattered. The victorious army went out in pursuit of the defeated for several days. **[922]** An officer who discovered the defeated king had compassion on him and wanted to save him because he was so helpless and miserable. He came across a well in that region and said, "Get into this well so that our soldiers won't see you.' When the troop arrived, because it was a sandy desert and the wind was blowing and effacing all tracks, they couldn't find their way. 'His tracks are gone,' the amir said, 'and there is no telling which way he has gone. No matter how hard we search, we won't be able to find him. It would be better for us to turn back.' When they had gone, the king came out of the well and went to his own land, where little by little he gathered an army and then came out again to fight. This time, he defeated and killed the king who had been victorious the time before and took over his kingdom. He covered the officer to whom he owed his life with special favors and took him into his closest confidence, assigning him to the highest office and making him his absolute deputy. One day, one of the officers said to the king, 'This person did not recognize his obligations to his king. Not only was he unfaithful to him but he also caused his death and brought about your rule. How can he be left alive? It will not be long before he contemplates the same treachery

[1] Reading, with JT_{AZ}, خرمنجی for JT_K's خرمیخی.

with you.' [A308] The king, being extremely clever, listened to this person's words and motioned for the officer's execution. The officer cried out, 'You owe me your life!' The king wept and said, 'You are right, and I am in no way pleased to put you to death. However, in the best interests of the state and throne there is no alternative: it is imperative that you be killed.' The king did have him killed, but he wept.

"Such things are necessary for keeping regal affairs under control, and no matter how difficult it is for me to have someone killed, in the interests of maintaining affairs both great and small, if executions are not carried out it is impossible to rule."

At the beginning of spring the Padishah of Islam set out from Bilasawar for the capital Tabriz, where he dismounted under favorable auspices at the palace in Shamm.

On the 27th of Rajab [May 31, 1296] Inäbeg was seized and brought to Tabriz. On Saturday the 29th he was executed in the public square.

On Wednesday the 10th of Sha'ban [June 13, 1296] Amir Aladu arrived from Khurasan and reported on affairs there. The Padishah of Islam left Tabriz for the meadow at Sayin, which was between Saraw and Ardabil. On Wednesday the 17th of Sha'ban [June 20, 1296] a *quriltai* was begun at that *yurt*, and it ended on the 19th. [923]

The affairs of Nurin Aqa; Nawroz's plot against him, and the beginning of Nawroz's downfall.

Nurin Aqa, who was from the Qiyat tribes, held a high position of trust and confidence with the Padishah of Islam, and he was powerful in Khurasan and Mazanderan. Amir Nawroz's brother Oyiratai was a liege man to him, but because of his own exalted lineage Nurin did not treat Oyiratai with much respect. Oyiratai complained of this treatment to his brother. This resulted in a quarrel. After that, when Nawroz arrived in Khurasan, he blamed Nurin for the dominance of the enemy, [A309] and he spoke harshly of him both in his hearing and behind his back. When they met in Jurjan, they thoroughly despised each other. Prince Taichu arrived from Tamisha. Out of wrath Nawroz boldly said, "I was ordered to ask Nurin how he managed to allow the enemy to enter this territory so easily. Now, in the presence of Prince Taichu, I ask him." All were offended by his conduct and chastised him. This was the first crack in Nawroz's power, and it was on account of his stubbornness and obstinacy.

From there they proceeded to Khabushan, where a review of troops was held. A messenger arrived from the scouting party saying that the enemy had been spotted in the meadows of Radkan. Nawroz mounted, but when it was investigated, the news was found to be false. Then he consulted with the officers in Mashhad at Tus, saying, "I intend to raid as far as the borders of Herat with four thousand horsemen in order to inform myself of the enemy's situation. On the 17th of Rajab [May 21, 1296] he set out on this campaign. He dispatched Prince Taichu and Amir Nurin to Radkan. On the 25th of Rajab [May 29] Amir Nawroz came back to Prince Taichu's *ordu* without having accomplished anything. "I heard," he said, "that my wife was ill. I will go to the Padishah of Islam. You see to ordering the army until I arrive." And immediately he set out for Azerbaijan, neglecting the affairs of Khurasan and the army. The miscreants the padishah had sent with him to be the vanguard of the army in battle all set out after Nawroz. When Nawroz left, the soldiers of Khurasan concocted rumors every day and dispersed until they were all gone. A hazara amir named Olsum[1] fled with four hundred men and went to his home *yurt* in

[1] JT_{AZ} has اول سوم, as read by Arends: Олсум. JT_K has اول سم for this name.

the vicinity of Ardabil. When Amir Nawroz heard of his flight while in Sharuyaz, he mounted in the vicinity of Saraw without informing the Padishah of Islam, went to [the amir's] tents, and harassed them. **[A310]** The Padishah of Islam was angered by his return and sent a messenger to tell him to go back. Nawroz said, **[924]** "My wife, Princess Toghan, is ill. How can I go back without having seen her?" This refusal also caused anger.

On the 21st of Sha'ban 695 [June 24, 1296] he reached the Padishah of Islam at Sayin, and he was received warmly and favorably. The Padishah of Islam then went to Ujan, and on Monday the 29th of Sha'ban [July 2] he married Eshil Khatun. When Qutlughshah and the other amirs perceived that the padishah was angry with Nawroz, they said that sending him to Khurasan had not been a good move and that he should be investigated since "one can deduce from his countenance features of sedition and corruption." However, since the expanse of the Padishah of Islam's heart was as endless as the ocean and his clemency was too great to be described, he said, "Although your words are true, I nonetheless cannot allow myself to break my word or go counter to an oath."

On Wednesday the first of Ramadan [July 3, 1296] Nawroz was ordered back to Khurasan, accompanied by Nizamuddin Yahya as his deputy. When he reached Khurasan, the sons of Toqtai Yarghuchi made a secret assassination attempt on Amir Nawroz in retaliation for their father's blood. Nawroz became afraid of them, and just at that time his wife, Toghan, passed away, and Nawroz's affairs began to decline. However, he kept up a brave front and continued to strive.

On the 8th of Ramadan [July 10] the Padishah of Islam stopped on the banks of Na'ur Dul on the Tabriz Road, and there he laid the foundation of an imperial garden and pavilion. During that time the sultan of Mardin arrived, presenting abundant tribute in cash and jewels. He withdrew having been showered in favor.

On the 13th of Shawwal [August 14, 1296] Husamuddin Lur was killed in Hashtrod.

On the 26th [August 27] the anniversary of the death of Dondi, Alafrang's mother, was observed.

On the 8th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [September 7, 1296] Baighut, the son of Chormaghun's son Shirämün Noyan, was executed at Se Gumbad. **[A311]**

The Padishah of Islam arrived in Maragha and went to the observatory, where the scientists gave a banquet. That same day a letter written by Qonqurtai's son Ildär to Baltu urging him to rebel was shown to the padishah. He immediately ordered a decamping, returned to the *ordus*, and arrested Ildär. After his crime was proven he was killed.

The imperial banners head for Baghdad; Afrasiab the Lur, Jamaluddin Dastjirdani, and Mawlana Izzuddin Muzaffar Shirazi are executed; the birth of Princess Öljäi Qutlugh.

On Tuesday the 18th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 695 [September 17, 1296] the imperial banners **[925]** departed Maragha for winter quarters in Baghdad via Hamadan.

On the 24th of the month [September 23] Nurin Aqa arrived from Khurasan. The Padishah of Islam received him warmly and showed him favor.

Taishi's[1] son Baltu had been in Anatolia since Abaqa Khan's reign, and there he had gained great power. Samaghar Noyan had died, and his son Arab was still a child, and therefore Baltu's strength and power had

[1] JT_{AZ} has تبشی (Täbshi); JT_K has تنجی. Read تیشی (Taishi, a variant of Taichu): see text p. 52 for Taichu and his son Baltu.

increased. No matter how often the Padishah of Islam summoned him, he made excuses not to come. After Taghachar was executed, his power and arrogance went beyond all bounds, and the name of rebel was attached to him. His opposition was reported in the year 696, and accordingly Amir Qutlughshah and three divisions of soldiers set out for Anatolia to repel him. Baltu took flight and sat in ambush behind a mountain. [A312] Amir Qutlughshah went in pursuit with Sülämish, Arab, Boroltai Oghul, and Abishqa, with Abishqa in the vanguard. When he reached the mountain, Baltu sprang from ambush, and there were wounded on both sides. Then Amir Qutlughshah arrived in the Mala[t]ya plain, and with one charge Baltu was routed. Amir Qutlughshah sent Sülämish to pursue him while he himself retired to winter quarters in Arran. When the imperial banners that were headed for Baghdad reached Marghzarak in Hamadan, Jamaluddin Dastjirdani was appointed vizier in Malik Sharafuddin Simnani's stead.

On the 8th of Dhu'l-[Hijja[1]] 695 [October 7, 1296] a one-month halt was observed, and the maliks of Persian came to court, performed their business, and withdrew.

Horqudaq returned from tax-gathering in Fars, and he brought back with him Atabeg Afrasiab the Lur, who had received favor and was returning home. When he arrived at court, the padishah inquired after the state of Fars. "First," he said, "I will report on this Tajik. When I was going to Fars I passed through Lur territory, but he did not show his face. From Shiraz I sent an agent to collect the tribute from Koh Giluya, but his people made trouble for him and said, 'We took this land by the sword, and its taxes have fallen at [our] feet. We do not speak of the sedition of time, the killing of Baidu the *shahna* of Isfahan, the leading of the army to Isfahan, the seizing of Firozan, or other such actions of ours." The Padishah of Islam flew into a rage and ordered that Afrasiab be executed.

When they reached the vicinity of Deh Sapandan,[2] Shaykh Mahmud and Sadruddin Zanjani enticed a group to inform on Jamaluddin Dastjirdani, [926, A313] and on he 28th of Dhu'l-Hijja 695 [October 27, 1296] a trial was held and he was put to death.

From there the Prince of the World made Kharbanda his locum tenens and sent him to Khurasan. Also around that time Izzuddin Muzaffar, a nephew of the Amid of Fars, informed on the governor of Fars, Shaykh Jamal Ibrahim Sawamili, with Sadruddin Zanjani assisting him. Even though no act of treachery could be proven against him, he was executed.

From there he moved out, and on Wednesday the 14th of Safar 696 [December 12, 1296] he arrived safely in Baghdad, stopping in the outer pavilion called Muthanna. Several days later he went out hunting in the direction of Nayl, Nu'maniyya, and Sib Wahla as far as the blessed shrine of Sidi Abu'l-Wafa. After twenty-four days he returned and stopped at Marzubaniyya.

On the 9th of Rabi' II [February 4, 1297] he mounted for a hunt in the direction of Hit and Anbar, stopping after eight days in Muhawwal, where he visited the holy Kazimi shrine and the grave of the great Imam Abu-Hanifa Kufi. On Friday he attended the congregational prayer in the mosque at Suq al-Sultan. On Thursday the 4th of Jumada I [February 28] he set out for the return.

On Thursday the 18th of Jumada I 696 [March 14, 1297] Princess Öljäi Qutlugh

[1]Text has Dhu'l-Qa'da, but given the sequence of dates, it should be Dhu'l-Hijja.

[2]There are many variants of this name. Arends transcribes it as Сепендан.

was born in Shahraban. [A314]

The story of Qaysar, Amir Nawroz's slave; Nawroz's sons and brothers are executed and his fortunes are completely reversed; Nawroz is killed at Herat.

On Wednesday the 17th of Jumada I 696 [March 13, 1297] Alamuddin Qaysar, Nawroz's messenger, was arrested in Baghdad. Shaykh Mahmud sent his brother Sulayman to inform the court of this incident, which came about as follows.

During Baidu's time Nawroz wanted to overthrow him and get the throne of the khanate for the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan so that by means of this good service his offenses might be totally forgotten. Since it could not be brought about merely by money and numbers of troops, he sent the above-mentioned Qaysar, who had been a slave to Baghdad merchants and had traveled to Syria and Egypt, on a mission to the padishah of Egypt to say, "Baidu is an infidel and we are Muslims. Together we must remove him." By the time Qaysar brought back the answer, Baidu had already been vanquished, the kingship had devolved upon the Padishah of Islam, and Nawroz had attained the pinnacle of success, and therefore he did not consider it politic to report the situation to the emperor. [927] He ordered Jamaluddin Dastjirdani, who was [the emperor's] deputy, to write a letter appropriate to the time, and a fair copy was made in an unknown hand and submitted to the court. As ordered, he encouraged Qaysar and sent him back. At the time of Jamal Dastjirdani's trial this affair was reckoned among his offenses. Fakhruddin Rumi, who was an attendant of Amir Na'uldar, the *shahna* of Baghdad, knew this Qaysar [A315] and was aware of the letter. He spoke of it to Amir Na'uldar, who reported it. It was ordered that Fakhruddin Rumi go to Baghdad and make an inquiry into Qaysar's affairs. When Nawroz was leaving for Khurasan, since he knew that he was out of favor with the Padishah of Islam, he sent Sadruddin, the son of the Shaykhu'l-Islam of Herat, whom he trusted, to court to be in attendance to look after his interests during his absence. This Sadruddin also knew of the sending of Qaysar, and he let slip a word or two concerning Nawroz's friendship with the sultan of Egypt to one of his acquaintances. That person carried the story to the Shaykhu'l-Mashayikh Mahmud, and together they reported it to court. The padishah encouraged the Shaykhzada Sadruddin and, promising him many good things to put his mind at ease, sent him to Baghdad to undertake an investigation of Qaysar and find out whether he had come from Khurasan or not.

Sadruddin went from Hashtrod to Baghdad by post horse and came back to the Padishah of Islam at Chamchamal to report that Qaysar had not come yet. An order was given for Sadruddin to go back to Baghdad and get hold of Qaysar. When he went there, Qaysar had arrived with three liege men and was going to set out within the week. He and two of his liege men came to Sadruddin's house in friendship, and Sadruddin informed the counselor. He laced two plates of halva with knock-out potions and sent them to the shaykhzada to give to his guests. Qaysar and his liege men ate it all and fell unconscious on the spot. That friend had been waiting with a group of his liege men for this opportunity: they attacked the house, captured Qaysar and his liege men, and tied them up.

Sadruddin Zanjani, who had only recently become vizier, was constantly on the lookout for an opportunity to undermine Nawroz. [A316] The reason for this was that in the beginning, when he was expecting to be made vizier, Nawroz had named Jamal Dastjirdani as his own deputy, and from that time on there was hostility and enmity

because he was out of a job. In this affair he and his brother Qutbuddin found the opportunity they were looking for: miraculously they wrote six letters, purportedly from Nawroz, to the amirs of Egypt and Syria. The contents of the letters were as follows: "The padishah, thank God, is a Muslim, but when I want to [928] propagate the religion of Islam, the amirs prevent it. It is hoped that together we may undertake to repel them in a manner that would be pleasing to the religious law and to reason. I myself have written to my brothers Lagzi and Hajji telling them that if they can gather troops before we unite, they should do it. Otherwise we will do it ourselves. I will occupy the territory of Iran and turn it over to you. I have sent several suits of clothing by the hand of Qaysar, the bearer." These forged letters they stashed, along with seventeen suits of clothing, in Qaysar's baggage. Then Sadruddin wrote a letter in Amir Nawroz's name to Hajji Narin, to whom he went and offered a toast. While [Hajji Narin] was unaware, he placed the letter in his *qabturqai* [satchel] and left. Shaykh Mahmud then sent his brother Sulayman to court to report the situation.

The Padishah of Islam turned back from the field in the vicinity of Kirmanshahan and rode to Shahraban in one day, a distance of thirty leagues. On Sunday the 21st of Jumada I [March 17, 1297] Shaykh Mahmud and Sadruddin Zanjani's brother Qutbuddin escorted Qaysar into Shahraban and reported his condition. The Padishah of Islam said, "Report it correctly." Qaysar reported in such a way that no fault was reflected upon Nawroz. Then they asked for his bags, [A317] and the clothing and letters were taken out. All together gave testimony that the writing was that of Hajji Ramazan, Nawroz's secretary. The Padishah of Islam ordered Qaysar and the liege man to be beaten to death with cudgels. Shaykhzada Sadruddin undertook to produce the other two liege men, and for that purpose he went to Baghdad, but it was impossible for him to seize them. When he was unable to produce them, he too was killed. This provoked the Padishah of Islam's rage to burst out in tongues of flame that scorched everything as he said, "When information is gained on his secrets, before the appearance of traces of treachery and subterfuge, all precaution must be taken." An edict was issued for Amir Nurin and Bayanchar to arrest and execute the entirety of Nawroz's people, sons, servants, and followers.

From there the imperial banners decamped to Haruniyya. Hajji was about to mount when Bayanchar arrived and arrested him and drove his *khaylkhana* in another direction. Prior to this Satilmish, Nawroz's deputy, his son Qutlugh Temür, and Nawroz's son Ordu Buqa were executed. Hajji Narin was brought to the meadow at Khanaqin, and Amir Nurin put him on trial. After establishing his guilt by producing Sadruddin's letter from his satchel, he was stripped naked, paraded around the tents, and executed, and his tents and flocks were plundered. [929] His twelve-year-old son Taghai fled and took refuge in the tent of Amir Injil, who was the *amir-ordu* of the great lady Bulughan Khurasani. There he was protected for a time until the padishah's wrath should subside. Thereafter he petitioned and was pardoned, and at present he is an attendant upon the flocks and herds of Amir Husayn Gürägän. His people were given to Bulughan Khatun Khurasani. [A318] Kamal Küchik, his deputy, was killed. Lagzi was put to death on the 7th of Jumada II [April 2, 1297] in the square in Maydasht. Nawroz's nephew Güshlüg and his brother Yol Qutlugh were handed over for blood retaliation. Because of this victory the great square was named Qutlugh Maydan. Edicts

were dispatched to all territories for all his relatives and followers to be executed. Hinduqur's sons Shidun[1] and El Buqa were killed in the vicinity of Qasr-i-Shirin.

On Tuesday the 20th of Rajab [May 14, 1297] Prince Kharbanda arrived at court in Bisutun. On the 5th of Sha'ban [May 29, 1297] Amir Qutlughshah arrived in Asadabad, Hamadan from Mughan. After that Amir Chupan and Pulad Qaya arrived from Ray. An order was given for Pulad Qaya to go to Khurasan to arrest Nawroz and join Horqudaq and Amir Sö'ätäi. Two days later Amir Qutlughshah was also dispatched. Qutlugh Qaya was also sent on their heels.

Around the beginning of Sha'ban, Sülämish and Arab seized Taishi's son Baltu, who had rebelled, in Anatolia and brought him to Tabriz. The Padishah of Islam moved from Asadabad to summer pastures in Ala Tagh, and in the vicinity of Kararod the Prince of the World Kharbanda was dispatched to guard the territory of Khurasan. When he reached Nawshahr, messengers brought the good news from Qutlughshah that Nawroz had done battle and been defeated, and Borolcha Kükältash had brought Toghanchuq. The story is as follows.

When Amir Qutlughshah reached the vicinity of Damghan, Horqudaq and Sö'ätäi had killed Nawroz's *shahnas* who were in Ray, Varamin, Simnan, Damghan, and Bistam. **[A319]** When they reached Isfarayin, Buqa Temür's and Alghu's sons joined them seeking vengeance for their father's blood from Nawroz. During those days one of Nawroz's *amir-hazaras* named Danishmand submitted. Amir Qutlughshah sent him forth as his vanguard, and Iratai Qazan went to Nishapur to inform Nawroz of the approach of the army. Nawroz decamped from there and met face to face with Danishmand Bahadur's forces at the post station. Battle ensued, and although Danishmand's soldiers were few in number, Nawroz was defeated and fled with a few men. **[930]** The next morning his baggage and treasury fell into his opponents' hands. Horqudaq, ___[2] Yarghuchi's sons, and a division of soldiers proceeded in all haste in his tracks. That night Nawroz reached his herds in Jam, and he dismounted among his herds, ordering his liege men to lie in ambush behind the walls. At midnight the army arrived. They wanted to rustle the horses, but Nawroz and his liege men sprang from ambush shooting arrows. Many were killed and disabled. Nawroz retreated, and the soldiers of this side emerged as Nawroz fled in rout. When he reached the gates of Herat, Shamsuddin Kurt's son Fakhruddin invited him into the city. As Nawroz was contemplating this, his amirs Babakr, Sarban, and Sadum said, "Amir, we do not trust this man. It would be better to pass on in safety from this walled trap and not have to rely on his word."

"I have missed three days of prayers," Nawroz replied. "I want to make them up." The amirs left to save themselves. Nawroz and four hundred horsemen entered the city and went into the citadel. **[A320]**

When Amir Qutlughshah, who was in pursuit, reached Mashhad in Tus, he visited the shrine, where he performed two cycles of prayer, prostrated himself, and said, "O God, I do not know whether I am right or wrong in this. Both we opponents are Muslims. You alone know all secrets. If you know that Nawroz is at fault and has foolishly rebelled against Ghazan Khan, make him fall prisoner into my hands." Then he mounted, and when he reached

[1] Reading with JT_{AZ} شیدون for JT_K's شیل دن. Arends transcribes this name as Шидун.

[2] JT_K has Buqai here; it probably should be Toqtai, as on text p. 924.

Herat his solders surrounded the city and battle broke out. The amirs Turghai[1] and Chamchai fought hard. The next day Amir Qutlughshah ordered ladders placed against the ramparts and fire hurled into the city, but this led to nothing. Nawroz came out onto the ramparts and watched as his soldiers were fighting.

The weather was extremely hot, and many said, "It would be better for us to pull back since the Herat ramparts are very strong, and it will not be easy for Nawroz's opponent to prevail." Amir Qutlughshah was highly offended and said, "Our opponent has become weak and mean, and the walls are left without guard. How can we pull back? What excuse could we offer the emperor? Let us be brave and strive so that, with divine assistance, we may have an unexpected victory."

He ordered the Shaykhu'l-Islam of Jam, who was an attendant of the amir and whose son-in-law Malik Fakhruddin was, to write a letter to the malik saying, "You must do something to remedy this situation; otherwise, Herat and the whole realm of Khurasan **[931]** will be lost over this affair." When it was signed by the amir, it was smuggled into the city by a spy. Once the amir had read it, he took it to Nawroz, who said confidentially to his trusted elite, "By this act it is clear that the malik is true to me."

Hajji Ramazan said privately to Nawroz, "It would be best for us to seize Malik Fakhruddin and put him in chains. **[A321]** When everything is over, if we win, we can set him free with honor; if not, they can take charge of him. We at least will have taken every precautionary measure."

Nawroz did not accept this suggestion. An officer from Seistan was eavesdropping, and he immediately conveyed the news to the malik. The malik took fright, held council with the leaders and nobles of the city, and said, "In the end Ghazan Khan's soldiers will storm the city and take our women and children prisoner, and thus a house of so many years will fall. Nawroz swore an oath to Ghazan that he would never rebel against him, but he has. It would be best for us to defend ourselves and seize him by stratagem and trickery. Let us make a show of submitting and get a writ of amnesty from Amir Qutlughshah, and then we can turn him over."

The people of the city said, "Let whatever the malik thinks best be done."

After putting this plan into action, the malik went to Nawroz and said, "The soldiers of Herat and Ghor are not performing well in battle. To remedy this, set two of your own soldiers over every ten of them in order to encourage them in battle and not let them flag." In compliance with this suggestion Nawroz distributed his men among the others, remaining alone in the citadel himself. The malik then ordered his soldiers to seize all of Nawroz's men and hold them in chains while he and several brave Ghoris went into the citadel, seized Nawroz, and bound him tightly. "It has been ordered," he said, "that we turn you over to Amir Qutlughshah."

It is one of the amazing quirks of fate that during the reign of his father, Malik Shamsuddin Kurt, this same Malik Fakhruddin was so undutiful, headstrong, and rebellious that Malik Shamsuddin imprisoned him in Khaysar fortress. After he had been held for seven years, Nawroz came and entreated the father for his release. **[A322]** Shamsuddin had said, "I know what kind of person he is. He is faithless and treacherous. After failing to keep faith with his father, he will not keep faith with you." Nawroz, however, continued to intercede on his behalf and insisted. The malik said, "I will release him on one condition, that you give me a written statement taking

[1] According to Arends, Нуарай.

responsibility for anything he does henceforth." Nawroz wrote such an undertaking and had him released.

Now, as he was being taken, he said, "I did not do ill by you that you should thirst after my blood. If there is absolutely no other way, give me my gray horse and my sword so that I can ride bareback into the fray and be killed in battle. Then I will be both a warrior and a martyr."

"Henceforth," the malik replied, "you will see horse and sword under the thighs and in the grasp of others."

When he had seized him, he beheaded Hajji Ramazan and sent the head with a messenger to Amir Qutlughshah informing him that Nawroz, his brothers, and his liege men had been captured. Then he requested a writ of amnesty and a solemn promise that the amir would intercede with Ghazan Khan on his and the Heratis' behalf and not seek retaliation.

The messenger threw the head before Amir Qutlughshah and said, "The malik submits and says that by the amir's great good fortune victory has been achieved. Nawroz and his liege men are taken prisoner and are being held in chains." When the amir saw Hajji Ramazan's head, he realized that the words were true, and he ordered Khwaja Ala'uddin Khata'i to write a writ of amnesty as the Heratis had requested. On the top of it he wrote an oath and sent Amir Pulad Qaya, Khwaja Ala'uddin, and the Shaykhu'l-Islam **[A323]** of Jam to convey it to the city. The malik met them with all honor and then sent them back, saying, "By night I will send Nawroz, hands bound, to the amir." They returned and reported. That night the malik sent Nawroz with a troop of Ghori officers. Qutlughshah rejoiced greatly over this victory and asked him, "Why did you do it?"

"Ghazan can put me on trial," he replied, "but not you." After that, no matter what they asked him, he gave no answer because he knew he had committed no crime.

Amir Qutlughshah ordered him pulled down and cut in two. His head was sent to court with Pulad Qaya, and from there it was sent to Baghdad, where for several years it was on a pole at the Nubi Gate. His brothers Arghun Hajji and Bolduq were also killed there. This took place on the 23rd of Shawwal 696 [August 14, 1297].

Sadruddin Zanjani's station is elevated through the killing of Amir Nawroz; the imperial banners come from Ala Tagh to Tabriz; a magnificent palace is constructed in Shamm-i-Tabriz.

After Nawroz was killed, Amir Qutlughshah decamped from the gates of Herat and went to the meadow at Shuran. Nawroz's amirs Buranchar, Alanchaq, Tükäl Qara, and some others were killed, **[A324]** but Qarasun escaped to Amir Qutlughshah. The Padishah of Islam decamped from Ala Tagh and reached Tabriz on Friday the 24th of Dhu'l-Qa'da[1] [September 13, 1297]. The next day Baltu and his son were executed in the public square in Tabriz.

With the killing of Nawroz, Sadruddin's fortunes rose: he was shown favor by the padishah and entrusted with the *al tamgha*.

On the first of Dhu'l-Hijja [September 20] he went from Shamm into Tabriz and was present at the Friday prayer in the congregational mosque. He gave untold amounts to the poor and unfortunate, and he did the same the following Friday.

On Saturday the 16th of Dhu'l-Hijja 696 [October 5] he laid the foundation for a lofty dome in Shamm in the midst of the Adiliyya Garden. He took a great interest in the project, and constantly visited the master builders and workmen. When the structure of the *sardab* had been raised above ground level, the architects asked him in

[1]Text has Dhu'l-Hijja, but by the sequence of dates it should be Dhu'l-Qa'da.

how many places they should place skylights for lighting. "What for?" he asked. "For illuminating the below-ground level," they said. He answered, "The illumination of there should be brought from here; otherwise, the accidental brightness of the sun in that place does no one any good."[1]

On Monday the 18th of Dhu'l-Hijja [October 7, 1297] Qutlughshah Noyan arrived from Khurasan.

In the middle of Muharram 697 [November 2, 1297] the emperor bound a turban with all the amirs, and the next day they gave a banquet.

On Friday the 20th of Muharram [November 7], after performing the prayer, he set out from Tabriz for winter quarters in Arran. There was news of disturbances in Georgia. Amir Qutlughshah was dispatched there to subdue the province, and he quickly returned, bringing Malik Daud's brother with him. He was shown favor and allowed to return.

The imperial banners set out in the direction of Baku, **[A325]** and several days later they camped.

On Friday the 9th of Rabi' II 697 [January 24, 1298] Prince Khitai Oghul died in Dalan Na'ur.

On the 9th of Jumada I 697 [February 22, 1298] Prince Alchu was born in Dalan Na'ur, and many days were spent in celebration and banqueting. **[934]**

Sadruddin Zanjani falls from grace and is executed.

On Friday the 13th of Jumada II 697 [March 28, 1298] Sayyid Qutbuddin Shirazi and Mu'inuddin Khurasani knelt before the emperor and reported Sadruddin Zanjani's embezzlement of state funds. Now, most of the time there had been friendship between the author of this book, Rashid the physician, and Sadruddin, but a group of divan chiefs had tried to create a rift between us by conveying all sorts of stories, but [the emperor] paid no attention to them. When they despaired of me, they went to Sadruddin and angered him with their nastiness. When little attention was paid to that, Sadruddin knelt before the emperor on the 15th of Jumada II [March 30] to denounce me, and I began to answer him. The padishah, however, shouted at him and said, "He has never reported your words to me." Then I began to speak, but the padishah said, "Do not sully your tongue by answering him. Maintain your dignity." Sadruddin realized my innocence and became very angry with the group who had slandered me.

On Sunday the last of Jumada II [April 14], Taichu Oghul and his comrades were seized on the banks of the Qara Küdäri **[A326]** on account of sedition, and the shaykh who was in attendance upon him and who had promised him the kingship suddenly reported the situation to the padishah's hearing. On the 2nd of Rajab [April 15] Taichu Oghul and four of his comrades were executed on the banks of the canal that had been newly dug in the vicinity of Dalan Na'ur. The padishah crossed the water and camped in the *ordus* at the new canal.

While the padishah was in Dalan Na'ur, Amir Qutlughshah returned from Georgia and rebuked Sadruddin over the tribute from there. Sadruddin became afraid of him and reported that Qutlughshah's men had ruined Georgia, and for that reason the padishah rebuked Qutlughshah both in drunkenness and in sobriety. The amir asked Sadruddin if he knew who had complained of him to the emperor. Sadruddin replied, "It was Rashid the physician, on Nawroz." Amir Qutlughshah left the em-

[1] Arends translates this obscure passage similarly: Свет там надобно провести отсюда, а иначе освещение, происходящее от солнца, в том месте не принесет человеку пользы (p. 182).

peror's presence, and we chanced to meet. "We have been together in one *käshik*, and nothing has ever come between us to cause anger. Why have you attacked me before the padishah?"

"I have received no injury from you that would cause me to attack you," I replied. "You must tell me who has conveyed these words to the emperor. Otherwise, I will report it myself." [935] When he refused to tell me, I reported it during a hunt.

The padishah summoned the amir and said, "My son, tell me the truth. Who told you this?"

"Sadruddin," he said.

The Padishah of Islam was greatly vexed and said, "Although I have desired this man to give up his tricks and seditious ways, there seems to be no remedy, for his very nature is molded in this fashion." [A327]

On Wednesday the 17th of Rajab [April 30] Sadruddin was put on trial. He fearlessly gave unanswerable responses and made no attempt to curry favor with the inquisitors. If they had given him an opportunity to speak, he would have been able to save himself from certain disaster, but the padishah ordered Qutlughshah to put an end to Sadruddin. At midmorning on Sunday the 21st of Rajab 697 [May 4, 1298] at the Jandar canal, Amir Sö'ätäi took one of his arms, Pahlavan Malik Ghori took the other, and Amir Qutlughshah cut him in two. God only knows how much effort he had put into aggrandizing himself and how much discontent and strife he had stirred up. In the end, when he got what he wanted, he derived no enjoyment from it.

From there the imperial banners proceeded to Bilasawar and then stage by stage until they arrived in Tabriz on Saturday the 12th of Sha'ban [May 25].

On Monday the 21st of Sha'ban [June 3] Qazi Qutbuddin and his nephew Qawamulmulk were executed at the Varjuna Gate in Tabriz. Their relative Qazi Zaynuddin escaped from the Tabriz prison by night and made his way to Gilan. He came back two or three years later, but he fled again. This time he was captured and killed.

On Sunday the 10th of Shawwal 697 [July 21, 1298] the common people of Tabriz rose up and destroyed all the remaining churches and synagogues. The Padishah of Islam was angry and had some of the instigators executed.

On Monday the 9th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [August 18, 1298] Su'unchaq Noyan's son Sarban died in Tabriz.

On the 25th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [September 3, 1298] Boroltai Oghul of Jochi Qasar's progeny died. [A328]

The imperial banners proceed from the capital Tabriz to winter quarters in Baghdad; the office of the vizierate is conferred upon Khwaja Sa'duddin; news is received of Sülämish's rebellion, and troops are dispatched to deal with him.

On Thursday the 3rd of Dhu'l-Hijja 697 [September 11, 1298] the imperial entourage set out from Tabriz via Ujan for winter quarters in Baghdad. [936] The office of the vizierate was conferred upon Khwaja Sa'duddin, whose loyalty had been shown by his constant attendance. Amir Nurin was dispatched to Arran to guard Derbent.

On Friday the 2nd of Muharram 698 [October 10, 1298] the emperor dismounted in Marghzarak in the Hamadan vicinity. In the region of Burujird, Abubakr Dadqabadi, the governor of Hamadan, was executed after his guilt was proven.

Traveling through the Kurdish mountains, the emperor stopped in the Juqin meadow in the vicinity of Wasit on Saturday the 22nd of Safar [November 29]. Passing through Bata'ih Sib, he entered Wasit. During that time news of Sülämish's revolt was constantly being received from Anatolia. The background is as follows. When

Baltu was executed, the Padishah of Islam assigned the emirate of Anatolia to the amirs Bayanchar, Buchqur, Qurtemürdad, and Sülämish, himself the chief officer of the army of Anatolia. [A329] They deposed Sultan Mahmud on a charge of having collaborated with Baltu and gave the sultanate to his nephew Ala'uddin Kayqubad, son of Faramarz, and he went to Anatolia with the aforementioned officers.

That winter the cold was extreme, and huge amounts of snow fell, blocking the roads and cutting off routes of communication. A rumor was started that the *ordu* was in turmoil. For these reasons Sülämish joined with Iqbal, Tashtemür, and a group of officers. Without warning he seized Bayanchar and Buchqur, killed them, and began his rebellion. He invited soldiers from all parts of Syria and the frontiers, and he brought into submission the soldiers that were stationed in Danishmand's territory in the Qazawa plain. He also gathered innumerable rabble and gave away the tax money and property of the territory to the army until he had assembled nearly fifty thousand horsemen. The Syrians contracted to supply twenty thousand. He gave the title of amir to some and awarded them *sanjaqs* [banners] and *naqara* [the privilege of drums]. Since the roads were blocked and emissaries and messengers could not get through from this side, his conceit increased. When the news reached the imperial hearing of the Padishah of Islam, Ghazan Khan, on Sunday the 12th of Jumada I 698 [February 15, 1299] Amir Chupan went forward in the vanguard, and after Amir Qutlughshah was dispatched Amir Sö'ätäi with an army. In the spring the two armies met in the Aqshahr plain in Erzinjan. On the 24th of Rajab [April 27], [937] after a battle, Sülämish was defeated and fled toward Syria. The amirs captured him and brought him in. [A330]

The Padishah of Islam decamped from Juqin, headed for Baghdad, and on Saturday the 21st of Jumada I [February 24] he set out from Shahr-i-Nil for the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful Ali, which he visited and the inhabitants of which he rewarded with bounteous gifts.

On Wednesday the 29th of Jumada I [March 4] a group of Syrian and Egyptian officers, Sayfuddin Qipchaq, Sayfuddin Begtemür, Elbegi, and Azar, who had fallen out with the ruler of Egypt, Lachin, arrived with three hundred horsemen. At Ra's al-'Ayn they had heard the news of Lachin's death and repented of their action, but since there was nothing to be done they came on. They gave reports of all sorts and every description.

On the 3rd of Jumada II [March 8, 1299] the Padishah of Islam dismounted in Baghdad. On Thursday the 15th of the month [March 20] he mounted and left Baghdad, headed for Maydan. One of the Egyptians who had submitted, Bolar, fled with a troop, and soldiers were sent in pursuit. Most of the Syrians were killed, and seven were taken prisoner. Only Bolar escaped by himself and got away.

Around the beginning of Sha'ban 698 [May 4, 1299] a *hazara* of Qara'unas led by a man named Buqa, which had been stationed in the Tarum vicinity, took flight to Persia, passing through Yazd and Kirman, plundering as they went. At Bini-i-Gav they joined the Negüdäris. [A331]

On Saturday the 14th of Sha'ban [May 17] Yaghlaqu Sükürchi arrived from Anatolia with the good news that Amir Chupan and Bashghurd had defeated Sülämish, who had taken flight with a few men. All the troops he had commanded had surrendered. Alghu, Elji'idäi Qushchi's brother who had gone with him, had been killed. Iqbal, the son of Elgäi Noyan's son Uruqtu Noyan, and Tashtemür Khita'i had been captured and brought in. The Padishah of Islam had camped at Quchin-i-Buzurg in the

vicinity of Sughurluq. At Qurban Shirä, Nurin Aqa had returned from Arran.

On the 25th of Sha'ban [May 28, 1299] the imperial banners stopped in Ujan, and the Prince of the World Kharbanda arrived from Khurasan. The brothers were glad to see each other again, and a *quriltai* and banquets were commenced. When the *quriltai* was over, Iqbal was executed on the 28th of Sha'ban [May 31]. On Wednesday the 24th of Ramadan [June 25] the Anatolian officers Kärzä, Charkas, and Esän, who had joined Sülämish, were executed.

On Thursday the 16th of Shawwal 698 [July 17, 1299] the Padishah of Islam married Kärämün Khatun, **[938]** the daughter of Abatai Noyan's son Qutlugh Temür, and a wedding banquet was held with six hundred thousand __[1] as dowry. He installed her in the great *ordu* in Doquz Khatun's place.

Around the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja the emperor ordered that Prince Kharbanda should return to Khurasan to keep that province from falling into turmoil.

On Friday the 14th of Dhu'l-Hijja [September 12] the imperial banners arrived in Tabriz. **[A332]** The captured Sülämish was brought from Anatolia. On Tuesday the 29th of Dhu'l-Hijja [September 27] he was killed in a hideous fashion in the public square in Tabriz. His body was burned and his ashes scattered to the wind.

The padishah was slightly discomfited by symptoms of ophthalmia. In order to ward off the evil eye, the people burned wild rue and prayed.

The Padishah of Islam goes out in the direction of Syria and Egypt to do battle with the Egyptians; they are defeated, and the province of Syria is conquered.

Not long after the Padishah of Islam had arrived under good auspices in Tabriz, emissaries arrived one after the other from Anatolia and Diyarbekir with news that the Syrians had come out to the frontier of their land and were making raids, practicing banditry, burning crops, and harassing the people. They had surrounded Mardin and taken many Muslims prisoner. During the month of Ramadan they had engaged in abominations with the daughters of Muslims in mosques, and some had even drunk wine. The very citadel of Mardin was not safe from their evil. They had pillaged all the rest of the cities of the area, and from there they were approaching in this direction, repeating their despicable deeds. At Ra's al-'Ayn they had wanted to continue what they were doing, but the people there were courageous soldiers. [The Syrians] had fought with them in the narrow lanes and were unable to achieve a victory, but everything they found outside the city, animals and everything else, they carried away. Those they had taken prisoner were sold for high prices in Aleppo as an act of gratitude. When this news reached the emperor's hearing, out of zealousness for the religion of Islam he flared up in anger and swore to repel the evil of these rebels. **[A333]** After obtaining a *fatwa* from the ulema that it was a necessary act to repel them from the Muslim lands held by the Padishah of Islam, he commanded that his soldiers be assembled, and he dispatched his officers, as he thought best, to the right and left.

The imperial banners moved from Tabriz for Syria on Friday the 19th of Muharram 699 [October 16, 1299], and the next day they set out from the outskirts of the city in the direction of Maragha. From Dehkhwaraqan, Nurin Aqa was sent back to Arran. On the 10th of Safar [November 6] the Zab River was crossed, **[939]** and camp was made opposite the Kushaf fortress. On Tuesday the 14th of Safar [November 10] the emperor mounted under good auspices

[1] Unknown word: JT_K عوالی; JT_{AZ} عوال.

under the sign of Pisces, and the ladies who had escorted him out bade him farewell at Mosul and turned back.

On Monday the 27th [November 23, 1299] he dispatched Qutlughshah Noyan in the vanguard, and on Tuesday the 12th of Rabi' I [December 7] he crossed the Euphrates under favorable auspices opposite the fortress of Ja'bar and Siffin.[1] Good news of the rebels arrived—that they had fallen out amongst themselves. On Sunday the 17th of Rabi' I [December 12] the imperial banners arrived in Aleppo. From there they moved out along the road until they came to a field. The soldiers rejoiced, saying, "We will have grain to feed the horses." But the padishah turned his reins away and passed beside the field, saying, "Anyone who lets his horse feed on this or any other grain will be executed, **[A334]** for it is not lawful to give people's food to animals."

On Tuesday the 19th of Safar [November 15, 1299] they arrived in the vicinity of Sarmin. Moghultai Idächi and his Qipchaq liege men took flight. On Monday the 25th of Rabi' I [December 20, 1299] he passed by the city of Hama and camped opposite the city of Salamiyya. There a band of rebels appeared, but the Padishah of Islam saw that his troops were unprepared for battle. He mounted himself with a group of champions to inspect the battlefield and learn of the enemy. Then he ordered it announced in the camp that the enemy had arrived. All the soldiers starting to work getting their arms ready for battle. After that, Amir Chupan turned around and said, "It is not the enemy. The reason for the announcement was so that when we approach the enemy you will be awake and aware." When they were ready for battle and standing prepared, he reconnoitered and realized that [the enemy] had assumed exactly the same array they had during Mänggü Temür's time and taken up a good position to put this side at a disadvantage. Then, wondering how he could spoil their arrangement, he saw that it would be best not to make a head-on attack. Therefore he ordered a shift to his left, which [would be opposite] their right.

On Wednesday the 27th of Rabi' I [December 22, 1299] he ordered encampment made beside a small river three leagues from Homs. Then he ordered three days' worth of water drawn and entered the desert in order to take them from the rear. They would be forced to go in that direction, and thus the array they had taken up would be ruined. As his men got busy drawing water, the Egyptians thought the Mongol army was moving aside before withdrawing. Although the battle had been set for Thursday, they, imagining a withdrawal, mounted on Wednesday and came opposite. **[940, A335]** When the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan was apprised of the approach of the enemy, he prayed two *rak'at*s of prayer with the army, mounted, and faced the foe with as many solders as he had. In command of the first section of the right wing was Amir Mulai, and behind him was Amirzada Satalmish; behind him was Amir Qutlughshah; behind him were Yaman and Märtäd,[2] each with his own division; and in the center was the Padishah of Islam, standing like a mountain of glory in the forefront of the center, with the Amirs Chupan and Sultan Chupan to the right and Sultan to the left, while in the right of the center was Toghrilcha son of Achu Sükürchi; behind the great center was

[1] The fortress of Ja'bar, formerly known as Qal'at Dawshar, lay five leagues from the town of Balis, which was on the Euphrates, and five leagues from al-Raqqa. Opposite Ja'bar was the "land of Siffin" (Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 269).

[2] There are massive variants of the first name. The vocalization of the second is highly uncertain. Arends reads them as Яман и Муртад.

Eyü Oghlanan. Behind him was Elbasmish with his division; behind him was Chechäk; behind him was Alinaq's son Qurumshi. Last of all was Kör Buqa Bahadur commanding the flank.

Before the armies were completely mounted and arrayed for battle, the Syrians were relying so heavily on their superior numbers that they didn't realize they had "put their foot on a snake's tail and their hand on a thorn." Qutlughshah Noyan ordered the battle drums to be beaten. The Egyptians, thinking the padishah was in that rank, launched an attack in that direction. Thousands upon thousand poured in, broke the rank, and unhorsed champions. A large number of the amir's men were wounded or killed. Amir Qutlughshah and a troop of horsemen joined the emperor, and the Egyptians, exactly in the manner of Mänggü Temür's time, had put Isa Muhanna in an ambush with five thousand Arab horsemen to one side. The Padishah of Islam realized this and ordered Kör Buqa to hold the rear of the army with five thousand Mongol horsemen. Then, during battle, the Arab army sprang their ambush: Kör Buqa rushed at them and scattered them all. The Padishah of Islam cried out **from the right side of the valley,**[1] **[A336] Fear not! Thou hast escaped from unjust people.**[2] With that, untold strength was generated in his blessed being, and, roaring like an enraged lion, he broke the army's lines and overthrew their champions with blows of his lance. Then he cried out to the army to come down, and they, firing arrows, remounted and charged. Battle raged from midmorning till evening, and in the end the Egyptians were vanquished and fled in rout.

After the battle Abishqa arrived from Anatolia, accompanied by the Tekvur of Sis[3] with five thousand men. The Padishah of Islam went after the Egyptians slowly until he stopped above Homs, one league from the town. The people of the city of Homs surrendered.

On Sunday the 2nd of Rabi' II [December 27, 1299] the treasury of the sultan of Egypt was carried off and distributed among the officers, and most of them were garbed in the sultan's fine garments. **[941]**

The next day he decamped for Damascus, and messengers were dispatched to Tabriz and all corners of the empire with the good news of victory. On Thursday the 6th of Rabi' II [December 31] the nobles and grandees of Damascus came out to greet him, to offer their surrender, and to request a *shahna*. Qutlugh Qaya was appointed to the office of *shahna*.

On the 9th of Rabi' II [January 3, 1300] he camped in the Rahit meadow below Damascus, and all the people of the city came to take refuge in the shade of his graciousness. The Padishah of Islam asked them, "Who am I?"

"You are Shah Ghazan, son of Arghun Khan, son of Abaqa Khan, son of Hülägü Khan, son of Tolui Khan, son of Genghis Khan," they said.

After that he asked, "Who was Nasir's father?"

"Alfi," they replied.

"And who was Alfi's father?" he asked.

All fell silent as they realized that those people had gained the sultanate by accident, not by merit, and they were all slaves of the renowned *urugh* of the Padishah of Islam's ancestor. **[A337]**

"There is nothing good among those of you who are alive," said the Padishah of

[1]Kor. 28:30.
[2]Kor. 28:25.

[3]Tekvur (~ Tekfur, by metathesis from *τοῦ κυρίου*) is the title by which Byzantine emperors and princes were known. JT_{AZ} has بكورسيس with a variant تكورسيس (probably correct for *takvur-i Sís*). Sís is the modern Sis Kalesi, east of Adana and south of Kozan in Turkey (see Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 256).

Islam, "but among your dead there is much good. I forgive the crimes of you ignorant people for the sake of your dead." With this the people of Damascus rejoiced and took heart as they prayed for his success.

On the 12th of Rabi' II [January 6] he went on a tour of the fields, and when he found the earth to be extremely fertile, he knew that it should be protected. He stationed a troop of guards at Bab Tuma to keep the soldiers from harassing the citizens, and he ordered the other seven city gates kept shut and the soldiers not to enter the orchards or to wreak havoc. The emirate of Damascus he gave to Qipchaq, who had previously been amir there and then submitted. The office of *shahna* went to Qutlugh Qaya, while authority in fiscal affairs and the guardianship went, as before, to Fakhruddin Ibn al-Shirji and Sayyid Zaynuddin, and he ordered that they conduct themselves according to custom. If they had any business to conduct, they should consult the viziers of court. The sultan's functionaries who were there, like the scribes of the treasury and the scribes of the army, etc., were all rewarded and maintained in their offices.

The amirs said, "So long as the defenders of the citadel do not surrender, the citizens will not trust us. It would be best for us to plunder the city." All the amirs were unanimous on this point, and therefore all the people of the city became greatly distressed. The Padishah of Islam had mercy, however, and did not approve the suggestion, ordering instead that no one was to harass or bother any of the citizens. **[942]** He also commanded that absolutely no amir or soldier who wanted to enter the city was to be allowed in without having obtained a specific written pass from the divan.

On Tuesday the 18th of the month [January 12, 1300], because they had been ordered to scour the orchards for limbs that could be used in catapults for taking the citadel, **[A338]** a group of *kötälchis* [grooms]—Armenians, Georgians, and apostates[1]—invaded Jabal al-Salihiyya, where they killed, pillaged, and took captives. The Padishah of Islam was enraged and immediately ordered Araghi the son of Ket Buqa's son Qonchi to go there to protect the people and to execute those who had plundered. When he got there the soldiers had already wrought their devastation and dispersed. Thereafter the houses of the Georgians and Armenians were searched, and those they had taken captive were released.

On Saturday the 29th of Rabi' II [January 23, 1300] Amir Mulai, who had pursued the routed enemy as far as Gaza, returned. Since the weather was turning hot, the padishah paid no attention to the people of the citadel, who were being disobedient to Egypt. On Saturday the 13th of Jumada I [February 5] he withdrew from Damascus, stationing Amir Qutlughshah and Amir Chupan there to protect the city until spring came, at which time they would come. Amir Mulai was ordered to remain there over the summer with a large contingent of soldiers. Nasiruddin Yahya was assigned as a liege man to Qipchaq. Begtemür and Elbegi, who had come to court, were both appointed to suitable posts. In the end, however, they and Qipchaq forgot their obligations to the Padishah of Islam and put forth various rumors that caused Amir Mulai and his men to pull back.

In short, on Wednesday the 24th of Jumada I [February 16, 1300], the Padishah of Islam crossed the Euphrates opposite the fortress of Ja'bar on an island of his own devising consisting of *kalaks* [rafts] made of tree bark tied together with rope. That

[1]The reading of this word is questionable. Texts all have مرتدان; if taken as *murtaddán* it would mean 'apostates,' but it is by no means clear that this is the correct reading. It may be *märtädán*; see trs. p. 718 below.

same day he rejoined his *urugh*. Sultan Yesavul, who had gone to Gaza, arrived. He joined the ladies in the vicinity of Sinjar. Envoys arrived from Kirman to report the rebellion of Mahmudshah and his henchmen, the killing of Mawlana Fakhruddin [A339] the cadi of Herat and his sons, and the trouble they had stirred up.

On Tuesday the 15th of Jumada II [March 8, 1300] he reached Mosul. On Sunday the 5th of Rajab [March 27] Qutlughshah arrived from Syria to report the rebellion of Qipchaq and his liege men. On the first of Sha'ban [April 22] the Padishah of Islam [943] crossed the Tigris. On the 17th of Sha'ban [May 8] Amir Mulai arrived from Damascus. On the [2]9th of Sha'ban [May 20] Amir Nurin, Chechäk, and Toghan, who had returned from Arran, joined the court in the vicinity of Darband-i-Zangi. On Saturday the 15th of Ramadan [June 4] the imperial banners stopped in Maragha, and the emperor inspected the entire place at a leisurely pace and inquired about everything. The difficulties notwithstanding, he understood most of the minutiae and ordered an observatory constructed next to the lofty dome and the charitable institutions. It was to serve several purposes, and he explained the purposes in detail in such a way that the scientists present marveled at his power of deduction, for no such undertaking had ever been made. The scientists said, "To build such a thing would be virtually impossible." However, he taught them and guided them in such a way that they tried out the theory and brought it to completion in accordance with his instructions. They and all the expert architects were in agreement that no one had ever built or dreamt of such a thing.

From there he decamped and went to Ujan. On Tuesday the 24th of Shawwal [July 13] a *quriltai* was commenced. Upon its conclusion, on Saturday the 3rd of Dhu'l-Hijja 699 [August 20, 1300], Prince Alchu died in Ujan. His coffin was taken to the Lofty Dome in Tabriz.

On the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja [August 23] Prince Kharbanda was given permission to withdraw to Khurasan, and the emperor himself set out auspiciously for the capital, Tabriz. Every day he went up on the lofty-domed edifice. [A340]

The Padishah of Islam goes to Syria a second time.

When autumn came, the Padishah of Islam set out once again for Syria. On Monday the first of Muharram 700 [September 16, 1300] Amir Qutlughshah and a numerous army moved forth in the vanguard, and the imperial banners set forth from Tabriz on the 15th [September 30]. On the 3rd of Safar [October 18] Nurin Aqa was sent back from Jaghatu to Arran. On the 4th of Rabi' I [November 17] the emperor reached Mosul under favorable auspices, and there *jirghamishi* [revelry] was held for several days. In the vicinity of Abu-Miri he mounted from the *ordu* and dispatched the amirs Chupan and Mulai in the vanguard.

Toghanshah Khatun, the daughter of Mubarakshah, died in the vicinity of Sinjar on the 6th of Rabi' II [December 19, 1300], and the ladies who had come out to bid farewell turned back in the vicinity of Ra's al-'Ayn.

On the 12th of Rabi' II [December 25] Shinqa arrived from the army to say, "Our *yazak* [commanded by] Qabartu clashed with a few horsemen under Güshlüg, [944] their vanguard, and one of their officers was killed."

On the 7th of Safar [October 22, 1300] the Padishah of Islam crossed the Euphrates opposite Ja'bar and Siffin. On Tuesday the 21st of Safar [November 5] he dismounted above Habul near Aleppo. Qabartu Bahadur arrived, having brought several captured Syrian soldiers. On the 27th an alarm was given that the enemy had arrived.

An order was given for the soldiers to mount at once, but it was later ascertained that the news was false, and all dismounted.

On the 5th of Jumada I [January 16, 1301] they passed by Aleppo and camped at Ribat Wasihi next to the Quwayq River, the river on which the city of Aleppo is situated.

On the 7th of the month [January 18] they camped opposite Qinnisrin. Since there was no news of the enemy, and the sultan of Egypt had been too afraid to come out, the Padishah of Islam had mercy on the territory of Muslims and went forward. He ordered Qutlughshah to stop with his soldiers in Sarmin. That winter much rain fell, [A341] and by coincidence Amir Sö'ätäi and some of the army of Amir Shiba'uchi, who had come from Anatolia, camped in a bad spot. Without warning a heavy rain came, and it turned very cold. So much mud was produced that the two amirs could not join each other, and many of their animals perished in the mud and cold. The padishah dispatched Amir Mulai with a division of the army to get them and their animals out. When he arrived there he was able to extract himself only with much difficulty.

The padishah turned back on the 22nd of Jumada I [February 2, 1301], passed opposite the city of Raqqa over a bridge that had been constructed, and visited the shrine of Ammar b. Yasir and the martyrs of Siffin.[1]

On Saturday the 15th of Jumada II [February 25, 1301] he joined the ladies and *ordus* at Chahar Taq below Sinjar.

Amirzada Satalmish, son of Boralghi and relative of Altachu Aqa, had died in the vicinity of Kushaf on the last day of Rabi' II [January 12, 1301]. The padishah was greatly saddened by the news of his death.

On Thursday the 11th of Rajab [March 22, 1301] Sultan Yesavul arrived from Syria. On the 15th of Rajab [March 26] Amir Qutlughshah also came back. Several days were spent in revelry, celebration, and hunting. One day the Padishah of Islam was chasing an antelope and shot an arrow. It appeared that the arrow had missed, but suddenly the antelope fell. All those in attendance inspected it closely. There were nine wounds on the antelope from the arrow, and when everyone had looked at it, they realized how the nine wounds had come about. The arrow was one the Mongols call *tona*: the shaft has three feathers, and it is extremely sharp. When the antelope was in the air and all four of its legs were together, [945] the arrow had pierced all four legs and wounded them. From there it had passed into the chest, belly, and under the armpits, every feather making a lengthwise wound. Then it went into the neck and throat, producing two more wounds. [A342] In this way it made nine wounds in all. This affair recalled the story of Bahram Gor, who had stitched an antelope's leg to its ear with an arrow. People had marveled at that feat and recorded it on walls and in inscriptions for fifteen hundred years, but it was completely forgotten. More than two thousand people witnessed this feat.

On Wednesday the 23rd of Sha'ban [May 3, 1301] emissaries arrived from Toqtai, the padishah of the Ulus Jochi. They were admitted to court, but they soon withdrew.

On Wednesday the last of Sha'ban [May 10, 1301] the Tigris was crossed. Along the way Kurds who had committed various atrocities were ordered seized, and many of them were killed.

On the 24th of Ramadan [June 2, 1301] the emperor reached the City of Islam, Ujan.[2]

[1] 'Ammár ibn Yásir, a companion of the Prophet and partisan of Ali ibn Abi-Talib who was killed at the Battle of Siffin, A.H.37/A.D.657. See *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1960) 1:448.

[2] The epithet of Ujan, the "City of Islam" (*shahr-i*

Khwaja Sa'duddin Sahib-Divan receives favor, and his rivals are executed.

When the Padishah of Islam returned auspiciously from his expedition to Syria, he stopped in the City of Islam Ujan. On the 27th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 700 [August 3, 1301] he granted Khwaja Sa'duddin great favor, entrusted the red seal to him, and turned over the office of divan chief to him.

On the first of Dhu'l-Hijja [August 7, 1301] the marriage of Qutlughshah Noyan to El Qutlugh, Gaikhatu's daughter, was held.

At those summer quarters a group of courtiers and divan chiefs like Sayin Qazi, Shaykh Mahmud, Sayyid Qutbuddin Injü Shirazi, and others had held council on eliminating the khwajas, **[A343]** and they were lying in wait for an opportunity. During one session at which the padishah was drinking wine and talking about the amirs, Sayyid Qutbuddin Shirazi was present and said, "Basmish is a man of good conduct." The padishah said, "You think well of him because you went to Shiraz together, and he was the means whereby you prospered and made a great fortune." Then he added, "You are constantly in search of sedition and evil."

Qutbuddin replied in drunkenness, "The padishah is too kind. One would think he was present at our council."

The padishah had guessed what they were up to and ordered Shaykh Mahmud put under guard that very night. The next morning Sayin Qazi, Sayyid Qutbuddin, Mu'inuddin Khurasani, Aminuddin Idächi, and Sa'duddin **[946]** Habash were seized and put on trial. After seven days Aminuddin was let go, and after ten days Sa'duddin Habash was released since those two were innocent. On Monday the 23rd of Dhu'l-Hijja [August 29, 1301] Qazi Sayin, Sayyid Qutbuddin, and Mu'inuddin were executed at Dul. On Wednesday the middle of Muharram 701 [September 20, 1301] Shaykh Mahmud was released through Bulughan Khatun's intercession. The Padishah of Islam was extremely clement and did not desire to harm any creature. If a fly fell into his food he would carefully pick it out with his own hand so that its wings would not be damaged. Then he would hold it until it regained its strength and let it fly away. He used to say, "It is more difficult for me to kill an innocent fly than a guilty man, for to leave a seditious person alive leads to great harm, particularly in matters of state." **[A344]**

The Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan goes to Ala Tagh, and from there he proceeds via Nakhichevan to winter quarters in Arran; the emissaries who had gone to Egypt arrive.

On Wednesday the middle of Muharram 701 [September 20, 1301] the imperial banners set forth for Ala Tagh. On the 21st of the month [September 26] Qutlughshah Noyan set forth with an army in the direction of Maragha, headed for Diyarbekir.

On Thursday the 2nd of Safar [October 7] the Padishah of Islam dismounted at the palace in Ala Tagh. On Sunday the 2nd of Rabi' I [November 5] he set out from Ala Tagh for Arran via Nakhichevan. An order was given for Amir Qutlughshah to return from Diyarbekir.

On Monday the 16th of Rabi' II [December 19] Qazi Kamaluddin Mawsili and Ali Khwaja, who had gone on an embassy to Egypt, arrived. Since the *ordus* had camped in the *yurt* at Qarabagh in Arran, the Padishah of Islam did not stay there long and mounted to go hunting for several days in the mountains of Shirvan and Lagzistan. From there he headed off to hunt swans in the direction of Gavbari, where he remained for a while catching birds and

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islám) as the seat of the "Padishah of Islam."

fish. From there he went to a gulf[1] the padishah named Qush Qoyun. The whole sea shore there, as far as ___,[2] is where cranes and other waterfowl go for the summer after returning from the winter. When the imperial banners reached that area, which is near Derbent, Toqta, the padishah of the Ulus Jochi, pulled back, and his princes and amirs who were near here, [A345] suspecting that the world-conquering banners were headed in that direction, [947] withdrew and crossed the great rivers. After a while, however, they stopped when the reality turned out to be other than what they had suspected, and once again merchants began to come and go.

At that time all the amirs of Lagzistan, who had long been rebellious and hiding in the forbidding mountains, came and surrendered voluntarily. Some thieving rabble that had come from Azerbaijan and taken refuge in those mountains, from where they committed highway robbery, were caught and killed.

Returning from that area, the emperor rejoined the *ordus* at Bilasawar and went out hunting in Talishan and Ispahbad. He ordered two walls constructed of tree trunks and branches for a one-day's distance between the mountains in such a way that the two walls would extend a one-day's distance in the shape of a cone and gradually come within fifty yards of each other. At the mouth something like a corral was made of wood. After that, the soldiers created a hunting circle, and the animals were driven between the walls so that all would be gathered in the corral—wild oxen, *jür* [deer], antelopes, wild asses, jackals, foxes, wolves, bears, and other wild animals and beasts. When they were between the walls with no exit, they all necessarily went into the corral, and the Padishah of Islam and Bulughan Khatun sat in a pavilion constructed of wood in the midst and watched the animals. Some were shot and others were released.

Decamping from there, the emperor proceeded from station to station, [A346] sightseeing, until he reached Tabriz. All the inhabitants, men and women, young and old alike, lifted their hands in voluntary prayer and loosened their tongues in praise of the ruler. The people of Tabriz, along with the ulema of Islam, came out to perform the rituals of welcoming, and the Padishah of Islam showed them great favor and beneficence by exempting them from unwarranted taxes and impositions.

The Padishah of Islam hosts a general banquet in the Golden Ordu in the garden at Ujan; a recitation of the Koran is made, and he makes general charity.

The Padishah of Islam had previously given an order to the master craftsmen to construct a golden tent and a golden throne with appropriate appurtenances. For three years many people had worked on it. When the emperor arrived in Tabriz this time, it had been completed, [948] and toward the end of Dhu'l-Qa'da 701 [July 1302] he moved from Tabriz to Ujan, where a wall had been constructed for the royal descent in the midst of an extremely pleasant green meadow with brooks and springs. Large ponds and pools had been made, and all sorts of birds and beasts had taken refuge there. It was a square divided into equal portions. Along two sides were planted rows of willow and poplar trees to serve as avenues for people, but no one was allowed inside the meadow, and every group was assigned a particular way to enter and exit. Inside the square were constructed kiosks, towers, a bathhouse, and a magnificent

[1] "Gulf," taking the Persian text's *khalízí* to be a dialectal variant of *khalíjí*.

[2] JT_{AZ} has برمکی (possibly "Barmaki"); Arends translates as "Тот морский берег простирается до пределов. . ." JT_K has نرمکی.

complex [A347] so that the golden tent might be pitched in the middle of the garden along with special courtyards and canopies. All the *farrashes* and builders gathered, and within one month they were able to arrange everything and install the extremely huge throne set with gems and precious stones.

Before the banquet was held, sayyids, imams, cadis, and shaykhs were admitted in deference to Islam, and after them other groups of people were let in. The emperor faced the assembled crowd and spoke eloquently, giving the various groups good advice and rendering thanks for God's great blessings.

"I, a humble servant of God," he said, "admit and confess my weaknesses, shortcomings, and many sins, and I am not worthy of the magnificence of such gifts, but God's mercy and beneficence toward his slaves are without bounds. His gifts are too numerous to be enumerated by a human being or any other creature. I am not unaware that I must be grateful and thankful that God has placed all the peoples of Iran, who are my responsibility from the divine court, around my neck as a test of my subservience. I am not deceived by pride in kingship, which lasts but a short time and has been taken back from so many thousands of people. One of the many blessings God has bestowed upon me is that he has given me what he has not given to other kings and he has granted me what those who preceded me only wished for, namely that his servants have found rest from burdens imposed by me and are happy and content with my rule. [A348] Therefore, I had no desire to enter this tent and court with pomp and pride, but rather it is necessary now for ruler and ruled, that is you and me, to express our gratitude for this great gift together without hypocrisy [949] and to enter this tent with humility, pleading for forgiveness of our sins. Let us begin with a recitation of the glorious Koran and by performing an act of worship; then we may indulge in sport and play."

Having expressed these pure sentiments, he pronounced the name of God and his apostle, placed his blessed foot into the tent, and reclined on the throne of success. He ordered countless gold and textiles brought, and after the people were fed with all sorts of victuals he gave all the gold and textiles away in alms with his own hand so that all received a portion. For three days and nights the Koran was recited, and every group performed its religious duties after its own fashion. On the banquet day he placed on his head a jeweled crown, the likes of which had never before been seen, bound himself with an appropriate belt, and clad himself in expensive gold-brocaded garments. The ladies and princes, amirs and courtiers were commanded to bedeck themselves with their finery, and all mounted matchless horses and paraded around.

After all this, he turned his attention to matters of state and finance and to the welfare of the subjects. In consultation with the amirs of state and the grandees of court, he ordered Prince Kharbanda to spend the winter in Mazanderan and to go to Tus, Abivard, Merv, Sarakhs, and the Badghis area in the summer. Amir Nurin, as before, would spend the winter in Arran with his troops and remain there. [A349] Amir Qutlughshah would go to Georgia with his troops. Some of the Georgian troops would go to Diyarbekir and join Amir Mulai's division and prepare for an expedition to Syria. Hulachu's division would go to Fars and Kirman so that if need be they could join Amir Sadaq and the sultan of Kirman. Having stationed troops in this manner, he dismissed them all.

The imperial banners head from Ujan to

Baghdad; what transpired along the way; the arrival at Wasit and Hilla; the decision to go to Syria.

On the first of Muharram 702 [August 26, 1302] the Padishah of Islam set out from Ujan for Hamadan in preparation for an expedition to Syria. During that time it was decided that Amir Nurin would spend the winter in Arran in order to guard that area. Before he requested permission to withdraw, **[950]** he proceeded to Hashtrod with the emperor.

The sons of Sharafuddin Abdul-Rahman, who had been governor of Tabriz for a time and then went to Anatolia as *mustawfi-i-mamalik* [auditor general], clad themselves in black and sought justice at the court because their father had been ordered killed by Khwaja Wajih's son Nizamuddin Yahya. When the imperial banners reached Hashtrod, Amir Nurin held a goblet and turned back, headed for Arran. **[A350]** On Ashura,[1] Khwaja Wajih's son Nizamuddin Yahya and Abubakr Dadqabadi's son Dawlatshah were executed in the vicinity of Yüz Aghach and Hashtrod. The next day Arabshah, the grandson of Sultan Hajjaj of Kirman, was also executed.

Proceeding from there toward Hamadan, the emperor stopped at the blessed shrine he had ordered constructed and endowed with innumerable grants in Buzinjird village.[2] It is an extremely fine and exalted complex. From there he went to Chaghan Na'ur in Farahan, and there he stayed a few days. Then he took the road to Nihavand and Chamch[am]al. In the vicinity of Bisutun three Syrian amirs led by Ali-Sher surrendered. The Padishah of Islam rewarded them and showed them favor.

During Nawroz's rebellion, when his brothers and people were caught in the vicinity of Kirmanshahan, one night [the emperor] and a group of courtiers had been left in a field without a tent, and they slept under a cliff opposite which a shady tree had grown. Before Lagzi was caught, and before the outcome of the Nawroz affair was known, the imperial mind was upset, and he had contemplated in that very spot. A revelation had come to him from the unseen realm and given him relief. This time, when he reached that spot, the affair having resolved itself satisfactorily, he remembered the spot and the tree, and he set out to visit it with all the ladies and amirs. He wept when he remembered the supplication he had made there before **[A351]** and rendered gratitude for the victory and triumph he had attained, praying two *rak'ats* of prayer and placing his head on the ground in humility before God to ask for divine assistance in all conditions. Then he lifted his head and spoke advice to all present, saying, "Ask for God's help morning and evening, and never despair of his mercy. Be not proud or conceited of anything, and know for certain that he is not absent from you for even the twinkling of an eye. Do not be deceived by your own power and strength, but fear divine zeal." So saying, he asked God for what he desired and made charitable intentions of every sort, in particular that he be more just and equitable. **[951]** All those present tied tokens to the tree, and it became like a shrine.

Thereafter entertainers played something, and the amirs danced. Amir Bolad Chingsang was present, and he reported that Qutula Qa'an, the Padishah of Islam's forefather's uncle, was the ruler of several tribes in his time, and he was so heroic and manly that he had become proverbial for heroics and much poetry had been composed about him. His voice had been so loud and terrifying that it could be heard across seven hills. One day it happened that

[1] Ashura, the tenth of Muharram, fell on the fourth of September that year.

[2] See text p. 853 above.

he had mounted to do battle with the Märkit. While on the road he came across a tree, dismounted, and spoke to God, asking him for victory and swearing that, if he triumphed over his enemy, he would make that tree a shrine for himself and decorate it with pieces of colored cloth. God did give him victory over his enemy, and afterwards he returned to the tree, which he decorated as he had sworn, in gratitude to the creator. He and his soldiers danced beneath that tree, and they stomped so hard that the area around the tree sank a yard into the earth.

The Padishah of Islam was highly pleased by this narration and said, "Were it not for our ancestors' sincerity and devotion, God would not have made them rulers of the kings of the world and would not have elevated their progeny to high status." **[A352]**

He spent a time under that tree dancing with pleasure before he set off after the *ordus*. Suddenly messengers came from Amir Qutlughshah, bringing the Syrian amirs who had fled from Syria and surrendered. They were led by Ala'uddin. The padishah rewarded them and won them over with promises of good things.

In that same area, emissaries of the *vasileus* [βασιλέυς], the ruler of Istanbul, arrived with gifts and a message saying, "The vasileus wants to bask in the shade of the Padishah of Islam, and he is sending his daughter as a concubine." The padishah showed them favor.

From there he proceeded to Bandinjin, and three days later he sent the ladies and *aghruq*s to Baghdad.

On Wednesday the 14th of Rabi' II [December 6, 1302] he mounted at Bandinjin to go hunting in Juqin. He hunted for several days in the vicinity of Sib,[1] Wasit, and the shrine of Sidi Abu'l-Wafa. He visited the shrine and rewarded the residents with alms and gifts. He also ordered improvements made along the canal that had been cut from the Euphrates into that waterless wilderness, and thanks to which the shrine had become like a city. From there he went to Hilla **[952]** and dismounted in the *ordus*.

Mawlana Qazi Nasiruddin Tabrizi and Qazi Kamaluddin Mawsili, who had been sent from Arran to Egypt, returned accompanied by emissaries from Egypt, and they joined the court at Hilla. They delivered replies to the messages they had taken, but the replies were not pleasing.

Toqtai's[2] emissaries also came with three hundred horsemen. On Sunday the first of Jumada II [January 21, 1303], which corresponded to new year's day in the Turkish calendar, a banquet was held, and the ambassadors from Egypt and Toqtai performed *tägishmishi*. Toqtai's men were shown much favor, and the Egyptians were sent to Tabriz **[A353]** to surround the city.

On Monday the 9th of Jumada II [January 29] the emperor crossed the bridge at Hilla, headed for Syria. On Monday the 16th [February 5] he visited the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful Husayn. The massive curtains he had ordered for the shrine were hung, and he gave untold amounts in alms to the residents of the shrine and those in attendance. He earmarked from the income of the Ghazan Canal, which had been constructed there and which at present goes to the shrine, a daily allotment of three thousand maunds of bread for the sayyids in residence there.

That day Irmini Bala arrived from Khurasan, bringing the news that three or four thousand enemy horsemen had come; the imperial army had attacked them and wounded or annihilated them all. The

[1] This "Sib" may be the same as the Bata'ih Sib mentioned above on text p. 936 or the Sib Wahla mentioned on p. 926. They are all in the same general vicinity.

[2] Read تقتاء (Toqtai) for the text's بوقتاء.

padishah was highly pleased, and his love and compassion for his brother increased.

On Friday the 4th of Rajab 702 [February 22, 1303] a messenger arrived with news that Amir Nurin Aqa had died in winter quarters in Arran around the first of Jumada II. The Padishah of Islam was greatly saddened by this tragic event.

He proceeded along the banks of the Euphrates, and when he reached Haditha, he ordered most of the ladies and all the *aghruqs* to cross the Euphrates and go stay in Sinjar. He himself went with the army to Ana. Bulughan Khatun and some of the other ladies accompanied him to say goodbye, and on Saturday the 12th of Rajab [March 2, 1303] he dismounted in Ana. Truly there is no place in the world more pleasant. The city is on an island in the middle of the Euphrates, with gardens and orchards full of trees, flowers, and herbs for a distance of a league on both sides. The trees are so thick that the sun does not shine on the ground. There are kiosks, magnificent buildings of carved marble that rise from foundations set on the river bottom.[1] On the sides are terraces[2] overlooking the Euphrates and the paradisiacal gardens. Indeed, the beauty and attractiveness of the gardens and orchards are beyond description. **[A354]** For a distance of ninety leagues there are such flourishing places belonging to the Euphrates districts, beginning in Sikr Faluja in the vicinity of Anbar and **[953]** stretching to Saruj and Harran. For the entire length and at a width of a league or more on both banks of the Euphrates there are so many contiguous flourishing places that the shade of the trees is uninterrupted. There are continuous dykes with mills on both sides, turning day and night with water, kiosks and lofty edifices one after the other.

On the eighth day Bulughan Khatun bade farewell and crossed the river, heading for Sinjar. The imperial banners and the victorious soldiers proceeded toward Rahabat al-Sham, but before they reached there a rumor was heard that the enemy had been spotted in Syrian territory. Although the rumor was false, the padishah ordered the soldiers arrayed and weapons and armor made ready. On the 28th of Rajab [March 18, 1303] they drove to the outskirts of Rahabat. The people there had made ready carts and other things, but [the emperor] paid no attention and set off by night from his tent in the camp to near the citadel. Amir Alamuddin Ghanami and the people of Rahabat had holed up in the citadel.

On the last of Rajab [March 20] the emperor ordered the amirs Sö'ätäi and Sultan, along with the author of this book, Rashid the physician, and Khwaja Sa'duddin the Sahib-Divan, to go to the citadel and invite them to surrender. As ordered they went to the base of the citadel and had a document written in Arabic as follows: **[A355]** "The reason for this expedition is the misguided actions of the Egyptians, who have been undertaking such things for a long time. Many times emissaries bearing threats and advice have been sent, but their advice has gone unheeded and discourteous replies have been sent. Attributing this to ignorance and lack of experience in matters of diplomacy, I have borne it, but now that it has gone beyond all bounds, the victorious army has of necessity moved to take revenge and has no alternative but to pass across this territory. Otherwise we have no ill intent toward you Syrians. You should contemplate this matter and recognize that

[1] Arends translates similarly: "и из обтесанного мрамора прекрасные здания, основания которых возвели со дна [Ефрата]." The phrase *bunyád-i án az qa'r baráwurda* ("foundations set on [or, brought up] from the bottom") is obscure. It seems to indicate that the foundations of the buildings were laid in the river.

[2] JT_K has درجها (*darajhá*, steps, terraces); JT_{AZ} has دریچها (*daríchahá*, windows, apertures).

it is in your interests to preserve your lives and property by coming forth in submission and surrender. Since you know that God is with us, you should not be stubborn or expose yourselves to danger."

Such an edict was penned, sealed, and sent into the citadel, but the envoys who delivered it were sent back with a message saying, "Since the expression of the document is extremely eloquent, we desire an extension of time for this night so that we may fathom the meaning, and tomorrow we will give our answer."

The next day, Thursday the first of Sha'ban [March 21, 1303], Jamaluddin Iskandari and Shaykh Sharafuddin, a disciple of Sidi Ahmad Kabir, were sent out with a reply to the edict. **[954]** "We are in obedience to the command of the Padishah of Islam," they said. They were rewarded and sent back. The next day Husamuddin Lachin, the deputy of Alamuddin Ghanami, the castellan of the citadel, came down and surrendered. He too was shown favor and sent back.

The next day he and Mihtar Ghanami's son Sayfuddin Qilich, Qazi Najmuddin, and a group of notables of Rahabat came down and completed the terms of surrender. They were honored to be admitted to the imperial court, and solemn documents pertaining to taxes, tribute, princes, deputies, judges, bureaucrats **[A356]** and to amnesty for the people of the city, citadel, and province were written in Arabic, sealed with the imperial seal, and turned over to them.

On Tuesday the 6th of Sha'ban [March 26, 1303] the emperor marched from the Rahabat citadel. Good news came from Khurasan that Qaidu's soldiers had been routed, Qaidu was dead, and Dua was wounded.

During this time Amir Qutlughshah, Chupan, and Mulai had crossed the Euphrates with their soldiers near Raqqa and arrived near Aleppo. The Padishah of Islam camped above Dayr Basir on the banks of the Euphrates, and there he remained for three days. All the amirs and their troops were sent out to join Amir Qutlughshah and the others.

Since spring had come, the waters had risen, and the weather was warm, all set out for Sinjar and crossed the Euphrates on the 13th of Sha'ban [April 2, 1303]. The Khabur was crossed at the city of Maksin. The envoys from Khurasan, Saighan and Qonchi Aqtachi, were shown favor and given permission to return. [The imperial retinue] proceeded through that wilderness filled with tulips and camomile, sightseeing and hunting.

On Sunday the 25th of Sha'ban [April 14, 1303] he rejoined the ladies who had come out to greet him at Chahar Taq below Sinjar. After staying there two or three days, he dismounted in the *ordus* at Tall A'far on the first of Ramadan [April 19]. He turned over the rule of the entire area of Diyarbekir and Diyar Rabi'a to Sultan Najmuddin of Mardin and gave him the title al-Malik al-Mansur. Then, crossing the Tigris, he stopped in the meadow at Kushaf.

The people of Mosul had raised to the heavens their cries for help from the tyranny and aggression of Fakhr Isa Nasrani. A command was given that when Sultan Najmuddin went to Mosul he should eliminate him. Having deceived him with promises of making him his deputy, the sultan did away with him after a few days. **[955, A357]**

Qutlughshah Noyan comes face to face with the army of Egypt and retreats; the imperial banners return to Ujan.

The Padishah of Islam waited at Kushaf for the arrival of the troops that had gone to Syria. When they arrived at Homs they began to pillage and stage massacres. When they were near Damascus and heard that

the enemy was nearby, at dawn on Saturday the first of Ramadan [April 19, 1303] they mounted and rode out nearly five leagues. Having crossed much water and mud, they came across the enemy at Marj al-Suffar.[1] They next day, the 2nd of Ramadan [April 20] they gave battle. Our left wing struck their right wing, and thirteen of their major officers, including Husamuddin Ustadu'l-Dar and many others, were killed or wounded. As they fled, a group of our champions went in pursuit of them for several leagues. Qutlughshah Noyan left the center for the left, intending to assist, but the right wing, having been separated and left alone, was struck by the Egyptians' left wing. Because they were few, they pulled back, and by the time Amir Qutlughshah reached the left wing they had finished fighting and night was falling. The amir went atop a hill and stood there. Our soldiers headed in that direction and spent the night on horseback, both men and animals suffering from thirst. By night the Egyptians encircled the hill, and when day broke Amir Pulad Qaya's troop and those of Täkä Temür, son of Amir Injil,[2] and Nasiruddin Yahya were left opposite them. They did battle, and Amir Qutlughshah said to Taitaq and Tarsa, "Yesterday you did not do battle. Today you will go to help them." Both together went out and joined the battle. [A358] The Syrians and Egyptians abandoned their encirclement of the hill and charged them in one concerted attack. Since most of the soldiers' lines had fallen apart and the troops were scattered, it was impossible to make a proper battle array. They stood until around noon, but after that they retreated. In their way was a lot of water and mud, and many of the horses got stuck and the soldiers were scattered. Taitaq and Tarsa could not be seen.

Amir Qutlughshah and Täkä Temür arrived before the emperor in the Kushaf plain on the 19th of Ramadan [May 7, 1303], and the next day the imperial banners went on the march, stopping in a garden outside Arbela. From there they decamped and took the road to Darband-i-Zangi [956] through the mountains of Kurdistan. Id al-Fitr [May 19] was celebrated in the vicinity of Darband-i-Zangi. On Saturday the 17th of Shawwal [June 4] Amir Chupan, who had stopped to take care of the soldiers that had been left on foot and was proceeding slowly via Baghdad, reached the emperor, by whom he was shown great favor. When they arrived at Pul-i-Surkh in Maragha, the emperor sent the ladies and *aghruqs* via Se Gumbad and Yüz Aghach to Ujan while he himself went unencumbered to Mount Sahand to hunt. After hunting there for a week, on Thursday the 10th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 702 [June 26, 1303] he dismounted in the City of Islam Ujan. [A359]

The amirs and soldiers who return from Syria are tried; a quriltai is held in Ujan, and they perform tägishmishi.

The day after the imperial banners reached Ujan, which was the 12th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [June 28, 1303], a trial was begun. The minutiae were examined, and when the transcript was submitted to the emperor, he objected to several points and had the trial done over from the beginning so that those points might be resolved. In the end, on the first of Dhu'l-Hijja [July 17], the trial was over, and ___,[3] Tarkhan's son Aghutai Tarkhan, and Toghan Temür of the Mangqut clan were executed, and all that was required by the great Yasa was put into practice.

[1] Marj al-Suffar, south of Damascus.

[2] The reading of this name is uncertain. In the text it is انجيل; it may be the name ايجيل (Ejil).

[3] Texts all have the incompletely dotted name حيك: it could be either چينك (Ching) or جيبك (Jibik).

On Thursday the 2nd of Dhu'l-Hijja [July 18], a banquet and *quriltai* were commenced, and the amirs were honored to perform *tägishmishi.*

The Padishah of Islam is stricken by ophthalmia; the princes arrive from Khurasan; the imperial banners, heading for Baghdad, camp at Hula'an Mürän.

The emperor arrived in the capital Tabriz on Thursday the 25th of Muharram 703 [September 8, 1303] and dismounted at the citadel, ordering troops and arms made ready. Several days later symptoms of ophthalmia became rampant, and the doctors and physicians began to treat him with medicines. The symptoms persisted for a long time, however, and the time to leave for winter quarters was growing short. [A360]

On Monday the 4th of Safar [September 17] the great lady Eltüzmish Khatun arrived from Khurasan with the princes Bistam and Abu-Yazid. The Padishah of Islam, overjoyed at their arrival, affianced his daughter Öljäi Qutlugh to Prince Bistam. **[957]** He kept them with him constantly and showed them great kindness.

Toward the end of his stay in Tabriz, in accordance with the treatment of the Cathaian physicians, his regal body was cauterized in two places on Sunday the 7th of Rabi' I [October 19]. On Friday the 19th of Rabi' I [October 31] he left Tabriz. Since some elephants had been brought to court from India, he ordered a platform placed on an elephant's back, and he left the city riding on an elephant as far as Maydan. From midmorning until midafternoon he occupied himself with riding and driving elephants. The people of the city turned out in droves, men and women, to watch and pray for his health. That night he stopped in Baghistan in Tabriz, and the next day he proceeded on the road to Ujan. He was, however, unable to hold the reins of his horse because of the pain in his stomach from the burning and general weakness, and so most of the time he rode in a litter. Each day a small portion of the route was covered.

At the end of Rabi' I [October 13–November 11, 1303] Amir Qutlughshah returned from Yüz Aghach to winter in Arran and guard that frontier. On Monday the 14th of Rabi' II [November 25, 1303] Gürägän arrived in the vicinity of Joma Saray. In Sughurluq and the Hamadan region much snow had fallen and the cold was very intense, for which reason it was impossible to take the Baghdad road in that direction. Therefore the trip to Baghdad was cancelled, and camp was made on the banks of the Hula'an Mürän, also a major wintering site and actually a very pleasant one, from all around which good foodstuffs could be had and there was abundant kindling. All the men settled in their own *yurts* and began to tend to their business at leisure.

One day the Padishah of Islam, in expiation for a small sin, was going to feed and clothe ten poor people. Since he wanted to do this with his own hand, **[A361]** he ordered ten poor people brought in. Najibuddin Farrash, one of his intimates and confidants, brought ten poor people to court, and he fed them with his own hand. Then he ordered ten suits of clothing brought from the treasury. He looked at them for a while, gave eight of the poor people a suit, and then gave the other two back to Mihtar Najibuddin and said, "Go bring two other poor men for me to give these to. These two are Christians."

"Didn't you say you were Muslims?" Najibuddin asked.

"Yes," they said, "we told you so because we were greedy, but we cannot lie to the Padishah of Islam. **[958]** He is right. We are both Christians." (This story is a clear indication that the emperor was one of God's

saints.)

The Padishah of Islam withdraws into solitude in his winter quarters at Hula'an Müran; Alafrang's plot to rebel is uncovered, and the conspirators are executed.

While at these winter quarters the Padishah of Islam desired to withdraw into solitude as a type of retreat. A tent was pitched for him outside the court, and he retired there by himself and did not allow any eunuchs or bodyguards to come to him. Every day he contented himself with just a little food.

While this was going on, a very strange thing happened. A group of men who looked like shaykhs but who were really meddlesome, led by Pir Ya'qub Baghbani in Tabriz, had won over Prince Alafrang on account of his love of status and money, and they wanted to display saintly miracles, the power for which they did not possess. During those days they sent a disciple named Mahmud into the *ordu* **[A362]** in order to win over a group of courtiers. This man, out of ignorance, divulged the secret and said, "A person forty yards tall and five yards wide is coming to Shaykh Ya'qub from the Marand and Iqan mountains. He will instruct him and reveal secrets to him. He has now given the kingship to Prince Alafrang, and like it or not the kingship is his, and the dervishes have given it to him." These words reached the hearing of Khwaja Sa'duddin the Sahib-Divan. He had the man seized and put into prison. Then he reported the affair to the Padishah of Islam, and he sent Jäbäi[1] Akhtachi to Tabriz to bring the malfeasants. Ten days later he came back and brought Pir Ya'qub, Nasiruddin the Qa'an's emissary, Shaykh Habib the *khalifa* of Rashid Bulghari, and Sayyid Kamaluddin Tamamat. Shaykh Rashid was Sadruddin Zanjani's shaykh, and Sayyid Kamaluddin was also one of his attendants. What is amazing is that when the Padishah of Islam saw them, he said, "I seem to remember that these seditious men were attached to Sadruddin Zanjani." When it was investigated it turned out to be true. He said, "Even from the grave he's still stirring up trouble." After that he sat by himself, and in the presence of the amirs and courtiers he investigated the report. The group of ignorant men spoke incredible nonsense, and when he got to the bottom of it, it was obvious that the basis of their beliefs was Mazdak's creed and that they wanted to re-establish that creed among the people. When their crime was proven, Ya'qub said, **[959]** "Our lords will protect us."

The Padishah of Islam replied, "My lords are God, the Prophet, and Murtaza [Ali b. Abi-Talib]. Let us see whether their power is greater or yours." He ordered [Ya'qub] thrown off the top of the mountain they were on, and his henchmen were executed.

He forgave Prince Alafrang's crime. "Now that the padishah has shown me favor," the prince said, "let me confess the truth of the matter. Two or three times in Tabriz they took me to Shaykh Ya'qub on a pretext of going hunting. **[A363]** While having a *sama'* and that sort of thing, he and his disciples claimed to have the power of miracles, and they duped me with promises to make me king. I was too afraid to reveal this and kept it hidden."

Yetmish, Taitaq's deputy, was also tried, and when he confessed his guilt he too was executed. Although Taitaq's son Aq Buqa had participated in the discussions and was a prime mover in the affair—Alafrang said that the entire guilt was his—nonetheless since he was a young child and his father had displayed *kichämishi* [valor] in the Syrian war and been taken captive by the enemy, the Padishah of Islam forgave him and merely had him imprisoned.

[1] Reading, with JT_{AZ}, جابی (Jäbäi) for JT_K's خانی.

A banquet is held in Eltüzmish Khatun's ordu for Prince Abu-Yazid's birthday, and the padishah comes out of retirement.

On Sunday the first of Jumada II [January 10, 1304] a banquet was held in Eltüzmish Khatun's *ordu* for Prince Abu-Yazid's birthday, as was customary. The Padishah of Islam and all the ladies, princes, and amirs were present for the rituals of congratulation and celebration, and much revelry was held. The Padishah of Islam rewarded the princes, ladies, and their followers and showed them much favor.

After that, the Padishah of Islam came out of his retreat and turned his attention to matters of state. He had regained his health and spent his time happily. All the ministers and officials were glad and relieved that the shaykh's and his henchmen's plot had been discovered. **[A364]**

The Padishah of Islam favors Khwaja Sa'duddin the Sahib-Divan on account of the loyalty he had shown during the Alafrang affair.

Khwaja Sa'duddin the Sahib-Divan immediately arrested Pir Ya'qub's emissary who had come into the *ordu* to win converts by making promises to everyone, **[960]** and sent word to the court. Because of this the emperor began to trust him inordinately and realized that he could rely upon him totally in all respects. This was highly appropriate, for his honesty and sincerity in his devotion and loyalty are such that if he is rewarded a hundred ways every day, it is no more than he deserves. For this reason the emperor wanted to favor him in some way that his rank and station would be increased and his magnificence would be even greater. Since the reins of the fiscal affairs and administrtion of the empire had already been put into his capable hands—and it was impossible to imagine anything greater than that—the emperor rewarded him by putting him in command of a *hazara* of Mongol soldiers and giving him a *tugh* and *kähvärgä* [drums]. He also ordered all the amirs to go and congratulate him. The truth is that his angelic self, the repository of all humane qualities and wellspring of all human perfections, is worthy of a thousandfold such rewards every instant, for he is the cause for the repose of high and low alike and the adornment of state and empire, of faith and Islam. May God cause him to enjoy high station and great magnificence. **[A365]**

The death of Kärämün Khatun, whose body is taken to Tabriz; the few wise words the Padishah of Islam spoke about life.

At twilight on the evening of Saturday the 12th of Jumada II 703 [January 21, 1304], Kärämün Khatun, Abatai Noyan's son Qutlugh Temür's daughter and the Padishah of Islam's wife, died suddenly in winter quarters in the vicinity of Saray Joma. Her body was taken with all pomp to Tabriz. Since she had been in the bloom of youth and had scarcely enjoyed the world, her death greatly affected the Padishah of Islam, who was severely pained. After her death he went into her *ordu* and wept much. He ordered that whatever arrangements and ceremony she deserved should be carried out. After her coffin was taken away, tears welled up in his imperial eyes every time he thought of her. **[961]**

One day when the pillars of state were present, he asked, "What is there in the world than which nothing is more difficult or hard?"

"To be taken prisoner by an enemy or to be brought low by a foe," some of the amirs replied. Others said, "Poverty." Some said, "Death."

"No," he said, "the most difficult thing is to be born, to come into the world, because all trials and tribulations, all suffering and

torment, are due to life. If there were no existence, there would be no difficulty. There is no greater repose for a human being in the world than death, and my reasoning is as follows. There are two people on the road: one is running and the other is walking slowly. Which of the two is more rested?"

"The one who is walking," they replied.

"If one is walking and the other is sitting, which one is more rested?"

"The one who is sitting," they said.

"If one is sitting and the other is asleep, which is more rested?"

"The one who is asleep," they answered.

"Therefore, on this basis and by correct analogy, a dead man is more rested than one who is asleep, **[A366]** and the redemption and complete benefit of souls lie in escaping from the strictures of nature. No bond, prison, hell, or torment is harder than ignorance and love of the world. Even though this world is hell for men of God and the next life is heaven for them, as is confirmed by the words of the Prophet, 'The world is a prison for the believer and paradise for the infidel,' an ignorant man absolutely does not want to escape from the prison of nature. In his total ignorance he thinks the soul is dead and the body is alive; he does not realize that in reality it is just the opposite. He takes pride in all sorts of ignorance and stupidity, and he does not know that death is a pleasant condition and pure justice, for if fathers did not die, how could imperial possessions and greatness come to their sons? Although the death of a father is hard and difficult, nonetheless because it gives another a chance, it is pleasing. There is not much benefit in a long life unless one is headed toward perfection and his soul advances day by day. It is best to content oneself with what God has allotted, for if people lived more than eighty years, their organs would cease to function, their senses would become sluggish and useless, they would become mean and low in the eyes of others, and both their relatives and strangers would despise them. Inasmuch as the benefit of life lies in perfection, after acquiring perfection everything else is a deficiency. Long life, therefore, is not a benefit."

In this way he spoke precise words, all of which were pure wisdom.

At the end of Sha'ban 703 [March 9, 1304–April 6, 1304], the emperor decamped from his *yurt* at Hula'an Müran, which he had named Öljäitü Buynuq. Having stationed the ladies and *aghruqs* in the vicinity of the fortress at Juq, one stage away from Saray Joma, **[962]** he proceeded unencumbered with the pillars of state and the grandees of court to Maraq. He spent a few days hunting in the vicinity of the mountains in Kharraqan and Mazdaqan and then went to the city of Sawa. The Sahib Khwaja Sa'duddin gave a general banquet **[A367]** and presented goblets to the Sultan of Islam and all the ladies, princes, and amirs as he performed *tägishmishi*. He was rewarded by the sultan with all sorts of shows of favor. Likewise, the grand *sadr*, Khwaja Shihabuddin Mubarakshah, the chief scribe of the empire and head of all the pillars of the mighty state. Since his ancient house was in Sawa, and his father, Khwaja Sharafuddin Sa'dan, a scion of the grandees of Iran, was resident and governor there, he gave a general banquet and presented suitable gifts to the sultan, the ladies, and the princes. He also made noble presentations to all the lords and gave abundant textiles, dinars, and dirhems to servants and members of the retinue.

Three days later the imperial banners departed from there and headed for Ray. From the time he had left winter quarters, the imperial constitution had completely regained its strength, and he was able to ride a horse across long and distant stages and to partake of all sorts of food. Now,

however, after leaving Sawa, he had a relapse: symptoms of the illness reappeared, and he lost his appetite. Nonetheless, he exerted himself and continued to ride as usual.

Camp was made in the vicinity of Ray for a few days. When symptoms of illness overtook him at Khayl-i-Buzurg, a dependency of Ray, a messenger was sent to the *aghruqs* to summon the great lady Bulughan Khatun with all speed. When she arrived, they had already decamped from Khayl-i-Buzurg and, having proceeded a short distance every day, come to Peshkala in the Qazwin vicinity. When the khatun arrived at the end of Ramadan, they were still camped there. As the khatun entered and found the emperor in such a state, they both wept and shed tears.

After that, the emperor summoned all the amirs, elite courtiers, and pillars of state and court and gave each of them advice as befitted his station. [A368] He also reconfirmed his will most precisely that his elder brother be designated as his successor, as he had done five years previously and often repeated in various gatherings. He urged everyone most strenuously to observe and preserve the terms of that will.

Most of the time he chose to be alone, [963] and although there was weakness of constitution, he possessed his full faculties. His senses were always sharp, and he was eloquent of speech. Since, however, his divinely destined days had come to their end, in accordance with the [Koranic dictum,] **When their end has come, they can neither put it off or hasten it so much as an hour,**[1] in the late afternoon on Sunday the 11th of Shawwal 703 [May 17, 1304] his pure spirit was translated from the mortal world to the abode of eternal bliss. With this event, such a great calamity to the world, the celestial spheres clad themselves in indigo blue, and rivers flowed from the eyes of the people of the inhabited quarter of the globe.

After the rites of washing and shrouding were performed, his noble coffin was placed on his own special horse, and the ladies and amirs followed behind to Tabriz. From the towns and villages men and women came out, head and feet uncovered and clad in sackcloth, and poured dust on their heads as they wept.

Over that just and pious king's coffin wept
time and space. / Everyone said alas and alack,
for the sun of the world had gone behind a
cloud.

In all the towns of Iran minarets were covered in sackcloth. The population poured out into the markets, streets, and squares, and old and young alike, men and women, tore their clothing, put on sackcloth, and mourned for seven days. When the imperial coffin reached one stage outside of the capital Tabriz, [A369] the people of the city came out all at once distraught, men and women, old and young, wearing mourning clothing.

All headed into the countryside, beating their
breasts with stones in distress.

Weeping, soldiers, members of the retinue, and servants gathered around the imperial coffin and proceeded to Shamm, where the emperor was buried in the lofty dome he had constructed. **Everything is going to perish save His face: His is the command, and unto Him will you be returned.**[2]

May God drown that happy sultan in a shoreless ocean of mercy. May he give the Emperor of Islam Öljäitü Sultan, his heir, his heart's desire. "He is the lord of response." May God be content with Muhammad and his family. [964]

[1] Kor. 7:34.

[2] Kor. 28:88.

Part Three of the story of the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan, on his conduct and character; monuments of his justice and beneficence, charity, and piety; the pronouncements and orders he gave for the benefit of all people; and rare stories and unusual events not included in the two previous sections: these are divided into two parts, one further subdivided into forty stories, and the other on various and miscellaneous events and incidents.

The part subdivided into forty stories contains the following: (1) the Padishah of Islam's various accomplishments and knowledge and his learning of different crafts; [A370] (2) the Padishah of Islam's being free of all vile traits; (3) his eloquence, his fine repartee with all peoples; (4) his patience, steadfastness, and trustworthiness; (5) on the fact that mostly what he said came true; (6) his praiseworthy generosity and kindness; (7) his elimination of idolatry and total destruction of idol temples; (8) his love for the family of the Prophet and his respect for great sayyids; (9) his bravery, his tactical deployment of the army during engagements, and his persistence in battle; (10) his advising cadis, shaykhs, ascetics, and people of learning and piety; (11) his forbidding all soldiers and others to make heathenish statements; (12) his love for building and his encouragement of others in that regard; (13) his charitable institutions in Tabriz and Hamadan, and the vows he made in the provinces; (14) his elimination of forgeries and false claims, and his elimination of the treachery of the dishonest; [A371] (15) he eliminates the practice of forging documents and annuls outdated deeds; [965] (16) he outlaws the division of plunder and various types of confiscation; (17) he protects and maintains the peasantry and eliminates their subjection to injustice and harassment; (18) he repeals the *ulagh* and does away with a superfluity of envoys in the realm; (19) he eliminates thieves and highway robbers and protects the roads of the realm from their predation; (20) he reforms the gold and silver standard better than it had ever been; (21) he corrects monetary and scale weights and fixes the yard, standard grain measure, the *qafiz*, and the *taghar*; (22) he regularizes the giving of patents and badges of office to people; (23) he takes back duplicate patents and badges of office held by people; (24) he enfeoffs villages in every province to the Mongol army; (25) how he organized a separate troop for the person of the emperor; (26) he forbids giving money for lucre and abominable monetary transactions; (27) he forbids unlimited prenuptial agreements and fixes the rate at nineteen and a half dinars; [A372] (28) he builds baths and mosques in villages throughout the realm; (29) people are forbidden to drink wine and other sinful intoxicants; (30) he regularizes stipends for the imperial table and wine for the Great Ordu; (31) he arranges provisions for the ladies and *ordus*; (32) he regulates factories and arranges their funding; (33) he organizes the armories; (34) his reorganization of imperial flocks and herds; (35) his reorganization of the corps of falconers and cheetah keepers; (36) his reorganization of tax collection throughout the realm; (37) his planning for the improvement of fallow lands; (38) the building of envoy hostels throughout the realm and the forbidding of envoys to lodge in people's houses; [966] (39) he forbids muleteers, camel drivers, and messengers to impose upon people; (40) he forbids the practice of forcing young women to enter brothels. ~ [A373]

Story One: The Padishah of Islam's various accomplishments and knowledge; his learning of different crafts and

discovery of their secrets.

Let it not remain concealed from the people of the world that when the Padishah of Islam was in his infancy, his grandfather Abaqa Khan kept him near and reared him. Over him as attendants and teachers he set the idolatrous *bakhshis*, and by that means that practice became firmly rooted in his soul, particularly since his fathers had believed in that sect and practiced that way. The practice of idolatry, which had been completely eliminated throughout the region from the beginning of Islam, reappeared during their time, and that group had become powerful. All sorts of *bakhshis* were brought with all honor and respect from India, Kashmir, Cathay, and Uyghur lands. Temples were built in every place, and vast sums were spent on them. This sect had risen to the apex of power, as was apparent to all. The Padishah of Islam was constantly in the company of the *bakhshis* in the temple observing their rites. Day by day his inclination to that sect increased, and his belief became firmer. When Abaqa Khan passed away and [Ghazan's] father Arghun Khan sent him to Khurasan as governor and commander of the army, he built major idol temples in Khabushan, and he spent most of his time conversing, eating, and drinking with the *bakhshis* in those temples. The belief he had for that sect and the worship he performed of the idols were beyond description. When [Ghazan} began to retake territory Baidu had seized, inasmuch as God had foreordained him for happiness **[A374]** and destined that the rule be his, that through divine assistance he should make manifest traces of justice and equity in the world, rectify things that had gone amiss, and restore lands that had been devastated, and that the propagation of the religion of Islam and the divine law should be brought about by him, while both he and the world were unaware of it, suddenly, when the time was ripe, through the effulgence of divine loving kindness, the light of guidance descended into his pure breast. With that, he set his blessed foot into the circle of Islam, **[967]** caught hold of the strong rope of faith, and issued a statement condemning the doctrines of false religions. Most of the people suspected that the reason for his conversion was the encouragement and insistence of some of the amirs and shaykhs, but after it was investigated it became apparent that such a suspicion was wrong.

Once in private he said to this humble servant, the writer of this book, "There are some sins that God will not forgive. The greatest of those is for someone to place his head on the ground before an idol—for that there will absolutely be no forgiveness. The poor people are caught up in ignorance in placing their heads on the ground before idols, and I too was like that. However, God gave me illumination and comprehension, and I was delivered and purified by God of that sin. The gist of these words is that there is nothing that will take a person to hell as easily as ignorance; rather, ignorance is a hell one cannot get out of. How can the mind accept that a person should place his head on the ground before an inanimate object? Such a motion is a sign of sheer ignorance.

"Originally idolaters said, 'There was a perfect individual, but he passed away. We have made an image of him, and we set it up as a reminder. We recollect him in order to seek help from his psychic power, and we take refuge in him, worship him, and prostrate ourselves before him.' All the while they were ignorant of the fact that when that person was alive, when that which is the germ of humanity was still together with his body, he never desired any such thing and never allowed anyone **[A375]** to place his head on the ground in front of him lest conceit and self-aggran-

dizement be born in himself. Therefore, when they worship him and prostrate themselves to seek help from his psychic power, how can his soul possibly be content to have those people place their heads on the ground before an image of his body. Even if they have good intentions for his psychic power—and let us imagine that there is some trace of that power—assuredly it would be a bad and unhappy psyche, not a good and happy one.

"Furthermore, one should know as a given truth that the body has no importance, and thereby one may forget to love one's own body. One should also know that what will depart from this body is one's essence. One should therefore contemplate just what it is that will depart, where it will go, and how it will remain. If one thinks of that thing, that place, and that state, as a consequence one may come to know them. When one believes in a form made in the shape of a body and bows down before it, one cannot think about or seek the essence that is paradise itself. Quite the opposite, one inclines to that which is the lowest depth of sheer hell. The more one thinks about it, the more one realizes that the only use an idol has **[968]** is to be turned into a threshold so that people will step on it coming and going in order that the spirit of which this thing is supposed to be the body will be content with them because it will be thinking, 'While I was in the world I attained perfect humility; after my departure the form of the body is also in that state.' It will also be thinking, 'My soul had such perfection. Its body has turned to dust and is worthy of being a threshold to be stepped on.'

For us who have no such perfection, how will our bodies be? One should detach one's heart from the body's condition altogether and **[A376]** think about the next world, pure stages, and the conditions of holy spirits. Let one constantly think about those states so that perhaps one may attain something of that which is reality, so that there may be some benefit to one's having come into the world, so that one may attain some perfection, since the goal of creation is for one to go from the world of darkness into the world of light."

As he expressed himself so well and in such precise ways, his inner light, veracity, and purity are well established. After that, he constantly gave speeches of this sort and spoke words of mysticism deeper than have ever been heard from any philosopher or mystic.

After he had been on the throne for two or three years, his efforts to propagate Islam increased daily, and he strove truly and sincerely to observe the religion as much as possible. It was clear and obvious to everyone that the reason for his conversion to Islam was not the urging of any of the amirs or shaykhs but rather divine guidance, for it is known from experience that if a king or governor forces the least man convert to Islam, that person's inclination to his own religion will remain as it was, and when he has an opportunity, either in his own country or in another, he will return to his own religion. What need then could such a puissant emperor possibly have had to pay the slightest attention to the words of anyone in such an important regard? Why should he have changed his religion or chosen another religion by force—particularly since his fathers, during the age of their disbelief, had conquered all the countries of the world? For all the foregoing reasons it was clear that his reward in this regard was like the reward of Abraham: when first he perceived the error of idolaters through the light of guidance, he broke his own idol and came thereby to recognize God through conscientious faith. The Padishah of Islam's conversion to Islam was of this sort, for he came to the religion of Islam from idolatry despite his

regal pride and power. He broke all the idols in the realm of Iran, totally destroyed idol temples and all illegal houses of worship, [A377] and brought the totality of idolaters, infidels, and Mongols, who were more numerous than the sands of the desert, under the aegis of Islam so that it was not necessary to have a single person put to death. [969] Of course, his reward will be great.

The things that have been mentioned are clear proofs of his perfect knowledge and wisdom. Another is as follows. When young men engage in entertainment, pleasure, and wine drinking, they desire sport, jokes, and various games. By contrast, when the Padishah of Islam relaxes, most of the time he delves into the words of wise men and undertakes in-depth research into stories and discussions far beyond the comprehension of any philosopher or wise man. He loves to hold discussions with wise and rational men of discrimination. If he sees a proponent of wisdom who possesses a good mind, discrimination, and polish and who is unadulterated by falsehood, he approves of him.[1] He immediately assesses the worth of any of this type who comes to him, and no trickster or false person ever has an opportunity to speak words laced with falsehood with him. And if he does, he isn't able to speak long, for the emperor recognizes him for what he is and never allows him access again. If he sees a wise man, [even if] he speaks a lot of foolishness, he immediately recognizes his depth. As an example of this, let us tell the following story.

In Khurasan was a person named Hibatullah who had come from Turkistan. He was a man of good character and presence who know something of every branch of learning. He knew the Syriac and Turkish languages, and he had committed many proverbs to memory. He spoke in the manner of shaykhs, and the emperor and the amirs believed what he said. For a time he was in attendance on the emperor, and when he came to the throne he sent a messenger to summon Hibatullah. He showed him honor, made him an intimate at court, and rewarded him with gold, textiles, and a large monthly allowance. He entrusted him to this well-wisher of the state and commanded me to look after him, which I did. He was constantly at court, where he spoke deep things about wisdom and mysticism. [A378] Although he was a learned man, there was a vast difference between what he said and what the emperor said. "It is unlikely that the emperor doesn't realize the difference between this man's knowledge and his own," I thought in amazement, "and if he does realize it, why is he so greatly devoted to him?" It would have been inexcusable to question anyone he held in such high regard, for it would have amounted to an insult. I remained perplexed by this for a time until, one day, he was speaking deep words and said, "This is something to which not everyone has access. Most people are superficial and know only the external aspect: they never get to the core meaning. Not everyone has access to a king's treasury: the elite go into the treasury while others can only go around the outside. It's like Shaykh Hibatullah, whose way is to sit outside the treasury and know what is on the outside. However, he does not have the manner of one who goes inside the treasury [970] and knows the details of the goods there."

After that I said, "I have wanted to ask about this for a long time, but there was no opportunity. Now I know for certain that the emperor knows everyone's worth even when he honors all."

"It doesn't surprise me," he said, "that he

[1]Text has *...u tahammul bá án yár nabáshad úrá napasandad*; read instead *...u tahayyul bá án yár nabáshad úrá bipasandad.*

or another does not know the likes of these mysteries, but I like what they do know and therefore I do them honor. By conversing with them I try to remember what God has given me. Even though a whetstone is softer than steel, it sharpens steel, and this is because the essence of steel increases through the stone. Sharpness is inherent in the essence of steel, but it becomes sharp through the softness of the stone."

In gatherings and groups, when all sorts of people were present, the learned men and philosophers were amazed by the questions he asked. Although he spoke in the idiom of the Mongols and not everyone immediately understood, nonetheless when what he said was repeated and interpreted, some understood and many did not comprehend. His manner of wisdom and knowing God was as has been reported. [A379]

He also knew so much about the conditions of various religions and the beliefs of every single group that when he debated with the leaders of each religion they would be unable to respond to one of every ten questions he posed, while he knew the answers to them all.

Of various languages, Mongolian was his own, but he also knew something of Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Kashmiri, Tibetan, Cathaian, Frankish, and all other languages.

Of the manners, customs, and administrations of past sultans and kings he knew in detail what the customs of each one were in battle and banquet, in health and sickness, what they ate and wore, and what they rode. He also knew what their other conditions were and are now. He would explain all this in detail to each group, and they would be amazed.

As for his knowledge of the dates and history of Mongols that are of great importance to them, the names of their forefathers, ancestors, and relatives, both male and female, and those of Mongol officers, both ancient and modern, who were and are in the kingdom, he knew the branches of descent of each one in more detail and better than anyone of all the Mongolian tribes—excepting only Bolad Aqa—and everyone learned from him. This history of the Mongols that has been written has been possible mostly by benefiting from him. There are many secrets and stories of the Mongols he knew that were not included in this history. He also knew most of the histories of the kings of the Persians and Turks and of India, Kashmir, Cathay, and other nations. [971] These he would tell to each group, and they would be amazed.

As for his bravery and knowledge of customs and deployment in battle, he knew these to perfection, and a separate chapter will be devoted to it.

As for various crafts, there was no craft he could not execute with his own hands better than any master craftsman [A380]—be it goldsmithing, blacksmithing, carpentry, painting, metal casting, lathing, or any other. He worked so well that he could guide the masters. The emperor could guide and teach any master builder who wanted an arcane instrument unknown to his trade.

He was enamored of the art of alchemy, the most difficult of all the crafts, and he mastered it in a short time, but since he knew for certain that not just anybody could succeed in the operation, he summoned those who claimed to be able to do it. However, instead of spending large amounts of money on their recommendation, as was usual, he did not allow them to make any expenditures. What he ordered them to do was to perform the operations they knew and of which they were capable, like making enamel, dissolving talc, melting crystal, making red lead, sublimations, and making something like gold and silver. These and other operations they performed in his presence so that he learned how to do them. "I am not learning these things in

order to make gold and silver," he said, "because I know it is impossible, but I wanted to learn the meticulous arts involved therein and do them, for accomplishment lies in learning, not being satisfied with just that, and in advancing from operation to operation."

As for his knowledge of medicine, he was perfectly aware of the general practice among the Tajiks, Cathaians, and Mongolians, as well as in India and Kashmir. He also knew the methods prescribed by each group and was familiar with all medicines. Most physicians are familiar with these only in pharmacists' shops, but he could identify all types of medicines in the field. [A381] At present he can recognize from a leaf a plant whose root is medicinal, and when they pick it, it turns out to be that very thing. Many medicines that used to be attributed to the regions of Turkistan, Cathay, and India were brought by merchants and sold for enormous prices, but he discovered them in this land. Others he made known himself by experimentation. He summoned several renowned Persian and Turkish herbalists from the provinces and took them with him to the mountains and fields during hunts and other travels in order to do research until he had learned their method. At present no one among the herbalists or physicians knows these things as he does. [972] To Faruq's antidote he added twenty-four non-compound medicines that had been tested and were known to all for being antidotes, each of which was by itself an absolute antidote. He tested that antidote and found it extremely beneficial, and it became known as the Ghazanid antidote.

As for his knowledge of minerals, through much questioning of those who knew about it he could say of any place he saw in the mountains or plains what sort of mineral that place contained, and when it was investigated he would be right. He knew the method of extraction of every sort of mineral and how to smelt it with the help of various implements and operations, for he had done it all and performed experiments himself.

As for spells, he knew what was recited for every sort of calamity. He knew in detail the particulars of the shapes of men and beasts and what they indicated in accordance with what had been recorded in books.

As for astronomy and uranology, since he often went to the observatory in Maragha where he asked for an explanation of the instruments and investigated how it was done, he learned it and was aware of the generalities of that science. Latterly, from his own nature, he ordered them to construct what pertains to the site and building of an observatory. [A382] In order to measure the circular path of the sun he had a dome built according to his own taste and discussed it with the astronomers. They all said, "Even though we have never seen such an instrument, it is reasonable." At the observatory next to the Abwabu'l-birr in Tabriz,[1] a dome was constructed that contains those things, as can readily be seen.

He knew something of every science one can imagine, and God withheld no accomplishment from him but rather adorned him with good moral qualities, as will be described in other chapters. He never allowed himself to fall prey to pride on this account, and he used to say, "The queen of the sciences is theology. The object in learning other sciences and crafts is to pronounce the name of perfection over theology. Not knowing is an imperfection. Therefore, one must know something

[1]The complex of charitable institutions founded by Ghazan Khan in Shamb, Tabriz. The name Abwábu'l-birr ('gates of piety') is both a generic term for such institutions and, apparently here, the specific name given to the complex. For the terms of endowment, see text pp. 997ff. below.

about everything in order not to be imperfect; otherwise, why would I go to all this trouble?" He is even now engaged in teaching and learning.

A line or two has now been mentioned of the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's knowledge, and the people of this era are aware of it and bear witness that this is how it is, lest readers in later times accuse us of exaggeration. May God grant him a new accomplishment every day! ~

Story Two: The Padishah of Islam's chastity and sinlessness.

Persons who were intimates at court report that the Padishah of Islam [973] never committed any forbidden act. If he chanced to have regard for anyone, he never allowed it to go beyond mere regard lest he commit lust. When he was away from home on expeditions for long periods of time with the military making conquests, the officers used to choose beautiful girls taken in plunder they considered suitable and bring them to him. [A383] Although it is the Mongols' custom to keep such girls in concubinage in order to enjoy themselves in times of war and conquest, the Padishah of Islam was never so inclined and used to say, "How can I pollute my body with them? How can I become acquainted with them in such an inappropriate fashion?" He never paid any attention or accepted them. During all this time, as has been witnessed, no action ever issued from him that would be considered adultery, sodomy, or an abomination in law. He never gazed upon other men's wives with lust. In all the times he went to conquer Syria, he paid no attention to the Mongol girls in Damascus or others who were there, no matter how many were presented to him. No matter how long he was away from home he was able to control himself patiently.

His noble mind never allowed anyone else to indulge in sodomy or abominations, and he constantly issued strong-worded edicts forbidding such things. He had several persons executed for that sin in accordance with Islamic law and the Yasaq. The chastity of his noble mind is as unadulterated as pure gold. May God protect and preserve that peerless being from the calamities of time and guard him from the evil eye, through the Prophet and his family. ~

Story Three: The Padishah of Islam's eloquence and fine repartee with all peoples.

Previously most imperial administration was conducted by officers and ministers, and it was they who tended to fiscal affairs. Emperors were free of such matters and spent most of their time hunting and enjoying themselves. Now, one can easily imagine what administration by disagreeing officers and ministers was like. [A384] Furthermore, when envoys arrived from rulers near and far, the emperor's reply was conveyed by officers.

With his correct ideas the Padishah of Islam reformed and put into order all fiscal affairs, which had been left to suffer for years and the bases of which had been destroyed. [974] Insisting upon his own orders, he neither entertained the ideas or words of any officer or minister nor allowed anyone else to give weight or importance to his own opinion. All became subject to his order and command, and no one had a chance to question the least affair. Conversely, everyone waited with bated breath for the emperor to give an order. Finally, everyone, young and old, learned and ignorant, carried out his orders. This was not difficult for anyone to do, for they saw that his mind was better and sharper in all respects. His action and inaction are so well regulated that by contrast they have seen themselves as nothing, no matter how competent they may be. Despite his youthful years he knows so many choice

proverbs, dates, and subtle stories that when he tells them his listeners are astounded. Whenever an envoy arrives from anywhere, without recourse to or consultation with ministers of state he gives correct replies. Naturally great rulers send extremely clever ambassadors to other lands, but wise, eloquent, and experienced ambassadors who have come until now—as well as great philosophers and physicians who have arrived—have all been impressed with his eloquence and conversational abilities and with his good moral qualities. [A385] He usually tells them stories and events from their own countries, and he can relate in detail the beliefs of any nation that comes to him and recount the manners and customs of any country or people, be they ancient or modern. Consequently his fame has spread to all countries, Chin and Machin, Hindustan, Turkistan, Kashmir, the Qipchaq Steppe, Rus, Frank, Egypt, and Syria, and everyone takes account of and praises him for his awesomeness, punishment, competence, and perspicacity. May God make this Padishah of Islam, this divinely chosen one, who is the most intelligent and most perfect son of the age, rule over the people of the world forever. ~

Story Four: The Padishah of Islam's patience, steadfastness, and trustworthiness.

Let me quote several examples of the patience, forbearance, steadfastness, and trustworthiness that are part of his character, for to give a full report would take too long. [975]

Nawroz mutinied against him in Khurasan, and although he was a servant of the court, he attacked and surrounded the *ordus*, as has been reported in the history. He also attacked several other times, and damage in Khurasan and distress in the *ordus* were due to him. Never had what he did been done by anyone. After that, he joined forces with Baidu, and for a long time he wrought destruction. When he was reduced to helplessness he came to the court to appeal for amnesty and a pact. Despite all his evil actions, which no one should have borne, the emperor pardoned him and rewarded him with the rule of the entire kingdom. [A386] Since Nawroz had a strange personality and signs of rebelliousness showed clearly in him, and since he did not speak straightforwardly either, the officers often said, "He has undertaken so many displeasing actions, and various crimes have been committed on his account. He ought to be eliminated." The Padishah of Islam refused to agree and said, "You are right, and it is very clear and obvious. Yet I cannot break my oath." No matter how many evil actions and horrid deed were committed by him, the emperor bore them patiently until Nawroz went to Khurasan and began to stir up trouble and rebellion. He actually wanted to seize all the territory from there to Shiraz and Kirman, and the realm was almost destroyed once again by him. When this became clear, an order was given to muster the troops. The officers said, "We have said many times that he was harboring such things in his heart." "I also knew it," said the emperor, "but I wanted him to be the initiator, not me."

Another time he had some officers executed but spared the lives of others. (There is no necessity for giving all their names, for it is irrelevant.) During their trial the emperor said to the officers, "I have known of their misconduct for five years. I know all about it, but I have been patient. Some have often suggested to me improper things, each one of which would have destroyed the realm. Had I had regard for or listened to the various tricks of which they spoke, more trouble than could be imagined would have arisen. Some I do not want even to give voice to. I spoke with

them several times in private. Although the first time they spoke to me I realized that it was sheer chicanery and would destroy the world, they shamelessly denied it. For five years they repeated it and spoke in another manner. It is strange that they saw I did not approve and did not do it, but out of ignorance they kept on repeating it. [976, A387] Ignorant and stupid they were for wanting to catch me in ignorance and draw me into their net. When this went beyond all bounds and their seditiousness became apparent, they confessed. Now I have revealed it." From the state of affairs it was clear to everyone that he spoke thus.

It had been a long time since they had spoken those words, and all were astonished how he could have borne it with patience, and when he expressed it, they were even more astonished.

It was also experienced that he immediately recognized and got on bad terms with anyone at his court who attacked people or engaged in prevarication and mendacity, but through patience he was not hasty in revealing his wrath: the ignorant man did not know that the emperor knew and was being patient. If the person persisted in his ways, the emperor would have him killed in the end. This group was large. One of them was the cadi of Simnan who was called Qazi Sayin. He was the worst of God's creation, truly more evil than Satan. The emperor understood what Sahib Isfahani and several others whose names do not need to be mentioned were doing. After waiting patiently for a long time, he had some of them executed through an informant and detractor, and others he banished from court.

Those who knew his nature, who avoided speaking evil and stirring up strife, and who constantly spoke beneficially and reasonably as is demanded by their souls—such persons he weighed in the scales of his perfect mind, approved of, and considered reliable. Since his illuminated mind was aware of them, if others spoke derogatorily of them in envy and enmity, or if they attacked them, he did not listen. Instead, he was patient and strengthened their hands in the labors with which they were charged so that affairs would run smoothly and without interruption. He has often said, "There is nothing in the world more noble or *tangsuq* [precious] than a reliable and honest man." [A388] Consequently reliable, honest men are held in the highest esteem by him, and he has killed any who is corrupt, a thief, or a criminal. If those who know swear the most solemn of oaths that the Padishah of Islam has never killed anyone except persons who are the worst of creatures and whom it is proper and necessary to kill since their existence is detrimental to all, their oath is correct and undeserving of retribution. Truly the result is that he will order executed any other corrupter that comes to his court, [977] for the characteristic of his noble soul with regard to corrupt people is like that of emeralds with respect to vipers.[1] Such corrupters who remain are simply those he has not seen or known, for otherwise his noble soul is like a jeweler who knows crystal from rubies: he knows those persons immediately. This notwithstanding, he does not rush into anything except charitable acts.

Many, many times he advised his officers, judges, and ministers, saying, "When a group comes to complain of a governor or administrator, do not accept what they say right away, for it is possible that they have not paid their taxes previously, or placed their burden on others, and the governor has forced them to pay. Such people, of course, will complain. If others also come to support what they say, it is quite possible that they previously held employment

[1]It was a common belief that emeralds were effective amulets against vipers.

and want to get their jobs taken away from the present holders and given back to them. It is also possible some people will come who are old enemies of the governor or administrator, or they may come on behalf of a friend, to vilify the governor. Examine all these possibilities carefully, and find out from the generality of the tax-paying population whether the governor is tyrannical or not and whether they like him or not so that the truth of his situation may be ascertained. [A389] The words of the people carry great weight when they are not self-interested; the words of the self-interested and certain others do not carry so much weight. Those with whom the subjects are content and whose natures are inclined to justice are hard to find. A governor who has one or two flaws and many virtues—particularly unambitiousness, strictness, and honesty—should not be dismissed from office."

Because he constantly keeps it in mind to exercise caution, guides his officers and ministers, and never swerves so much as an iota from perspicacity and farsightedness, may God cause the Padishah of Islam to enjoy many years of life and rule. ~

Story Five: On the fact that most of the time everything he says comes true.

Courtiers who have been in attendance from the time of the Padishah of Islam's youth report that every time a matter or story crossed his lips it came true. In recent years experience has shown that every time he spoke in seriousness or in sport [978] it happened likewise. He would predict that a certain thing would happen to someone, or that an envoy of a certain description would come from someplace, or that a prisoner of a certain look would be brought, or a piece of good or bad news would come. Although such things are not unexpected from rulers who are born under felicitous conjunctions and to whom God has granted fortune and happiness, to this extent it has never been told or witnessed from any ruler.

Since he was passionate for all branches of learning, he pursued and learned geomancy and horses' collar bones and teeth and other signs by which good and bad fortunes have been tested and recorded in books, and various fortune-telling devices practiced by every nation and country. [A390]

He is so familiar with most of the stars and planets known to astronomers, and he is so aware of the rising and setting points and the particulars of each one that those who have heard him speak of them are astonished.

He knows the characteristics of all animals, wild and domestic, in all their varieties and shapes, their manners and movements, where they live in summer and winter.

All this is impossible except through great intelligence. ~

Story Six: The Padishah of Islam's praiseworthy generosity and kindness.

When the Padishah of Islam mounted the throne, his forefathers' treasuries were empty, the provinces lay in ruins and were uncontrolled, administrative properties were open to loss, collection of taxes was impossible, and the mismanagement of former ministers and governors had allowed administrators to embezzle property. It would take a long time to put the affairs of the kingdom in order before taxes could reach the treasury.

First, the treasures Hülägü Khan had brought from Baghdad, the Infidels' territories, and other places and put in the fortress of Tala-u-Shaha had been stolen by the guards over time, and bars of gold and jewels were being sold to merchants. Because they all saw what each other were doing and knew what was in each other's hearts, no

one said anything. By chance, one of the fortress towers, which was on the river, collapsed, and on the pretext that ingots and jewels had fallen into the river they stole vast amounts. What remained Ahmad gave to the soldiers because he wanted to curry favor with the military, get the rule for himself, and do battle with Arghun Khan. [979] Very little else remained. It was reported that it amounted to no more than a million five hundred thousand. [A391] Arghun Khan had gathered treasures of all descriptions in Sughurluq, but that too had been stolen by some and lost by others. After that, when the amirs rebelled and some amirs and courtiers killed Arghun Khan, some of the treasury Arghun Khan had acquired during his reign was distributed among the conspirators, while others suggested giving it to the soldiers. Thus it was lost. Gaikhatu acquired nothing, and if any of Arghun Khan's treasury remained, he gave it to his men.

For these reasons, nothing remained of past treasuries at the time of the accession. Just when his soldiers came with him from Khurasan, rebels went to Khurasan and carried off their homes, herds, and flocks. No matter how much the Padishah of Islam wanted to give them something, there was nothing in the treasury to give, and nothing was coming in from the provinces. Nawroz managed fiscal affairs and taxes for a while, but since he continued in the old fashion nothing was acquired. After him, Malik Sharafuddin Simnani and Sadruddin managed the administration, but nothing was acquired then either. Expeditions needed money, and if an ambassador came from near or far and they wanted to honor him or give him a gift befitting his station, there was nothing in the treasury. People did not believe that the treasury could be so empty and attributed it to the emperor's negligence and carelessness. Things got so bad that complaints began to come in from everyone, and when they reached the imperial hearing, many times he spoke to the amirs and his confidants and said, "You think there is anything in the chests loaded on those few camels and pack horses we call a treasury? Since I love crafts and always occupy myself by carving things in wood and making implements, what they carry is mostly pieces of wood and the tools of every craft. There are also a few weapons. [A392] It is not hidden from you, and the treasurers also know. How can I give away what I don't have? No treasures were left to me by my fathers, and taxes don't come from the provinces. I have been set over a ruined country. You go collect taxes from the provinces and bring them in. Then, if I don't give you anything, the fault will be mine." From these words it was clear to all that he was right.

Two years later, when the job of restoring order to the fiscal administration was done and the borders and marches were secure, rebels and [980] those who were stirring up strife and trouble had been eliminated or punished, he turned his attention to regularizing the affairs of the provinces, reorganizing the fiscal administration, and collecting taxes and imposts. He sat every day from dawn to dusk, correcting with his own pen the rough drafts of things that had to be written. He developed forms for fiscal matters, laid down rules, and ordered how everything was to be done. Provincial territories given in fief were to be given to reliable people and not taken from them for three years. No attention was to be paid to information supplied by every beggar and nobody. He also stipulated how taxes were to be gathered and how much was to be collected from each province. He also defined established expenditures allowed to most places and regularized them in a way that will be mentioned in other chapters.

Day by day taxes poured into the treasury from all over, and year by year amounts

increased. Textiles from the royal factory, which previously did not arrive any more than taxes did, did not amount to a third of what they should have, but now orders arrive in full. Once money had been acquired, he began to be generous. "There is nothing in the world more difficult than giving money away," he said to the amirs and ministers of state. "Genghis Khan said that there is nothing worse than giving money or not giving money. Those who don't give are obviously stingy, and what is worse than stinginess? **[A393]** To give, however, [is also difficult] since if one person is given too little and another is given more, or if one person is given something and another is not given anything, or if someone is given later what he should have been given earlier—all this is harder for people than death, and they will become inimical. Rare is the person who can observe all these minutiae, who will think of all this. It is not possible for everyone to do all this. Now, insofar as we are able, we will maintain this rule."

The few treasuries that came to him at the beginning consisted of two or three million, and he turned them over to his officers and deputies, saying, "I have no attachment to what they have brought. I will not put it in the treasury. Let them put aside things that are brought from the provinces so that they can be given to the officers." After that he told them to which people it should be given and how much should be given to each group, and the officers gave it away accordingly.

In recent years he said, "Once upon a time the officers gave everything. I too have a desire to give something myself." During a *quriltai* in Ujan he ordered the great court tent pitched **[981]** and all the treasures that had been brought from around the empire assembled. He and several important officers sat and designated greater reward for persons who held larger commands and who had done good service and performed valiantly. He expressed the reason for rewarding them more as follows, "I am giving these people more, and the reason is so that henceforth others may also strive to perform valiant deeds and render pleasing service." After that he had those who had paternal or filial relationships come forward. Then he gave to the commanders of divisions of the left and right as was customary. He ordered textiles placed according to various sorts and bags filled with gold and silver separated according to weight; on each bag was written how much it contained and which tribe it was for. According to their deserts he called out to each and every group and ordered them to take their share in his presence. **[A394]** Thus he gave money away for ten or eleven days, and it amounted to three million of cash in gold, twenty thousand items of textiles, fifty jewel-studded belts, three hundred golden belts, and a hundred bars of gold. Thereafter he constantly gave cash and textiles from the treasury, and never did he assign so much as a fraction of a coin or a single piece of fabric he gave away to be paid by a province. No matter how much the amirs and viziers told him to do so, he did not assign anything and only gave and gives cash; however, he keeps in mind the size of the deed and the worth of the individual and doesn't give too little to those who should be given much or too much to those who should be given little. His treasury is never empty, and as much as he gave away, God blessed him through his justice and good administration, and the treasury did not decrease. A day never passes that from ten to twenty thousand dinars and one, two, or three hundred pieces of textile are not dispersed from the treasury. Such generosity and gift giving are necessary.

One day, in the presence of the amirs and grandees of state he said, "The best thing a

human being can do is to take on the qualities of God. This is particularly true for kings. Generosity and liberality are God's qualities, but that is a generosity such that no matter how much is given away it never decreases or ceases. What a human can do is but a drop in the sea compared to God; nonetheless, it is incumbent to try as hard as one can. Rulers and all people should spend as much money as they are able. [982] If one gives without restraint for a few days and then is unable to spend anything or even to eat, what benefit is this to anyone? To give everything away to a few people and completely deprive others is [not] God's way. A ruler should be like the sun, [A395] whose rays reach everyone, and let his treasury be shared by all, especially the deserving, the needy, and those who have done good deeds—among them the soldiers. How can it be proper to give to only a few people and then sit empty-handed and neither give to anyone nor be able to give? What benefit do they enjoy from such a person? What is the good of having imperial power in that case?

"The generosity and liberality of kings should be like the water of a well or spring: no matter how much is taken out, more comes, and the amount never decreases. This is not possible without good administration of the kingdom, improvement of the land, fairness, and implementation of criminal retribution. Those who maintain an equilibrium in all things will receive compensation in proportion to the amount they give away. Otherwise, 'when you take away from a mountain and put nothing in its place, in the end the mountain will be leveled.'

"If we and you are inclined to wealth, generosity, and gift giving, we must practice justice and truth, for it is a characteristic of justice that to the extent that we know where the money comes from that fills the treasury, no matter how much we give away, the treasury will not be emptied. It is good for us to be always capable of giving; otherwise, what use is a king who is capable one day and incapable the next, or rich for a time and poor for a time? Such is not a characteristic of a king. If it were, he would have to spend his days in grief and worry, and the people would be deprived of his gifts and learn to do without him as king.

"We must observe this rule and make it such that we give away however much comes in, neither piling everything up nor bankrupting ourselves all at once. There should always be a certain amount of capital, [A396] for it is the property of money that when there is a small amount of capital, more quickly comes in. It is like a hunter who has no bird to place in his snare for other birds of its feather to flock to: he can't catch anything. When he has one bird as his capital, with it he can catch many thousands of birds a year."

The amirs and ministers of state praised these words of the Padishah of Islam, and all were happy. From that date until this, [983] gold and textiles have been flowing from the Padishah of Islam's treasury like water from a spring. Never at any time has any past king given away so much cash and textiles as he has. Of course, people take this to be an exaggeration and say, "Who has ever seen past kings or knows what their treasuries were like? How can anyone make such a comparison?" However, the touchstone of this statement lies in the registers of inventory and expenditures of past generations, all of which are placed in the house of registers. They are extant at present. What better witness could there be than a register, which has no vested interests? When they are examined, the absolute veracity or falsity of this statement can be obtained. May God cause this generosity and liberality to last forever! ~

Story Seven: The elimination of idolatry,

destruction of temples, and smashing of all idols.

When, through divine guidance, the Padishah of Islam Ghazan entered the Muslim faith, as has been mentioned previously, he commanded that all idols be smashed and all temples and other places of worship [A397] disallowed by law in the lands of Islam be destroyed. Most of the idol-worshipping *bakhshis* were converted to Islam, but since God had not slated them for success, the faith they held was not correct: outwardly they appeared to be Muslims, but from their foreheads showed traces of infidelity and error.

After a while the Padishah of Islam comprehended their hypocrisy and said, "Let any of you who so desires go to India, Kashmir, Tibet, or his native country. Those who remain here will not practice hypocrisy: let all act upon what is in their hearts and minds and not sully the pure religion of Islam with their hypocrisy. If, however, I learn that anyone has built a fire temple or idol temple, I will put him to the sword without mercy." Some continued to practice hypocrisy as before while others occupied themselves with their disgusting ideas.

"My father was an idolater," the emperor said, "and in that belief he died. He built for himself an idol temple and endowed it in the name of the idolaters. I destroyed that temple, but you may go reside there and enjoy the income."

The ladies and amirs said, "Your father built a temple and put his own image on the walls. Now that it is in ruins, snow and rain fall on the images of your father, who was an idolater. If that place were restored, [984] your father's soul would rest in peace, and his good name would be assured." The emperor did not consent or approve of this. Then they suggested turning it into a palace. Still he did not consent and said, "Even if I intended it to be a palace and they put pictures therein, since it has been an idolaters' temple, it would be inappropriate. If a palace must be built, let it be built elsewhere."

There are many such stories and cases, but it would take too much time to tell them all.

In short, he said to the *bakhshis*, [A398] "It is known to me that you have no knowledge, but to maintain group cohesion it is incumbent upon kings to have all sorts of people in their flocks. For that reason they protect and maintain them all. Even beasts, which have no understanding or intelligence, are kept and maintained by kings, people of Islam, and people in general for their own purposes and needs. You too are of this sort, but you must not exhibit an iota of idolatry, fanaticism, or incorrect behavior; if you do, I will make you fodder for the sword."

At present the few of them that remain do not even think of having an opportunity to show that they have a creed or religion. In this they are like the Magian peoples or the heretics, who have been in these lands from long ago but keep their beliefs hidden.

May God cause this Padishah of Islam to last forever! ~

Story Eight: The Padishah of Islam's love for the family of the Prophet.

The Padishah of Islam twice saw the beauty of the lord of creation in a dream, the Prophet gave him good promises, and they conversed long. With the Prophet were the Commander of the Faithful Ali, Hasan, and Husayn, and he introduced them and said, [A399] "You should be brothers." He told the Padishah of Islam to embrace them, and brotherhood was accepted on both sides. From that time on, the Padishah of Islam achieved many victories and successes, the greatest of which was that he spread charity, order, and a system of justice and pun-

ishment throughout the world. He thus attained a good name and stored up for himself a treasure of prayers from the people for his well-being. What felicity or gift can be greater than that?

From that date forward, his love for the house of the Prophet has increased, and he constantly gives assistance to aid pilgrims and visits shrines to that family. **[985]** He makes vows and sends [to shrines the money he vows]. He honors and holds sayyids in great respect and gives them alms and stipends. When he was having *khanaqah*s, schools, mosques, and other charitable institutions built all over and was endowing them and considering the duties and salaries of every group, he said, "How is it that there are [such institutions] for the poor and for Sufis and other groups but not for sayyids? The Alids should also have them." Therefore he ordered "sayyid houses" *(daru's-siyada)* built in Tabriz and other great provinces throughout the realm like Isfahan, Shiraz, and Baghdad, for sayyids to stay in. He stipulated amounts to cover their provisions as he saw fit, as the deeds of endowment bear witness, in order that they too should have a share of his charity. He constantly says, "I deny no one. I recognize the greatness of the Companions, but since I saw the Apostle in a dream, **[A400]** and he created a brotherhood and friendship between his offspring and me, I am more friendly to the members of his house. This is not to say that I reject the Companions, God forbid!"

He commanded a canal constructed to the shrine of Husayn, as will be described. He always praises the Prophet's family without fanaticism, for, thank God, he is wise and perfect. May God keep this just emperor for the people of the world for long years!

Story Nine: The Padishah of Islam's bravery, his tactical deployment of the army during engagements, and his persistence in battle.

From his childhood the Padishah of Islam was in Khurasan, the most difficult frontier, the direction from which foreign forces have come from ancient times until now. Not a year passes in which one or two expeditions do not have to be mounted. He has therefore often fought foes, engaged in fierce battles, and endured many hardships and difficulties. He is perfectly aware of and extremely expert in the minutiae of the field. He has become so stout of heart that he has no trepidation whatsoever, even in the mightiest cases, and hesitation finds no way into his mind. Even when he knows that things are going to be difficult and the foe is strong, he is patient and valiant and does not allow any trace of worry to appear. **[986]** "No profit is derived from fear," he says. "It only results in the failure of one's strategy and helping the enemy." Such things have been witnessed many times by his attendants in Khurasan. It would take too long to describe them all, but one thing that happened in this region is the case of him and Baidu. **[A401]**

He charged out of Khurasan like lightning, struck [Baidu and his men] with only a few soldiers, and persisted patiently. After that, it was decided that they would see each other in private with only a few liege men. When they met, in jest he slapped [Baidu] so hard on the back that he was pained and realized that [Ghazan] had no respect for him and there was no fear in his mind. After that he mustered his troops, attacked him with a few soldiers when he had the opportunity, and captured [Baidu] so that the kingdom and the military suffered neither harm nor trouble.

He got his hands on the amirs who had stirred up trouble during his father's and his uncle's times, and although they had powerful protectors, he acted out of stout-

ness of heart and rightness of thought, paying no attention to anyone's attempts to intercede, got rid of them all, and put the kingdom in order.

Another time, when Sögäi rebelled and Arslan turned around with a troop arrayed and attacked him,[1] [Ghazan] kept receiving news and realizing that when he got there he would not be able to offer resistance because there were no troops available, but he absolutely did not give in. Every day he occupied himself as usual, and when Arslan got near he sent out a troop that was there as though to go hunting, but he himself did not make a move although not everyone was informed of this. He stayed where he was, laughing, playing, and telling stories of all sorts. He summoned the physicians and astrologers and said, "I want to make a laxative. Go get the ingredients and select a day." He apparently paid absolutely no attention to the rebel, and his mind was not disturbed in the slightest that anyone could tell. Because of that courage and patience no disruptions occurred, no rumors were spread, and the people remained as they had been. **[A402]** If so much as an iota of change had been detected in him, everything would have been lost, particularly since it was still early in his career, and the kingdom and army had not been consolidated. The soldiers, who had created disturbances before, were still avid for plunder, and he looked like a puppet to them. This affair turned out well thanks to the assistance of the Creator and through the patience and courage of the Padishah of Islam, and nothing was struck by the evil eye. **[987]**

Another instance is the following. During the war with Egypt and Syria people thought that he would take up a position in a corner of the array, as was the custom of kings, where no one would know where he was. Contrary to this, he came forward boldly, positioned the entire army himself, and stood in the forefront. He charged repeatedly like an enraged lion, and if they hadn't taken his reins, he would not have stopped fighting. Although those near him forbade it, he went into the midst of the enemy several times and charged, putting them to flight and killing several before he returned. Suddenly a troop nearby was routed. On the sides, some were not aware of the battle and others had not yet arrived in the field. To the left and right of the Padishah of Islam was empty. He himself stood his ground before the foe with only a few men and Sultan. Because the first strike had been against the center, the soldiers went far away and stood, not making a move and thinking that when the enemy attacked there would be no reinforcement. The foe was making concerted and repeated hard strikes. Like a roaring lion, the padishah persisted from noon until late afternoon, repelling the charges by himself, resisting such a numerous force by his good tactics and strategy, and keeping on fighting. What lion-hearted champion would have such courage and fortitude? In the end, when the troops of the left hand, who had been standing afar waiting to turn back, saw what was going on, they turned to face the foe, and some of those who were farther back on the right came in. **[A403]** The foe, having been exhausted by the Padishah of Islam's persistence, pulled back in defeat.

There have been many such instances, but we will content ourselves with this much as an example.

He constantly instructs, guides, and advises the victorious troops and says, "Everyone has a moment of death. Wherever it may be—at home, on the road, in battle, during a hunt—everyone has to die. Why then should one fear and be afraid of an enemy standing opposite? Since death is

[1] See text p. 920f. for this episode.

inevitable, it is better for a man to see his own blood, for unseen blood just putrefies in the body and results in nothing but a stench. Just as rouge is an ornament to women, blood is an ornament to men. The good names of such men remain in this world, and in the next world they go to paradise. When anyone dies at home, his wife and children have to bear the wearisome chore of tending to him, and in their view and that of other loved ones he becomes an object of pity. If he dies in battle, [988] he is freed from such concerns, and his loved ones grieve for him, but the monarch of the age honors and consoles them and takes his sons under his patronage so that they are well taken care of."

He also said, "When the army goes on an expedition, if it is a strike, one must insure that news not get out, and the horses must be kept fit. One should proceed day and night in such a manner that one arrive suddenly lest the enemy have a chance to group and retreat. If you go every year, you should strive to go at different times; otherwise, when the appointed season arrives, the enemy will have prepared himself beforehand. You must also strive to go by a different route every time so the enemy will not learn of your approach. Scouts must be reliable and know the roads. If a large contingent goes, the greater the noise of their approach, the better. In battle one should go slowly, for a large army cannot proceed with haste. When the enemy has already learned of your approach, made his preparations, and is waiting for you to come, you must not rely on the numbers, small or large, of the army so long as it moves quickly, for victory cannot be predicted. When you act with deliberation and broadcast news of your arrival, it is possible that the enemy may take fright at the rumor, chaos and disagreement may erupt, [A404] another enemy may attack from another direction, there may be a rumor of some event, or they may suffer from lack of fodder and provisions. When such an expedition is launched, before the news is broadcast, you should already have taken all precautions for water, fodder, and game. When you stop in such places, one must not consume the provisions that have been prepared for difficult places. Spies have to be sent forward to learn of the enemy. After they have reconnoitered, their information should be the basis of action because fighting without foreknowledge is like throwing punches in the darkness. After taking all precautions, you must insure that the choice whether to do battle or not is yours, not the enemy's, for if you are left with no alternative and act in haste without stopping and come across the enemy suddenly, your position may be bad and you may have no alternative but to do battle, while the enemy may have a good position. The most important thing is discipline among the troops. Do not allow a single soldier to go anywhere without permission, for experience has shown that thereby the foe gains time and is helped. Even more importantly, absolutely do not allow anyone to go on his own into villages and take anything, for once they learn how to do it, a large army can never be kept from it and discipline will be impossible. [989] In the same way, during battle they will occupy themselves with booty and plunder, and there is no way to prevent it. Every evil that has happened to any army has happened mostly because of taking booty. When the battle is over you can see to where booty and plunder are to go. As for discipline, one must not look into people's hearts and restrain oneself from killing, for if two or three persons are not executed, ten or twenty thousand may perish instead, and the whole kingdom may be lost on that account."

"From the time of riding away from home on, one should constantly entertain good

thoughts, think of God, keep oneself pure, and not commit evil deeds. Be kind to one's people and kingdom, and do not apply force to anyone so that the people will send good thoughts and offer prayers for success that will be answered. [A405] For an army, there is no advance force better than a prayer for success and a good thought."

"One should not boast or allow pride and conceit to enter one's mind. Do not underestimate your enemy, but fear him. Know that you are weak and God is great. Fear God so that your plans may succeed and the battle may be won. Know for certain that anyone who boasts or has vain thoughts will stir up God's zeal: greatness is appropriate to God alone, and such a person is vying with God. If anyone vies with God, God will take the other side and help them to teach him a lesson. Such a thing is easily within God's power, and he will exhibit his wrath in a way that will never have occurred to the mind of any champion, no matter how intelligent he may be."

He constantly gave and still gives the officers and soldiers advice of this sort. He has spoken many words even pithier than these, which I do not remember, and anyway, if I were to begin to expand on them, it would take too long. Since I only intended to include an example, this much will suffice, and everyone knows the rest. May God keep this protector of the world and maintainer of the subjects and army forever. ~

Story Ten: His advice to cadis, shaykhs, ascetics, and people of learning and piety.

Every time these groups of people came to court he would give them various pieces of advice, but once in an assembly for which the great and important of these classes came to court for a *quriltai* [990] he said, "You have put on the garb of advocacy, and this is a mighty affair. You do not make this claim with the people, however; you make it with God. [A406] It is possible that the people will accept your claim for a few days while they are not aware of what you really are, but God is well informed of what is in your minds, and hypocrisy and dissimulation do not work with him: they only stir up his zeal, and he will requite you and punish you for it in both this world and the next. If anyone garbs himself in the clothing of a charlatan, God will disgrace him among the people, and his garb and name will be nothing. He will be shamed before the people, and in their eyes he will be low and mean, an object of ridicule for commoner and elite alike. Those who have not put on the garb of advocacy are straightforward: they do not distinguish themselves from others or have notions of power, leadership, asceticism, or occultation. No one has any objection to them. They expect them to live as befits their clothing. What we have said, that you have put on the clothing of advocacy, means that you are like other men, but on account of your clothing you have acquired a great name that has several special meanings not found among others. You have accepted this name and its meaning for yourselves and you have undertaken to give people their due. You say, 'We are thus and so,' or 'We will do thus and so.' Now, consider well whether you are able to discharge the obligations involved in this pact and covenant and the claim that is part and parcel of this clothing and whether you can keep your word, for your position is very fine and pleasing before God and the people, and it is higher and better than that of others. If not, it will result in shame before God and the people.

"You have chosen to take upon yourselves troubles and responsibilities. Know for certain that God made me king and set me over the people so that I would regulate their affairs and maintain justice and equity among them. He has made it incumbent

upon me to speak the truth, to act judiciously, and to punish criminals in accordance with their offenses. [A407] God's eternal decree necessitates that the requital of the elite be greater, and that is why the beasts are not answerable for crimes. Kings must likewise make the great and those who are in the forefront of their nations more answerable and, having made this a rule, so put their kingdoms in order. For this reason I investigate your offenses and call you on the carpet first. I do not look into your hearts, and don't think I look at your garb, for I look at your deeds and actions. Your must follow the path and custom of the Apostle and perform your duties. [991] Show others the right way, and eschew corruption and meddlesomeness. Do not allow through esoteric interpretation what is not stipulated in the letter of the law. Be honest and truthful and have good thoughts so that the whole world and we too may be protected through the blessing of that. Be not fanatic with one another, and do not practice fanaticism with other nations where God and the Apostle have not so commanded, for to be more fanatical than necessary and to be stricter or more lenient on the people than God and the Apostle for the sake of a good name is ignominious and iniquitous.

"If I do something contrary to the law or reason, warn me and apprise me of it. Know for certain that your words will have an immediate effect on me and will be listened to so long as your inner beings and your advocacy are in harmony with each other, for then you will be speaking with truth, honesty, and self-confidence. Of course it will be effective. To follow the truth on account of what you say will result in praise and reward both for me and for you and in rest and repose for the people of the world. If they are otherwise, your words will have no effect on me, and the fire of my wrath will be kindled against you, and this will result in loss for me, for you, and for the people in general.

"There are many such stories and fine points I wanted to say, but for now this much I have said; if it is pleasing to you and you accept it, [A408] it will benefit me and you. My words will be acceptable to you, and love for me will take firm root in your hearts; otherwise, my words are hard for you to take, and enmity toward me will take root in your hearts. My inside is aware of your hearts, and you too will be hateful to me. By this, damage will be done to the world and religion. Let us cut this short here for today. Henceforth, if success is granted, we will tell you fine points."

In this manner he gave advice to the grandees and important cadis, shaykhs, and ulema who came before him. They were all amazed by it and prayed for the court. At other times, in various sessions he gave similar advice, but it would take too long to recount it. May God cause the shadow of the Padishah of Islam's justice, which is adorned with various perfections, to extend over the heads of all classes of people forever! [992] ~

Story Eleven: The Padishah of Islam forbids all soldiers and others to make heathenish statements.

The Padishah of Islam heard that when some of the soldiers and others went off to battle and gained a victory, they boasted, saying, "We did this," or, "Because of our tactics, deeds of great valor were performed," or, "So-and-so performed great heroics," or, "Through So-and-so's efforts the enemy was broken." In this manner they attributed heroics to their own competence or manliness. They spoke grandiosely and were conceited. If occasionally they returned unsuccessful, they would say, "It must have been God's will, for we did our best and fought with all our strength." [A409] Such words had gained great cur-

rency among the people, and the Mongols and Tajiks spoke like this even of trivial affairs.

Reports of this speech often reached the imperial hearing, and he did not like it. Angered, he said, "These words are really heathenish. Most labors of ours, soldiers and common people alike, fail because of the inauspiciousness of such statements. They should realize that every good thing that happens to us, to soldiers, or to other people comes from God's mercy and compassion, and every bad and untoward thing that happens is a result of their own sinfulness and evil. They should not say anything that shows conceit or pride."

He therefore ordered an edict written in this regard and sent to the Mongols and Tajiks in all parts of the realm: "Henceforth anyone who believes in or makes statements as our forefathers did will be considered an offender, and his place will be in hell in the next world. You should recognize that good things come from God's grace and bad things stem from your own displeasing actions. Any person who comes to the door of your houses should be given to eat of what you have. Adopt the way of virtue, and live with all people in humility. By virtue of this edict we have commanded, persons who come to people's houses should not demand anything; and let them not think that it is incumbent or necessary for anyone to give them anything except insofar as that act issues from virtue." In this manner he issued an edict and ordered it heralded throughout the realm. The blessedness of the edict took effect generally during his imperial time with God's help, and it continues to increase. **[993, A410]** ~

Story Twelve: His love for building and his encouragement of others in that regard.

Previously the Mongol emperors and some of the Padishah of Islam's ancestors and forebears liked to build. They began buildings, but they seldom completed them, as has been seen. Everywhere they laid a foundation enormous amounts were spent. *Tapqur* funds, animals, tools, and hired workers were brought from the provinces, and the people suffered a lot of trouble, but mostly it all went to waste. Those who were in charge made money disappear overnight, and not much building was accomplished. Those that were built were not on sound foundations, so within a short time they went to wrack and ruin.

The Padishah of Islam has made arrangements for construction, nothing better than which could be possible. Wherever he found a reliable and honest *khwaja*, he has chosen him and put him in charge of a building, and funds are turned over to him. He has assigned important *khwaja*s, honest scribes, architects and engineers. He has also stipulated the maximum price to be paid for all tools and the wages to be paid for that many tools so that if there is any shortcoming in management, they will be responsible for the loss. The overseers and contractors keep a constant count of the tools used, and in this manner they keep the foreman of every gang accountable. Things are so orderly that if a hundred years hence anyone wants to audit the accounts he will be able to compare the clerks' registers with the tools used. **[A411]** Now the difference between right and wrong is clear, and there is absolutely no latitude. No one can come forth to denounce what those *khwaja*s and builders do. There are trustees appointed to every job, and they do not allow bad tools to be used or too little plaster or cement to be employed or mixed with dirt. The maintenance of these rules is their responsibility.

Also, all wooden and iron tools have been contracted at fixed prices so that all types are stipulated. He has ordered projects in

every province, and canals and underground water channels are under construction. The greatest of these, and the one that will do the most good, is an enormous canal in the province of Hilla. Its name is the Upper Ghazanid Canal, and it carries water to the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful Husayn and has made the sweet waters of the Euphrates flow through the entire Kerbela plain, [994] which was waterless wasteland and had no drinking water for the shrine. Now all the environs of the shrine are under cultivation, and gardens and orchards have been established. Boats that ply the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates from Baghdad and other cities can go to the shrine. Produce amounts to nearly a hundred thousand *taghars*, and grains and vegetables grow better there than in any of the dependencies of Baghdad. The sayyids resident at the shrine have become very well-off, and since they were a poor people and very numerous, he has ordered for them all stipends that are paid yearly.

In the vicinity of the Abu'l-Wafa shrine, [A412] which is in a waterless desert, there used to be no sweet water for drinking. One year the emperor went hunting in that desert. No water could be found for the animals, and the onagers and deer were very skinny and emaciated due to the lack of water and vegetation. He ordered a canal cut from the Euphrates to there so that there would be water and agriculture at the shrine, so that the desert animals might have relief, and so that when people went into that desert they wouldn't find the animals suffering from lack of water, and so that they would have barley and straw for fodder. Within a short time a magnificent canal was cut, and it was called the Lower Ghazanid Canal. After that, another canal was cut to that desert from the west, and it was called the Ghazanid Canal. He put several feddans from the water and land in endowment to the shrine, and he purchased with his own money the rest of the villages that were constructed and endowed them all to the Abwabu'l-birr in Tabriz.

Recently he has had gardens and orchards constructed at the Sidi Abu'l-Wafa Shrine, and now sweet water and all sort of vegetables have appeared, which they never had before. Since that shrine is far from habitation and the residents were being harassed by rebellious Arabs, he ordered a rampart wall made as around a city, and inside they built a bath and new buildings. It will soon become a city.

He has had and continues to have innumerable construction projects made in most of the provinces, and he constructs canals and subterranean water channels. If we were to go into detail, it would take too long. There is no end to what he has ordered reclaimed and improved by decree and contract with the deputies of the Department of Royal Demesnes. During his blessed reign, through his all-encompassing justice, thousands of men are employed by them on projects; and what people do on their own amounts to many times that. Houses and gardens that were formerly worth a hundred dinars are now worth a thousand. [995, A413] Previously they destroyed things to the extent that they now make improvements. The projects that are now on-going in the realm have never been undertaken during the reign of any monarch after the reign of the Chosroës. It would be amazing if so many people were engaged in building even during the reign of the Chosroës because, although the realm flourished greatly at that time, it was accomplished over many long years, and at that time there had not been such devastation.

The city of Tabriz, which is now the capital, had smallish ramparts, and they were worn down, and there were many houses and buildings outside the city. "How can a city with so many thousands of people liv-

ing in it—and which is the capital—not have ramparts?" he said. He ordered a survey made to determine where and how walls could be built. Since there were gardens and orchards adjacent to the built-up part of the city, it would have been necessary to build the walls through people's property. It was also suggested that since there were innumerable foreigners and residents in Tabriz, most of whom were wealthy, they should divide the walls and let each group construct a portion with their own funds over a period of two to three years.

With his high-mindedness, perfect compassion, and mercy, the Padishah of Islam said, "How can it be right for land people have built up to be substantially destroyed through an act of charity on our part? Why should they suffer loss? When they were laying the foundations for the city of Tabriz, how could they have suspected that now it would have reached a point that so many thousands of houses would be built outside the walls? How could they have known that within such a short time, as has actually been witnessed, the population would increase so dramatically and so many buildings would be built outside? If it continues to increase like this, it is hoped that the people of this city will become extremely numerous. One must think grandly, and the walls must be constructed such that all the people's gardens, along with their houses, be inside the perimeter. Gardens should not be destroyed, and their value should increase, for thereby we will be rewarded. It is also possible, if God grants success, **[A414]** that over time there will be such population and crowding that the entire encompassment will be built with houses next to each other and there won't be any room left for people. It has been learned from experience that in some cities God favors with fortune to flourish, there are so many people that they run out of room and have to build houses of two and three stories. The lanes become narrow, the walls become high, and the air becomes putrid, and for that reason contagion appears, all sorts of sufferings are engendered, and the city falls back into ruins—like the city of Khwarazm." **[996]**

Therefore he ordered the walls built outside the gardens. As for the suggestion that the people resident in the city give money, he said, "Although they will benefit from the building of this wall, peasants and common folk are short-sighted and cannot comprehend long-range consequences. It would be hard for them to give money. This is a charitable act, and we will give the money from our demesnes so that the heavenly reward will accrue to our good name and the subjects and people will be left in peace. For this reason let no one make any demands on them." To this effect he issued a decree, and this year, two years from the beginning of construction, God willing, it will be completed.

He also ordered another city larger than the encompassment of Old Tabriz built in Shamb (also called Shamm), where the Abwabu'l-birr was constructed, in such a way that it encompassed the Abwabu'l-birr and most of its gardens. He called it Ghazania, and he ordered that merchants coming from Anatolia and Europe unload there, but the customs official for there and the city of Tabriz is the same lest there be dispute.

He ordered a large caravansary, a crossroads market, and a bath, with workshops and places for animals, to be built just inside the city next to every gate of New Tabriz. Merchants who come from all directions enter by the gate in the direction from which they come and stop at that caravansary. The customs official stamps their goods, they enter the baths, and then go into the city. When they have found their particular places they can move if they

want. Likewise, when merchants go from Tabriz to all parts they stop there for the customs official to inspect their goods, [A415] and then they can set forth.

He has ordered many improvements in all parts of the realm. He has also ordered saplings and cuttings of all types of fruit trees, herbs, and grains from all parts of the realm, which were unknown in Tabriz and which no one had ever seen, grafted and planted. This was carried out, and now they are all found in Tabriz, and daily they ripen. The people have benefited more than can be described and pray for the success of the state. He has sent envoys to all distant lands, India, Cathay, and others, to bring seeds of things peculiar to those places. May God cause him to enjoy long life and prosperity! [997] ~

Story Thirteen: The charitable institutions he founded and constructed in Tabriz and Hamadan, their endowments and mausoleums, and the charities he vowed in the provinces.

Until now it has been the custom of the Mongol emperors of Genghis Khan's *urugh* to be buried in unmarked places far from habitation in such a way that no one would know where they were. They made the environs *ghoruq* and stationed trusted men who would not allow anyone to get near. When the emperor became Muslim and elevated the customs of religion to the skies, he said, "Although such was the custom of our fathers—and if a Muslim does not desire his burial site to be marked there is no religious objection—there is no benefit in it. [A416] Now that we have become Muslim we should conform to Islamic rites, particularly since Islamic customs are so much better."

Early in his career he visited the holy shrine at Tus in Khurasan and went to the mausoleums of Sultan Bayazid, Abu'l-Hasan Kharraqani, Shaykh Abu-Sa'id Abi'l-Khayr,[1] and others, where he witnessed the arrangements for those holy sites and how the inhabitants were. After that, when he became Muslim, he visited the blessed shrine of the Commander of the Faithful Ali and other saints' shrines in Baghdad. One day he said, "How can one consider a person who has died in this manner and has a shrine or visitation site like this to be among the dead? Dying like this is better than other people's living. Even though we do not possess the rank of pious people, nonetheless in imitation of them we can build a charitable institution to spend eternity in, and in that manner there will be charity and alms, the blessings of which will attract God's mercy, and there will be an eternal reward stored up. It will be very good. Let us begin now, while God has given us the strength, so that it may be completed successfully." Since he was in the capital Tabriz, he chose it as the site and laid the foundation himself outside the city to the west in the place called Shamb. They have been working on it for several years now, and it is planned to be much more magnificent than the dome of Sultan Sanjar the Seljuq in Merv, which is the most magnificent building in the world and which he saw. The plan for the royal foundation is as follows: [A417, 998]

Endowed outlays for the above-mentioned Abwabu'l-birr and the rest of the charitable institutions included therein according to the endower, Ghazan Khan, as detailed in the deed of endowment.

That which pertains to the Lofty Dome[2] and other

[1] The "shrine at Tus" is the tomb of Imam Riza in Mashhad; Bayazid Bistami's tomb is in Bistam in Khurasan; Abu'l-Hasan Kharraqani's mausoleum is in the village of Qal'a-i-Naw near Bistam (*EI*[2] 4:1058); Abu-Sa'id Abi'l-Khayr's (969–1049) tomb is in Mehna in Khurasan (between Abivard and Sarakhs).

[2] "Lofty Dome" (*gumbad-i 'álí*) seems to be the

charitable institutions in the vicinity

Carpets, rugs, cost of candles, tallow, perfume, and ingredients for sweets on Friday eves for Koran reciters; salaries for Koran reciters and workers.

Congregational mosque

Carpets, rugs, cost of candles and tallow; salaries for *khatib*,[1] imam, preacher, muezzin, *mukabbir*, and workers.

Shafiite and Hanafite madrasas

Carpets, rugs, cost of illumination, perfume, pottery vessels, &c.; salaries for teachers, drill instructors, jurisprudents, and workers.

Khanaqah

Carpets, rugs, kitchen implements, cost of illumination, and perfume; ingredients for morning and evening meals, meals for public *sama'* twice a month; [A418] salaries for shaykh, imam, Sufis, reciters, servant and other workers; alms as stipulated for the poor and indigent against the cost of muslin, *madas*, and sheepskin.

Daru's-siyada (House of Sayyids)

Carpets, rugs, cost of candles, tallow, and perfume; [999] living expenses for sayyids, including the dean who is in residence, and traveling sayyids; salary for the superintendent who attends to the sayyids and serves them as stipulated by the endower; wages for servant, cook, and other laborers who are there.

Observatory

Carpets, rugs, cost of tallow, grain, and perfume; salaries for teacher of philosophical sciences, drill instructor, students, treasurer, provisioner, and other workers; repairs of instruments and clockworks used in the observatory. [A419]

Hospital

Carpets, rugs, cost of tallow, grain, perfume, and pottery vessels; ingredients for medicines, potions, pastes, salves, eye medicines, provisions,[2] nightshirts, and clothing for patients; salaries for physician, oculist, surgeon, treasurer, servant, and other workers; preparation of the bodies of those who die there.

Library

Carpets, rugs, and cost of tallow; supplies for repairing books and the cost of necessary books.

House of Tax Rolls

Carpets, rugs, cost of tallow and grain; supplies and expenses for tax rolls, copying, and updating; *salaries for scribe, treasurer, and custodian.*[3]

Superintendent's House

Wage for one gatekeeper appointed there.[4] [A420]

Cistern

Supplies of tallow, grain, perfume, pitchers, jugs, vats, and jars; [1000] salaries: for one custodian.

Sabil Bathhouse

Supplies: breeches, buckets, rose[water], lamps, shovels, wooden shovels, firewood and straw for the furnace; wages for workers, including bath attendant, scrubber, clothing keeper, and furnace stoker.

That which is connected to appurtenances of the Abwabu'l-birr

Ingredients for meals outside in the Adiliyya Kiosk, where Mongol and Tajik amirs and others who come to visit may go and partake of these meals; supplies for daily meals, extra carpets and rugs, kitchen implements, ingredients for the pharmacy, and cost of tallow; supplies for the great meal to be given once a year on the day the endower passes away; it is stipulated that those in residence in the above-mentioned institution, as well as the imams, nobles, and deserving of Tabriz and other places who come should gather, attend a recitation of the Koran, and partake of the meal; alms will be dis-

proper name of the domed building that formed the center of the complex. As is apparent below, it was a dome set on a dodecahedron.

[1]The *khatíb* is a mosque official whose duty was to pronounce the *khutba*, the Friday sermon.

[2]Reading *muzawwadát* for the text's *muzawwarát*.

[3]Material between asterisks added from JT_{AZ}'s MS B; it was also so read by Khwandamir (*Habibu's-siyar* 3:188).

[4]Reading, with JT_{AZ}'s MSS I&B and JT_K, *bawwáb* for the text's *nawwáb*.

tributed on that day as stipulated; [A421] wages for workers like the cook, table steward,[1] wine steward, pantry person, and other types of workers; ingredients for the sweets that are given on Friday eves to the people of the mosque, khanaqah, and madrasas and to the orphans and others, aside from what has been stipulated separately for the Lofty Dome as detailed in the register; necessities for above-mentioned meals; alms to be given on this day.

Expenses on the two feast days

On holy days and nights like Ashura, Shab-i-Barat, &c.

School

Orphans, of whom there will always be one hundred, will be taught the Koran; annual stipend and feast bonuses for a hundred children; when they have learned the Koran, they will be given an amount equal to the feast bonus and circumcised; in their stead others will be brought; salaries for five teachers, five caregivers to attend the children, and five women to be compassionate to them; gifts of a hundred copies of the Koran to be purchased anew every year; carpets and rugs for the school and what is used. [A422, 1001]

For the deserving

Every year two thousand sheepskin coats will be bought and given away.

Education

of children who are thrown into the streets. They will be picked up, nurses will be hired, and their needs will be tended to until they reach the age of discrimination.

Preparation

of the bodies of strangers who die in Tabriz and who have not left enough to be buried.

Seed

for all varieties of birds during the six months of winter when it is cold and snowy. Grain and millet in equal amounts are to be scattered on the roof for them to eat. No one will catch these birds, and anyone who attempts to harm them will suffer God's curse and wrath and will be prevented and chastised by the superintendent and residents of the institution; if they do not do this, they will be guilty.

Poor widows

will be given cotton annually as capital. Each of five hundred widows will be given four maunds of carded cotton.

To replace

jars and jugs broken by servant boys and girls. The superintendent will appoint an honest man in Tabriz so that whenever any of them goes to draw water, breaks a jar, and is afraid [of his or her master], he can investigate and replace the breakage. [A423, 1002]

In order to

clear the roads of rocks and to build bridges over water channels to a distance of eight leagues from the city of Tabriz in all directions, as detailed in the register.

Wages

for deputies and employees of the bureau of endowments for the Abwabu'l-birr, which is named the Regal Endowments, in accordance with the stipulation of the endower, over and above the taxes from provinces and villages.

Fund

for repairing the Lofty Dome and the charitable foundations that are on its twelve sides, and the Adiliyya Kiosk, which Arghun Khan built, in accordance with the stipulation of the endower as recorded in the deed of endowment.

Fund for repairs

of endowed properties in villages, real estate, and income-producing property belonging to the above-mentioned Abwabu'l-birr in all provinces of the realm where there is anything, as stipulated by the endower.

Since the emperor intended for most classes of people to benefit from the chari-

[1] The word is either خوانچی *khwánchí* 'table steward' or حوایجی *hawáyiji* 'person in charge of supplies and necessities.'

ties and institutions, he stipulated as given above and endowed the institutions with everything throughout the realm he owned absolutely and outright by law in such a way that no one could raise an objection. He had all the muftis, unimpeachable learned men, and cadis of Islam issue certificates of authenticity, and he ordered seven copies of the deed of endowment made and registered. One was to be held by the superintendent, one was to go to the Kaaba; [A424] one was to be placed in the seat of the judiciary in Tabriz, one was to be placed in the seat of the judiciary in the City of Peace Baghdad, one ___, one ___, and one ___. Every so often the cadis of Baghdad and Tabriz should renew the authentications, and every cadi who took up the judgeship should register it immediately upon taking office. He also commanded that those who were the most learned and most excellent of the age should reside in the Abwabu'l-birr.

In the province of Hamadan, in the vicinity of Safed Koh, in the village of Buzinjird, he built a major khanaqah and endowed it with much property. Travelers find rest and repose there, as all can witness.

Furthermore, in every province he went to and every time he beseeched God's court for something and made a vow of alms, he fulfilled his vow. When he defeated the army of Egypt and sat on the throne in Damascus, [1003] he fulfilled several vows he had made when he set out, some in this realm and some in that realm. One was for golden lamps, carpets, and rugs for the shrine of Sayfullah Khalid ibn al-Walid, in the vicinity of which the battle took place. This one was fulfilled right there.

Another was a vow he made to endow several villages in the district of Damascus to Jerusalem and Abraham's shrine.

He also made a vow, saying, "The rulers of Egypt and Syria long provided administrative and military expenses for Mecca and Medina and the pilgrimage route, and they used an esoteric interpretation to give themselves this privilege even though it was not really right. Now that God has given me this land, they spend all the proceeds from the endowments on themselves and do not spend anything at all for the military or administration." Then he added, "This territory is now under our jurisdiction, and when we pull back, we shall station a large army to protect it. [A425] The charitable intention we have made must be carried out." In this Abwabu'l-birr he issued an edict and made a vow in this realm that two hundred thousand [dinars] taxes from royal *enchüs* be given as stipends, endowments, and alms to amirs, commoner and noble, rich and poor, and soldiers who gather every year for a *quriltai*. When he pulled back he fulfilled the vow, and he awarded every class, group by group according to their ranks, with jewel-studded belts, plain belts, and various articles of clothing. The two hundred thousand dinars he had vowed for stipends and alms is now fixed in every province and is awarded year by year.

Aside from this he ordered that of all money brought to the treasury, one of every ten dinars, one of every ten pieces of cloth, and a tenth of other articles be separated and entrusted to a eunuch, who would serve as custodian and give it to the poor and deserving. He was not to give anything to the undeserving but let it go to the treasury. Every year curtains, candlesticks, and lamps are sent to all the holy shrines.

He is always in supplicative converse with God, and he knows for certain that his needs will be granted without question at that court on account of his charities, alms, and vows, for these things do not go unrewarded. There is no doubt that in no age has anyone seen such charitable acts, [1004] stipends, and alms awarded by any ruler. May God reward this emperor for his generosity. [A426] ~

Story Fourteen: His elimination of forgeries and false claims, and his elimination of the treachery of the dishonest.

In his perfect justice the Padishah of Islam eliminated all sorts of forgeries and false claims and forbade cadis and *khatibs* who were not learned in the law to issue legal receipts and documents. He ordered all cadis to write documents in one fashion so that all fine points of the law were observed in order to close the gates of contention among the people. Since the details are fully covered in the edicts, copies of the edicts will be given to avoid repetition. The edicts and decrees are as follows: an edict given to judges on the delegation of judicial authority, an edict ordering that thirty-year-old claims not be heard, an edict concerning proving a seller's ownership prior to sale, and edict reaffirming prior orders and governing the form of documents, to which all the religious authorities of the age agreed.

Copies of these edicts are as follows.[1] [1005]

Text of an edict on the delegation of judicial authority.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, and by the might of God and the auspiciousness of the Mohammedan nation. [A427]

Decree of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan.

Be it known to basqaqs, maliks, and persons who govern on our behalf in N.___ that we have appointed N.___ to the office of judge of that place and its dependencies in order that any case, affair, or business pertaining to the law in that province may be referred to him for final judgment. He will guard well the property of orphans and absent persons, and other than him no one, be he who he may, will interfere in his affairs. No one will release from prison anyone he has legally imprisoned. Those whose jobs are involved with the law will not contradict him. Inasmuch as it was Genghis Khan's great edict that judges, scholars, and Alids not pay *qalan* or *qubchur* tax, we have commanded that they will accordingly be exempt. Taxes and *qubchur* will not be taken from them. *Ulagh* and *süsün* will not be taken from them either. No one will stop in their houses, and envoys will not be quartered there. Stipends will be paid them annually and without stint according to the registers. If anyone speaks harshly in the presence of a judge, answers harshly, or shows disrespect, we have ordered the *shahna* to punish him. No one will summon a judge into his presence. Since a judge administers the law, he will take nothing from anyone on any excuse or pretext, in accordance with the document and *möchälgä* [written pledge] he has given. [A428] When he writes a new document, old documents will be brought to the court basin, thrown in, and washed clean, in accordance with a separate edict we have issued. Claims not made for thirty years and old documents bearing a date of more than thirty years will not be heard, in accordance with an edict we have issued separately. When such old documents are presented, they are not to be given to litigants or claimants but washed off in the court basin. Cases based on fraud are not to be heard, and persons who have done such will have their beards shaved, [1006] be mounted on oxen, be paraded around town, and be publicly disgraced. After that they will not be allowed to witness documents; and if they do, it will not be considered.

When two claimants come before the judge, if anyone comes to protect them, or if they bring a group of hoodlums to court to help them, the judge must not hear the case until they leave the court. Absolutely he must not question them on legal matters so long as their protectors are present.

If a case is between two Mongols or between a Mongol and a Muslim, or if there are other cases that are difficult to decide, we order the *shahnas*,

[1] Sylistically the texts of the following edicts contain a curious mixture of highly Arabicized legalese and "chatty," rambling prose. If passages in the translation sound somewhat inharmonious or out of place in what was, after all, an imperial document, it is due to the varied tones of the original.

maliks, *bitigchis*, cadis, and learned Alids to meet twice a month in the congregational mosque to investigate. Let them hear the cases together, get to the bottom of them, make decisions in accordance with the law, write and record their decisions, and give their signatures in witness thereto [A429] so that afterward no one can raise any objection or invalidate the decision.

If a piece of property is in dispute, let none of the following classes become involved in or purchase same: royal mothers, *tärkäns*, *khatuns*, sons, daughters, sons-in-law, commanders of ten thousand, one thousand, a hundred, or ten, Mongols, *bitigchis* of the Supreme Divan, cadis, Alids, scholars, shaykhs, or chieftains. In accordance with the decree we have given, the judge N.___ will exercise all precaution not to write a document in the name of any of these aforementioned people for any piece of property or transaction that is in dispute. If he sees that anyone else has so written, he must invalidate it.

When prenuptial agreements are paid, they are to be nineteen and a half dinars and no more, in accordance with a decree we have previously commanded.

In territories dependent upon the province of N.___ and included in its judicial jurisdiction, in places that are far from the city and worthy of having a judge appointed, a trustworthy magistrate should be appointed, and in accordance with the foregoing a pledge should be taken from him, and every month he should tend to their affairs in order, as we have commanded, that the religious law and correctness be observed. Let [the judge] not be negligent and allow magistrates to write documents or make legal decisions. They should send him a report every month. They should not hear claims and cases, render decisions, or record real estate transactions in the vicinity of villages where a judge has been appointed. [A430] Other than reciting the *khutba* and writing documents of loans and marriage settlements they should not write any piece of paper. If a case is difficult or a claim is important, let them come to town and present the case to the city judge for him to render a final decision. [1007]

A trustworthy and religiously observant person should be appointed to record the dates of documents and keep a day book. He should be careful that it be clear if anyone has sold or mortgaged a piece of property and then wants to resell it or put it up as collateral. Anyone who does such a thing will have his beard shaved and be paraded around town. If the recorder of dates has any awareness of such dealings or hides anything, he will be guilty and liable to execution. ❖

Text of edict ordering that thirty-year-old claims not be heard, under the conditions listed.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, and by the might of God and the auspiciousness of the Mohammedan nation.

Decree of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan.

Be it known to judges of the realm that our entire mind is concentrated upon the elimination of injustice, aggression, and false claims from the people so that the world and those in it may spend their days with peace of mind and at ease, and so that the effects of our justice may reach common and elite, far and near, and encompass them all, that causes for difference and dispute may be eradicated among all peoples, that right may prevail, and that the gates of falsification, imposture, and artifice may be closed forever. To this end, we have repeatedly sent decrees to all judges and ulema who deal with legal and religious matters telling them to decide cases and settle disputes among all people in a way that satisfies the principles of the religious law and the codes of justice. They must be free of doubts, falsification, imposture, [A431] fraud, and partiality. The most important matter of all is that they examine closely forged documents and falsified deeds and registers. They must get to the truth of the matter and neglect not one iota in their investigation of the antiquity purported by the outward appearance of the documents and in good-faith maintenance of the customs of former judges and governors.

As for documents that have not been presented for claim within thirty years, any forger or cheat may have fabricated them and, under the protection of ruffians, trampled upon the rights of private property and subjected the people to harassment. [1008] Judges have not been able to right this wrong

as they should have. Prior to now, during the days of former rulers, it has been mentioned in all decrees and edicts that thirty-year-old claims are not to be heard, and until now no one has gotten to the bottom of this affair as they should have, and redress has not been totally achieved. Recently we have commanded judges of Islam to investigate and report to us. Since we wanted to do right in these matters both on the part of claimants and on the part of judges so that neither party would be able to insist upon a wrong and thirty-year-old invalid documents would not be used as evidence, we ordered that a pledge that would conform to the law and truth be taken from judges of Islam to the effect that they would neither look into people's hearts nor allow any group of ruffians to insist upon asking irrelevant and illegal questions or to bring force to bear upon judges and magistrates. We ordered the late Qazi Fakhruddin of Herat to compose a draft of the pledge, and it was written on the reverse of the decree so that such a pledge, with no additions or subtractions, would be taken from them and housed in the treasury. The decree and the pledge written on the back would be before them so that elite and common would fear and ruffians would not be able to insist, and thus false claims would be abandoned. Let them consider nothing beyond the scope of this order and pledge on the reverse. If they contravene this order, they will be dismissed from the judgeship and be labeled as criminal. Let them know for certain that I will listen to no excuse from them, and if a powerful person tries to exercise influence on them and insists, [A432] or if they do not pay attention to what is written on the back of the pledge and do not render decisions accordingly, the names of such persons will be written and sent to our presence so that we may brand them as criminals and punish them in such a manner that all will learn a lesson.

Written on the third of Rajab in the year six hundred ninety and nine [March 25, 1300] in Kushaf. ❖

Text of the pledge written on the back of the aforementioned edict.

Whereas the emperor of the world and all in it, the king of kings of Islam and Islamic peoples, he who is distinguished by God's mercy, Ghazan Khan—may his fortune remain and increase forever—has concentrated his lofty attention from the beginning of his reign on allowing his subjects to pass their time with peace of mind and ease during the days of his rule, on encompassing elite and common, [1009] far and near, Turk and Tajik, with his perfect justice, compassion, and mercy, on eliminating matters of contention and strife in all transactions from among the population, on giving right where it is due, and on closing completely the gates of falsification, imposture, and chicanery,

Therefore, in the contents of all imperial edicts and decrees—may they remain in effect from east to west forever—all judges and learned men engaged in legal affairs and in charge of religious matters have been admonished to decide cases and settle litigation among members of the population at large in a manner that preserves the principles of the religious law and is in accordance with the codes of justice and equity. They must be free of falsification, forgery, partiality, and imposture. In particular they must examine and investigate falsified documents and forged deeds and registers, and get to the bottom of the matter insofar as they are able. [A433] [They must judge whether] the outward appearance of the document indicates antiquity, and in good faith they should maintain the customs and manners of past judges and governors and neglect not an iota in their investigation and search. Let them not lay the burden on another, for it often happens that a person has a property that he has initiated, created, or received from another. He has documents and deeds drawn up proving his ownership, they are verified by judges and officers of the law and recorded. After a time the property is transferred by legal conveyance to a second party, and from him to a third, and so on. The documents remain in the home of the first owner, pass through the hands of several heirs, and then after a long time an ambitious distant heir produces the documents, claiming, "On such-and-such a date it was my ancestor's property, and today it has come to me through inheritance." People testify to the veracity of his claim of inheritance, and disputes drag on. In some provinces, some judges who do not possess a firm footing in religios-

ity, piety, or knowledge of jurisprudence may render a judgment without getting to the bottom of the affair and without being able to distinguish truth from falsehood, and that results in the denial of right to its owner.

Therefore, inasmuch as past rulers, in order to avoid such possibilities, have ordered that claims on real estate and material goods presented after a period of thirty years, which is considered a generation in common law, will not be heard or granted validity. They have also ordered that no decision be made on falsified and forged documents and deeds before exercising all precaution and making an inspection. [1010] After them, the edict of the Great Ilkhan Arghun Khan was added to those rules. When reference was made to the statements of religious authorities and the interpretation of the learned, it was apparent that a majority of latter-day authorities and the learned [A434] were in agreement that if two persons are in one place and one usurps property belonging to the other, and if a just governor and a competent judge are both present in that place, and if there is no other party to the suit and no proof of apparent rightfulness, and if a period of a full thirty years passes and the first party does not make a claim against the other who is the usurper, he will not thereafter be entitled to bring suit, and the judge will not accept to hear the case.

Now, I, who am N.___, judge and competent to render a judgment in the province of N.___, give my signature and undertake that from this date I will execute all that is written in this document. I will not transgress or deviate from what is exacted by the Mohammedan law in hearing cases, rendering judgments, or settling disputes. To the best of my ability I will endeavor to report and examine cases and investigate deeds and documents to the utmost degree. I will not hear, pay any attention to, or entertain any claim made after thirty years with the provisions made hitherto. If I act contrary to any of the above, I will be worthy of chastisement and liable to beating and dismissal.

Thereto I swear before a group of competent witnesses on the date ___. ❖

Text of edict on proving a seller's ownership prior to sale.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, and by the might of God and the auspiciousness of the Mohammedan nation.

Decree of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan.

Be it known to all basqaqs, maliks, judges, bitigchis, deputies, authorities, nobles, elders, and all subjects of the province that, in accordance with the Koranic text, "O David, we have made thee a vicegerent on the earth, so judge thou among the people with righteousness," [1011] and in accordance with the Prophet's command, "An hour of justice is better than forty years of worship," the totality of our regal mind is concentrated upon the welfare [A435] of the population at large, and we are desirous that our justice and equity spread throughout the world, that no powerful person exercise force or restraint upon a weak person, that no one's rights be sacrificed through chicanery or any form of falsification or machination, and that all forms of dispute be eradicated from among the people. Having contemplated the *yasamishi*, the ordering, and the basis of every thing, we realize that one of the greatest causes for dispute and contention among the inhabitants of the world is false claim through old documents, deeds, and duplicate titles of ownership that have remained in the hands of individuals. This comes about as follows. A person owns a property, and in his own interests he makes two copies of a document of ownership, or, if he owns many properties, he obtains a clear title and makes two copies. Thereafter, the property may be divided among that person's heirs, sold, or transferred to others by various conveyances. After much time has passed, some of all those deeds, titles, and documents may remain in the seller's hands or with his heirs. After a time the seller may make a false claim, and assuredly he will have thought long and hard about how to do this and how to get witnesses to verify his claim. Having become expert in such techniques, he will use a thousand tricks and sleights-of-hand. He may even put witnesses under oath and catch them off guard, or he may get untrustworthy and unreliable people to testify. If the seller himself does not bring suit, his heirs may find the documents in his house. They

may not know for sure whether the property has been alienated, or they may bring suit even though they do know [that the property has been sold]. Of course, when deeds recorded and authenticated by a living witness are brought before a judge and they are determined to be sound, the judge must decide in favor of their validity, for how can he know whether property has been transferred by legal conveyance to another party? It is well known that a judge is helpless before two witnesses. If several well-known and respected judges have previously recorded a deed, if competent live witnesses are produced even though they are unaware of the later sale and transfer of the property, [A436] and if the titles, whether duplicated or not, remain in the hands of the seller and are not turned over to the buyer, of course they can bear witness. [1012] The judge will record the deed and find for its validity. The claimant will go and either take possession with the help of ruffians and by force of the deed that has recently been judged valid and recorded or sell it to those same ruffians. The buyer suffers loss thereby, and the dispute and contention between them goes on for a long time.

Now, since deeds and titles are considered sufficient evidence, and legal possession has the greatest weight in the eyes of the law, if duplicate or invalid deeds proliferate in everyone's hands, to base a claim on such things becomes suspect and doubtful. Since certain evil persons are inclined to practice fraud, the best thing to do is for seller and buyer both to go before a judge at the time of sale and produce evidence through whatever titles there are. The seller must prove his ownership through unimpeachable witnesses who testify that the property belongs to the seller, is in his possession, and, insofar as they know, no one else has legal claim to it. Those titles must be washed in water. If they do not have titles, and witnesses can testify in accordance with the foregoing, and it can be proven that the property has been in the seller's possession either for a long time or recently, and if the seller swears that he does not possess titles—or, if they are found, they will be invalid—then his ownership can be recorded, witnesses' testimony can be written, and the judge can record the sale and find for its validity. After that, a document of sale should be recorded beneath the proof of ownership. If an attestation is made and a legal conveyance is effected, even if later some of the titles, deeds, or affidavits of the property are found in the hands of the seller, his children or relatives, or any other person, be he who he may, [A437] no Islamic judge will give them any consideration. If he does see them, he will insist on taking them or take them by force and wash them off. If he has ruffians or the protection of powerful patrons, and they do not listen to the judge, let him tell the *shahna* of the city to take them by force and wash them off in the courthouse. If they fail in their duty, they will be reprimanded.

Those who write titles and deeds of sale should be clerks of the court. No one else should write them. Of course, it is necessary that when a judge sits in judgment in court he should have on a stool a basin full of water, which we have named the Basin of Justice. The titles for every claim and case that is decided should be demanded and washed in the water. If a seller sells a portion of his personal property and retains possession of the rest, the amount that is sold [1013] should be recorded on the back of the document in the presence of judges and competent witnesses [in words such as] "of the property mentioned within this document, ___ amount has been sold to N.___ on the date ___." The document will remain, as before, in the hands of the seller. In the buyer's document it should be written that the seller had X amount of property, of which he sold X amount to this individual and retains X amount in his possession. In this case an unwashed deed will remain in the hands of the seller.

Item. If a person certifies orally or in writing to a sale or mortgage, and that same person later brings suit against either the buyer or mortgagee, the case will not be heard, and that person will have his beard shaved, be mounted on a donkey, and paraded around town. If anyone sells to another a piece of property he has previously mortgaged, pledged to another, or sold, this will constitute fraud, and the case will not be heard. The plaintiff will have his beard shaved, be mounted on a donkey, and paraded around town. If anyone has sold property to another or mortgaged it and then sells

or mortgages it to someone else and it is found out, those persons will be executed. [A438]

Item. We have commanded that judges should neither expect nor take a cent for recording or hearing cases. They should be content with the salaries we have ordered. A scribe who writes a document may take one dirhem per document worth a hundred dinars. For those worth more than a hundred dinars they may take one dinar and no more. A bailiff who produces witnesses may take a half a dinar for every document duly witnessed. No matter how many times a case is reheard, he should content himself with that same rate. Any advocate who takes something from both parties to a suit will be admonished, his beard will be shaved, and he will be discharged from the advocacy.

Item. We have written a separate edict concerning thirty-year-old claims and made stipulations therein. Let these remain in force. Any judge who acts contrary to the orders we have written will be punished and dismissed from the judiciary. We have ordered that the basqaqs and maliks of every city throughout the realm should summon the judges of that place and take from them and send a pledge to this effect according to the draft we have sent. Now, N.___ and N.___ must summon the judges of that place, take a pledge from them in accordance with the draft that has been sent, and send it in the company of these messengers. Written in the city of ___ in the year ___. [1014]

Text of edict reaffirming prior orders.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, and by the might of God and the auspiciousness of the Mohammedan nation. [A439]

Decree of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan.

Be it known to the judges of the realm that, inasmuch as we realize that the smooth functioning of the world and those in it depends upon the regulation of legal affairs, prior to now we sent an edict to all parts of the realm from the Oxus to the borders of Egypt concerning redress of breaches in the fabric of the judiciary. Therein we commanded judges to investigate legal decisions with all deliberation and care, admonished them to maintain all conditions necessary to the investigation of notary documents, deeds, titles, and affidavits, and warned them about implementing decisions in which there is doubt of falsification, fraud, imposture, misrepresentation, or any other form of chicanery. We have given them to understand the necessity of not paying attention to the mere antiquity of documents or to prior judges' decisions, which may not have been devoid of negligence or partiality. We have made them adhere to customary rules and details that insure soundness of religion, salvation in the next world, and preservation of honor. We have commanded that this be read out to court officials once every month throughout the realm so that it may be ingrained in their minds by repetition, so that false claimants will be tormented within themselves and adopt the correct path, and so that powerful persons will not be tempted to force judges to render a decision outside the path of correctness, particularly since we have emphasized this command by ordering that written pledges be taken from all judges, to wit that henceforth they will not look into people's hearts, that they will not be partial to any side other than God's, and that they will strive to their utmost in examining claims, deeds, and documents in order to be delivered from the sedition of falsification and fraud. No claim not brought forward for more than thirty years despite the existence of the claimant's ability to bring suit and the absence of extenuating circumstances will be heard if suit is brought after the expiration of that term, and no decision will be given, for the corruption of such cases is obvious and to hear them is improper. The Seljuq sultans prior to now researched such cases, and with the help of the decisions of the authorities of the age they forbade them to be heard. After that, the authorities, judges, and learned men of Islam [1015] came forward in this case to write letters and reaffirm that decision, [A440] copies of which are published abroad. An edict of our fathers was also issued in this regard.

This edict will be carried out for two purposes. First, the reaffirmation of the former order so that all may realize how strongly we are committed to the smooth functioning of religious affairs, so that the mischief of negligence in matters of the law may be eradicated from minds and the excellence of stead-

fastness and surefootedness may take its place, and so that all may know as a certainty that anyone who deviates from this will suffer the reprimand that the cadi of Ardebil suffered, who, when he did not avoid executing fraudulent cases, was put to the sword in the most horrible and terrifying manner.

Second, since our mind is always concentrated upon the right functioning of the affairs of the people of the world and upon the acquisition and perfection of the same, we have desired to add to former orders several necessary provisions that are acquired by instinct of sound mind and following the path of the provisions of the religious law and to make judges of the realm understand the necessity of following them meticulously and without stint. First is the reaffirmation of precaution in hearing testimony, around which most cases revolve. It is obvious that judges are negligent in that regard and do not strive to verify and render judgments without having inner certainty or assurance of testimony and without having a preponderance of conviction of the soundness and truth thereof. Instead, they cling to the legal principle that "a judge is helpless before two witnesses" and do not fear the enormity of such negligence. It happens that a case may be critical in and of itself, and if a decision is rendered without the truth of the situation having been reached and without precaution having been taken, some wealthy people may be wiped out by these means, for even though two witnesses constitute legal proof, [A441] the outcome should still depend upon justice. Justice is a mighty thing that is only rarely found in individuals. Self-interest reigns supreme in most people, and a judge must always wonder if A's or B's testimony is not devoid of self-interest, selfish imagination, or partiality. Merely because testimony appears in and of itself to describe good men, or if it so seems externally, or if the speech is adorned with artifice, one must not be deceived. In ascertaining the truth and extracting the inner meaning of a subtle case, contemplation and clarity of mind must be exercised [1016] so that the manner of the case may be clear, and obfuscation and obscurity may be eliminated. Since it was part of the Maker's wisdom in creation that traces of falsehood, however much it is hidden in the interior, will appear in a speaker's utterances—as the Commander of the Faithful Ali said, "Whatever a person has in his heart will be apparent to people in the slips of his tongue"—therefore, anyone who concentrates with a sound mind upon ascertaining the inner aspect of a person can comprehend it from his speech.

Based on the foregoing, we have commanded that in hearing any testimony about the acceptance of which the mind has the slightest doubt, great caution should be exercised. Each and every witness should be questioned in order to ascertain any difference among their testimonies, for the touchstone of verification lies in finding a difference in the words of witnesses. Each one should also be questioned repeatedly in different sessions, and situations should be investigated obliquely. One should rely on questioning points such as times, places, quantities, and qualities of the case as well as subtle inquiries that have a bearing upon ascertaining the truth. Through such effort one of two things will become apparent: either soundness, upon which a judgment one may trust can be given, or a doubt that annuls the case and saves one from the brink of rendering an incorrect judgment. [A442] Since most of the breaches of justice that occur in cases happen because property is declared licit as alms by people who are not pure in and of themselves, precaution should be taken more in this regard, and the necessity of following the separate section on the allowance property as alms should be realized.

Item. Deliberate slowness and deliberation should be exercised in deciding on letters they seal, for in this regard great doubt arises. In most cases that will be implemented in their own villages and districts, owners go before judges in other jurisdictions for authentication. The reason for this is that in that other district no one is aware of the particulars of the case, and the truth or falseness remains hidden from the judges. Without verifying, they send a document sealed to other judges to be opened, and they judge it proven, and thus falseness gains currency in the guise of truth. Deliverance from this brink of disaster lies in the following. Judges must not write approval or put their seals upon a document until they are aware of the situation of a case

exactly as it is and the necessity of referring it to a different venue; so let them open sealed documents. Until they know the necessity of proving it before the judge who sealed it, let them not imagine that he was in the right, and let them not hasten to open and render a decision.

Item. Great precaution should be exercised in cases pertaining to the writing of deeds, documents, various letters, and all kinds of written decisions and records, [1017] for few situations in which writing is involved are devoid of breaches of justice, and it often happens that the end result of the breach is upholding falsehood and deprivation of rights. These breaches of justice stem from the writers' ignorance of the conditions of writing, looking into people's hearts, or partiality. Since total redress is necessary in this regard, we ordered some judges, authorities, and learned men known for their acumen to delineate how many types of documents were generally written in court, [A443] and they composed for each type a model containing all possible provisions and fine points that could not be objected to or challenged, and to it was added an appropriate exhortation containing many beneficial points. They gathered the models in one volume, and outstanding learned men gave their signatures to certify the soundness thereof. When the desideratum was presented, copies were made and sent to all parts of the realm so that every type that needed to be written could be copied from the model. Judges of the realm should first consider it with caution, and when they find that it agrees with what is desired and is in conformity with the law, they too should add their signatures and compel clerks henceforth not to go beyond the model for any reason but copy it letter for letter. The point has been stressed previously that they should write only when a judge's order to write has been given; they should not do it frivolously.

Item. It has been learned that the negligence, misappropriation of authority, and venality of some judges has reached the point that they have placed in the hands of two litigants in one case two written documents at variance with each other—and both have been recorded. Thinking it would never be discovered, they had no compunction in doing so. We have commanded that henceforth they will not commit this action for any reason or under any extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, they will do all they can to rectify past abuses. In the court of any judge before whom any two such documents are presented, all effort will be made to ascertain the truth of the case. If referral to authorities is needed, let a gathering be held and let the truth be ascertained based on correct principles. Let them uphold whichever side is clearly in the right and wash the other document in the Basin of Justice. If such action cannot be taken immediately, let them turn over both documents in trust to the bailiff to be held [A444]—and under no circumstances given to the litigants [1018]—until the case can be decided. To place such evidence in the hands of litigants will result in nothing but corruption, sedition, and breach of justice. In that there is no doubt, for each litigant, or his heirs, will find an opportunity for obfuscation at some time or other to present the document and file suit. The judge at that time may not possess the evidence and testimony that nullified the case and may then render an incorrect decision. If both documents are held and it is made clear to the litigants that they will not be returned to them, they will reappear when court is held, and thus, when the investigation has been completed, right can be established.

Item. With the agreement and approval of the authorities of the age, Sultan Malikshah gave an order and had it codified in the interests of the people of the world that if anyone makes a concealed trust or writes an encumbrance on property in secret and keeps it hidden, and if later he or any of his heirs brings forth the property that is in the deed of endowment or encumbrance and tries to sell it, judges of the realm will not hear such a case and will nullify the deed of endowment or encumbrance. They will also give the perpetrator the necessary chastisement and admonition and allow the property to the purchaser. A group of renowned authorities met sometime thereafter in Qazwin and reaffirmed on their own initiative matters of reform upon which the best interests of the people depended, writing that it is incumbent upon judges to act in accordance therewith. One of their points

was that no property legally in the hands of a possessor can be taken away from him simply because of the appearance of a document at variance with that person's ownership. [A445] It must be left in his possession. We too have ordered judges of the realm to act in accordance thereto and not to infringe upon that decision, which was reached unanimously and which aimed at establishing rights.

Item. It has been heard that some short-sighted people who are entrusted with the trusteeship of an endowment are enticed by greedy people either to sell or transfer their trusteeship, and thereby damage is done to the endower. We have commanded that if anyone has in his possession an endowed property suspected of having been conveyed, the intentions of the endower will be investigated. If permission to convey was included therein, no objection will be made; if not, the conveyance will be nullified and the deed of conveyance will be washed in the Basin of Justice. Henceforth no one will allow any conveyance, permission for which was not so stipulated by an endower. If anyone acts contrary to this, [1019] the conveyer, recipient, and writer will all be fined and admonished.

Item. Inasmuch as it is obvious to all that in these orders that are being executed we have no view other than to maintain the side of God, to strengthen the Mohammedan law, and to spread justice and welfare among our subjects; in warning judges to follow the path of truth and justice and in the admonition and exhortation that are repeated our purpose is only to force them, not to break them, to elevate their worth, not to belittle them, and to honor them, not to imprecate them. Let them hear these things obediently, learn their lessons, and know for certain that anyone who acts accordingly, who takes God's side and holds the sacred law above the stain of falsification, and who exercises all due precaution in judging cases will be covered with favor in addition to receiving abundant reward and a good name. [A446] If there is anyone on whom such strongly-worded decrees, emphasis, and reaffirmation has no effect, we will not henceforth issue another decree on these matters, and the dictum "the sword is a more efficacious informant than letters" will be applied. So let them know this for certain, and therein is sufficiency for him who can learn a lesson.

Amir N.___ and governors must entrust to judges this decree or a ministerial copy thereof that will arrive, and take a receipt that they have received same. Let them together make a copy of the decree and the draft models, let them certify that they have been compared to insure accuracy, and let them be sent to all appointees, persons of authority, and judges of the provinces in order that they may be aware. Let them take a pledge against misdeeds that henceforth they will act in accordance and see to it that these matters are made clear to all. ~

Story Fifteen: He eliminates the practice of forging documents and annuls outdated deeds.

Prior to this, in the time of the caliphs and sultans, every possible effort was made to propagate the work of the judiciary and the good repute of the law, great caution was exercised, and religious and wise people of importance were chosen to occupy the judiciary. They too appointed religious men of honor from among well-known learned people to the bench. As a consequence, legal matters and religious cases were run in accordance with the commands of God and his Apostle, the people were given their due, and the gates of injustice and tyranny were completely shut. Parsimonious, dishonest, rapacious, officious, fraudulent, and slanderous persons had no opportunity to burden these momentous matters with any sort of chicanery, fraud, or subterfuge; on the contrary, such persons were not allowed entrance to parties or gatherings, and no one paid them any attention. Such regulation and order notwithstanding, [1020] during the reign of Sultan Sa'id Malikshah, because there were so many old deeds and duplicate titles in people's hands, as there are in this time, they took them to judges and, by employing tricks that forced the judges to hear their cases, [A447] had them validated.

(When confidence men have the chance, they will always disguise falsehood as the truth.) This resulted in harassment of the people. Later it was ascertained that their claims were false and their deeds and titles were duplicates, the properties having been conveyed to others.

These disputes and contentions were often brought before the hearing of Malikshah and his vizier Nizamulmulk. They realized that the main tools of these confidence men's trade were the old deeds and duplicate titles that had remained in the hands of the former owner or his heirs after the transfer of the property. With the passage of time no one remembered the situation, until suddenly one of the offspring of the former owner produced the deed and brought suit. It was possible that the purchaser of the property or his heirs had never seen those deeds, or they may have been lost or pillaged during times of unrest. They may even have been stolen from their ancestors and given to the seller, who, knowing that they did not have a record of transfer, brought suit based on his old deed and had it validated. There were many such instances.

In short, when Malikshah and Nizamulmulk became aware of the situation, they wrote an edict in a legally appropriate form, ordering that no claims be made or cases heard based on documents that had not been contested for more than thirty years. They sent this order to all the muftis of Khurasan, Persia, and Baghdad so that decisions would be rendered in accordance with the law. Afterward it was sent to the seat of the caliphate for signature. This letter is still extant, and copies of it are spread abroad.

Judges and court officials at that time being as has been mentioned, even such religious and respected judges, sultan, and vizier were so helpless at the hands of miscreants that they had to issue such a decree.

During the days of the Mongols it happened that the people gradually became aware that the Mongols could recognize judges and learned men merely by their turbans and tunics; **[A448]** they had absolutely no awareness of or way to judge their learning. Therefore, ignorant and vile men put on the turban and tunic of impudence and joined the Mongols' retinues, ingratiating themselves with all sort of flattery and bribes, so that they obtained judicial posts and received patents of office. This had not gone on for long before **[1021]** great learned men who were religious and honorable gradually began to withdraw from those posts and jobs. Why should decent men choose to expose themselves to such people? One group of the great and respectable, however, who were extremely well known, i.e. Tajik viziers and governors, did not leave the miscreants alone but constantly worked to expose them, and they were in a position to defend their reputations against anyone's imprecations. Thanks to this, a few great judges remained in their posts, even if most did as has been mentioned.

Since there were many ignorant and vile men in the guise of the learned in the realm, and they saw that people like them could obtain great posts, they rose up in contentiousness against each other, and there were so many disputes and conflicting claims that not only did the Mongols realize how avaricious and impudent they were, but they also imagined that all learned men were like that. The good repute of and respect for the great—indeed of the nation of Islam—were lost on account of these ignorant men, and all were disgraced and looked upon as vile and mean. Every commander and noble took one of them under his patronage, and no sooner was one appointed judge than another was dismissed from office. Things got so bad that judgeships were auctioned off. Now a judge

should render decisions with impartiality and firmness and he should not take anything from anyone. When a judgeship is auctioned or awarded as a fief, one can realize how bad things are.

During Gaikhatu's reign, the vizier was Sadruddin, who styled himself Sadr-i-Jahan. His brother was the chief judge, and he styled himself Qutb-i-Jahan. Shaykh Mahmud was the chief shaykh, and he was in charge of some religious matters. In their time things had gotten completely out of hand, and judicial posts were awarded as fiefs. In past years it got to the point that because the road to false claims had been reopened, [A449] merely owning property was worse than having a hundred enemies since hungry malefactors and confidence men intimidated and discredited great lords and respectable officials over old deeds, forged documents, and all forms of chicanery, without limit. Since the judiciary was auctioned and given in fief, such things suited the judges and court officials, and they instigated claimants, encouraged them with promises, and then neglected the cases or left them in abeyance for months or even years. In the interim they made off with everything available and got annually from the contending parties as much as they wanted while the case was pending. Many properties were tied up in suit for years, and every year [1022] more was spent in court than the case was worth. A hopeful litigant would say, "My case is still pending. Let me give something more so that it may be found in my favor through someone's influence."

Beggars obtained positions and acquired fame. People like them saw that they had access to the great with their false claims, and the great would give them something to preserve their honor and not have to go to court, and those who did go would settle out of court and pay them blackmail. When they saw this, they too thought, "Since with all our tricks and intimidation we cannot earn a dirhem a day, there cannot be anything better to take up this trade." So they too took up the trade. Some had old deeds of their own, some became involved with others through [threat of] impudence and calumny, and some got people who could forge all sorts of handwriting to write registered deeds, and these people all helped each other. There was another group who wrote things like past rulers' edicts and old documents in scripts that were not detectable and backdated them by a hundred fifty years. Although a document without authentication is not valid, [A450] every one of these people came under the patronage of a Mongol or a powerful person when they got into suits with others. Although those who enjoyed judicial fiefs did not render judgments, to protect their own interests they remained silent in the disputes and did not speak the truth. Through their underlings they would intimate to litigants in secret, saying, "These people are powerful, and we cannot give an absolute response." In this manner they passed their days, taking something in the interim. The case was like gristmill: the more it turns, the faster it turns.

It got to the point that more invalid claims were made in the realm than could be counted. Since the false claimant was under a powerful person's protection, the poor defendant, who was the rightful owner, in fear of losing his property and honor, would be forced to seek the protection of another. This resulted in contention between the two powerful men.

It has long been the natural course of things to wield the sword for property, and as a sad corollary most of the powerful men took up disputes and feuds with each other that were about to end in wielding swords, particularly when they were mostly cases of a false claimant's having sold to a hoodlum

for anywhere from thirty to a hundred dinars a village worth ten thousand dinars in the hands of its rightful owner. [1023] [The buyer] would then think, "This village used to belong to him; now it belongs to me." Some village *khatibs* and others, out of ignorance and dishonesty, would indoctrinate him by saying, "This sale is correct. The village is your inalienable property." When the Mongols, contrary to former times, developed a craving for property, their efforts increased, and it got to a point that the property was about to be lost altogether in such cases. The general population became insecure of their property, honor, and lives. Judges, helpless in the face of these fraudulent malefactors and unable to afford redress, beseeched God to deliver them from this quandary. [A451]

When the emperor's regal reign began and he saw this pernicious practice, he contemplated how to reform it by giving an order and appointing trustworthy messengers to announce in every territory where there was a fraud whose imposture was obvious that others not be allowed to hide or protect him. Those whose situations were obvious were summoned at once and executed when their guilt was proven. By this means many frauds and false documents were uncovered. The falsifiers were executed by the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's justice.

In accordance with the decision Sultan Malikshah had written, that thirty-year-old claims were not to be heard, an edict was issued during the reign of Hülägü Khan as suggested by the Tajik viziers; after that, during the time of Abaqa Khan and Gaikhatu Khan it was reconfirmed, but no trace of its implementation remained for two reasons. One was that several very important provisions of law, reason, and common practice were missing in those decrees; and since an absolute order that no case be heard involving thirty-year-old documents did not appear legal, it was left in abeyance. The second reason was that governors and leaders have to implement the provisions of a decree, but since most of them wanted to buy as much property as possible with as little money as possible—and that could only be done through such schemes—how were they going to implement the forbidding of such a thing? Naturally, although they were they very ones who suggested it, they neglected it.

When the Padishah of Islam wanted to implement his decree, he ordered that a draft of the edict be completed in agreement and consultation with the great judges of the world. The late Fakhruddin, the judge of Herat who was one of the great scholars of the age and a man of great learning, [1024, A452] and the chief judge of the age were unequaled in composition. They wrote the text of the edict and included the stipulations and conditions that were necessary. Therefore the order was implemented, and it was decreed that the salaries of persons who dealt with the judiciary throughout the realm and who were competent by agreement of all were to be fixed, and they were to content themselves with that much and not to take anything from anyone under any circumstances. A decree was issued giving various precautions to be taken in every regard, and the guidelines, upon the correctness of which authorities were agreed, were sent. Since the texts of all these and of the decree mentioned above have been given in past sections, there is no need for repetition. ~

Story Sixteen: He abolishes extraordinary tax appraisals, *muqasamas*, and other types of mulcts.

We have already alluded briefly to how taxes and divan imposts were collected in every province and to how many there were. Thanks to the mismanagement of the viziers and the various tyrannies they had

adopted for any and every reason, they were ruining the provinces and impoverishing the peasants to the point that they were scattering. We are not exaggerating in this regard. Although readers at this time know that the tyranny was many times what can be reported, when in later times the people enjoy welfare and ease by virtue of the Padishah of Islam's justice and equity, they will forget those harassments; and children and those who will be born later, not having seen that injustice and aggression, will naturally imagine that these things have been exaggerated. Therefore, let us give a short report. [A453]

The emperor of the world reformed the situation in Persia, Azerbaijan, and provinces where the divan imposts were *qubchur* and *tamgha*. How these places had suffered breaches of justice, and what they were like later was as follows. These provinces were assigned in fief to governors, to each governor a fixed total was given, and customary expenses were allowed. A governor would levy *qubchur* on the peasants ten times a year, though in some places *qubchur* was levied twenty or thirty times. It was the practice of governors to make a subtotal of the amount of *qubchur* that had been charged to him, and whenever envoys came to the province on business [1025] or to demand money or provisions, the governor would use them as a pretext to impose a *qubchur*. No matter how many envoys arrived—and their expenses and demands were without limit—the governor would rejoice at their arrival, for he would impose a levy once in the name of taxes, once in the name of provisions and expenses, and once in the name of contracts and demands. Some of it he would spend on supplies, and some he would take himself; some he would give to the *shahna* and *bitigchis* so that they would support him and corroborate his falsification. Out of so much produce taken from the peasants, not a load was ever sent to the treasury, and the taxes of the provinces were consumed by allowed expenses and billets. In Khurasan eight of ten billets were still owing, and when envoys and holders of billets and drafts came to the divan, the response would be, "The money is still owing against the province. How is it they haven't paid it?" They would write a renewal of the order, emphasizing that they should send the funds soon. Back they would go, and once again expenses were incurred. On that pretext the governor made impositions and told the peasants, "You see how many envoys are staying here. If it weren't for their expenses, redress would be possible." No one was able to say to him, "You ought to give them money because at the very first of the year you took many times the assessment and squandered it." [A454] Two thirds of this impost were divided amongst themselves, and one third was spent on the envoys' expenses. In the end [the envoys] would return without having collected any money, and there was so much coming and going in this manner that the billets grew old in their hands and they ceased to count on them as they languished for years in their satchels. Although it is common practice for it to be known in the divan how much the base tax for each province is and against what place a billet is written for collection, never was anyone aware of this, and draft after draft was written on demand against various places. Since the deputies and viziers knew that the money was not coming, they acted coquettishly to stall for time and put people under obligation by saying, "As a favor to you we are writing these billets." By playing this game they sent them off happy, but the net result was the ruination of the provinces.

In addition, a deputy or vizier would say to the emperor, "There are a lot of tax collectors in the provinces. They ought to be

bringing something to the treasury." Immediately an edict would be written stopping payment to tax collectors and billet holders, [1026] or else saying that such and such amounts should have been paid, and they ought to have covered expenses and gifts for the vizier and deputy and promissory notes, and the governors were demanded to pay. Letters were written saying, "Since we have stopped payment to the tax collectors, they should soon send the royal funds from the province." With such chicanery they took cash for the promissory notes. The vizier would also conspire with provincial governors and not release funds until they had seen it in a billet or letter. The envoys and tax collectors would come back perplexed, and new obligations would be placed on them and the amirs by renewal of letters. [A455] In this manner the interests of the vizier would be served, and he would gain his object. Because of the conspiracy between the provincial governors and the vizier, and because they always took the vizier's part, the governors grew bold and audacious enough to commit all sorts of injustice and outrage. Every year two or three *qubchur* and *tamgha* taxes levied on cities to pay for envoys' expenses and contracts were squandered, and the people wondered why the governor didn't keep the *tamgha* cash to be spent on such nonsense. They were unaware that the governor had adopted that course for the purposes of fraud so that on that pretext he could get many times the amount of the tax, take it, and then, at the time of accounting, get two or three times that much for the envoys' expenses and use that as a pretext not to remit the divan's share. In truth not a cent ever reached the treasury from those provinces, and not two out of ten dinars of the allowable expenses that were to be charged against the base tax were ever paid. No one ever saw a customs official in the customs office, for they had all run away; and if they were caught by the tax collectors, they would get a beating. Insofar as they were able they would appoint people in secret to collect the *tamgha* tax like plunderers stealing into houses at night. Of necessity they were content to let the *tamgha* tax go to money lenders for half, or else they would give the customs official a bribe, and thereby only a fraction of the customs was collected. What was collected went to pay for envoys' provisions, and their servants sat around threateningly until they collected. Since there wasn't enough for everyone, they would fight with each other, and those who were stronger would win. Not a cent of stipends, salaries and workers' wages, or the fixed expenses upon which the development of the province depended and without which fiscal operations could not be carried out, was every paid to anyone since pay-offs were subtracted from the tax base before anything else—and with the connivance of the governors. At the beginning of the year they would claim that the treasury money had priority, [A456] and after that they would say, "We'll give it at harvest time." [1027] When the many envoys and tax collectors, whose jobs were never done, would come, the governor would use them as a pretext to say, "So many troops of envoys are sitting on top of me. They'll have to be taken care of first." People with stipends and salaries and those dependent upon alms were put off from the beginning of the year to the end and left naked and hungry. Those who were bold enough to apply to the governors' deputies, could, with much pleading, sell off their rights for half their worth, and in return they were sold goods at double the price: with a thousand tricks they might get a quarter. Anyone who managed to get that much counted himself lucky, and they were envied by the rest, who were totally deprived. If from time to time, with great effort and difficulty, one of the deprived

got into the *ordu* to present his petition, a letter would come from the Supreme Divan saying, "We released these funds prior to all. Why have they not been paid?" The governor would bring forward an excuse, saying, "The taxes are still owing in the province. That's why we didn't pay it. I will write a billet so that this man can get his money." There was nothing the poor man could do but take a billet against money owed. Since the governor had already overtaxed by so much, as has been described, how was he going to get what was owed? On account of amounts still owed from excess taxes levied, some peasants, incapable of giving over and over again, had abandoned their villages and homes and fled. The governor would curry favor with powerful or highly-placed persons who could withstand excess levies by saying, "We won't demand this last levy from you. We'll discount it by half"—although the full amount of the levies would have been recorded in the auditor's register. [A457] Given that one *qubchur* did not produce a lot of money, and taking into consideration that some gave, some gave less, and some did not give anything at all, something was always owed from the last levy. It was called "remainder." Since the auditors and clerks shared in the duplicate levies and theft, they would write that "a certain amount is remaindered against X village," thus leaving an obscure record. If deputies or viziers asked if the remainder was part of the base tax or a surtax, even when it was clear that they knew full well what was going on, since they got bribes on the surtaxes from the governors, their lips were sealed.

The acts described were perpetrated by all previous viziers, but it was the particular craft of Sadruddin Chawi, and he was a master of it. He elevated corruption and venality to a fine art and ruined the fiscal administration of the realm and provinces. [1028] During his term of office no one ever got paid for a billet against a province, and no one with a stipend or salary ever got his due, for all his billets and drafts were nothing but sheer chicanery. When any of the poor, deserving, or elderly came to him to plead, he would write that person a billet for five hundred dinars—of which he had never seen a hundred *aqchas*. He would call this generosity, and the poor person would be happy; but when he went to ask for the money, it was a different story. "I have five hundred dinars," he would think. "Let me borrow a hundred dinars to pay for a mount, supplies, and provisions for the road. After I repay the loan, four hundred dinars will be left." While entertaining this hope he would be given such a run-around trying to collect his money that his decrepitude would be forgotten and he would learn how to act like a *beg* or a tax collector and his thugs. But it did no good. In the end, he would flee the realm in debt.

Because of such mismanagement and waste, most of the peasants in the provinces abandoned their homes and settled in foreign parts. Towns and villages were empty. [A458] Every so often an envoy who went to gather runaways would harass them a lot and take many times the amount of the *qubchur* from them. They were never inclined to go to their homelands, for they had developed an antipathy to that great realm. Despite the many envoys who went in all directions to gather runaways at various times, they never succeeded in returning a single peasant to his home.

Of those who were left in towns, most had walled up the doors of their houses and came and went across the roofs. They would flee from tax collectors, and when the collectors came into the city quarters they would find a scoundrel who knew the houses. With his guidance they would drag people out from nooks and crannies, cellars, gardens, and ruins. If they couldn't get hold of the men, they would take their

wives and drive them like a flock of sheep from quarter to quarter to the presence of the tax collectors. They would hang them from their feet by a rope and beat them as the women's cries rose to heaven. It often happened—and we have witnessed it—that a tax collector went up on a roof, found a peasant, and chased him. The poor peasant would be running away so hard that he was about to throw himself off the roof when the tax collect would go grab him by the shirt and say with a show of compassion, "Don't throw yourself off the roof! You'll be killed." The poor fellow, helpless, would fall and break his leg. **[1029]**

Of all the provinces, Yazd had degenerated to the point that anyone could wander through all the villages and not see a soul he could speak to or ask the way. The few who remained had stationed lookouts, and when they saw anyone approaching from afar, they would spread the word, and everyone would hide in the subterranean water channels or in the sands. **[A459]** When any lord who had property in Yazd went to inspect his property, he never saw a single farmer of whom he might inquire after his orchards. In most towns, in fear of having envoys quartered in their homes, people had made the entrances to their houses under the ground with narrow passageways in hopes that the envoys would not want to stay there, for all envoys that were quartered in people's houses, in addition to wearing out rugs, bedding, and household implements, picked up anything they wanted and took it, or else their grooms stole things. If anyone had garnered a bit of provisions or kindling, they took it all. They also burned doors for firewood and wrought other devastation.

One instance has been heard of a great man of Yazd who had a house in town. In the year 695 [1296], Nawroz's son Sultanshah and his mother stayed there while Nawroz was in power. They remained for four months, and, after leaving no moveable property in the house, when they departed and the city constables went to inspect, they found that the house, which had been worth nearly fifty thousand dinars, was not worth two thousand. They had burned extremely fine ornate doors and done other damage. If the house of a religious figure, the mufti of the city, could be used like this, what of the ordinary people and peasants? There was nothing harder for lords and peasantry to bear than this. **[A460]**

The *chärbis* [quartermasters] had learned that they could "sell off" a hundred houses on the pretext of envoys and then quarter them there. Every year they carried off many thousands of the people's rugs, bedding, kettles, tools, and implements. They put their animals in people's gardens, and a garden that had taken more than ten years of hard work to improve would be ruined in a day. If there happened to be a subterranean water channel there **[1030]** and an animal fell in, the owner would be seized, and many times what the animal was worth would be taken from him. If there was a breach in a wall and an animal got out, the same thing happened. Envoys' assistants, captains, and grooms would pull down garden walls; and in the winter they would cut down trees for firewood. If there was a tree in a garden, the governors and powerful would have it cut down or requisition it, claiming it would be used as a soldier's spear. In some provinces there were so many of their tax collectors, servants, and captains that there were actually two of them for every citizen.

It has been related that in the year 691, when Umarshah Samarqandi's son Ali Khwaja was governor of Yazd, a landlord went to a village called Firozabad—one of the largest villages in the area—in order to collect something from the harvest on his land. No matter how hard he tried, he

could not locate a single villager for three days and nights. He found only seventeen billet-holding tax collectors sitting in the middle of the village. They had seized a field guard and two peasants from the fields, brought them to the village, tied them up, and were beating them in order to get hold of the others to obtain something to eat. Even so they failed.

All these tax collectors and their followers had to have provisions, fodder, wine, and entertainment. One can imagine what other types of injustice there were. And how were such bad customs to be reformed in a short time when they had taken root over time in evil men? Even though special edicts had been repeatedly issued in every reign and sent everywhere to gain the favor of the subjects and to defend them from these injustices, [A461] it had never worked, and the general population had despaired.

In this age, which is the imperial reign of the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan—may God make his rule last forever and extend his justice and beneficence—the emperor's mind is totally concentrated upon pure good and justice and he thinks of nothing but redressing the abuses that have crept into the fabric of the administration, abolishing totally innovations and corruption, and striving so that all people in the world may be at peace. "These things are the main benefits of a human being's life," he said. Then he added, "In this regard all effort must be made to reform abuses like the *qubchur* in the provinces."

"When the Yasaq and criminal justice are suspended and great breaches occur," he said, [1031] "in order to rectify the situation one must begin first with small matters so that the people of the world may know that when arrests are made, trials are held, and executions are carried out for trivial matters, they will certainly be many times that in large matters. Of necessity they will cease doing these things." He also said, "If overall principles are maintained, all the details will be subsumed therein. If we go after details one by one, by the time one is fixed and we turn our attention to another, the one that was fixed will have gone wrong again and it will be impossible to rectify."

He also said, "When a nation has long become inured to something, and it has become second nature to them, it is extremely difficult to forbid them to do that thing or to get the habit out of their nature—like these thugs and governors who have become habituated over all these years to use force on the peasants and extract taxes from them repeatedly while giving nothing to the divan. Every year they go to court, give bribes, and survive by telling a few stories. If a few of them are killed, the others will imagine that it was only chance. They won't learn a lesson. 'So-and-So was out of favor,' they will say, 'for otherwise, if it had been on account of taxes and administration, [A462] many others ought to have been chastised.' Even if we execute half these people, it will still be impossible for the others to abandon their habits and cease their tyranny and aggression. The peasants will still be tormented, and no taxes will reach the treasury or the military. The best course of action is for us to think up a way to tie provincial governors' hands completely in their authority over taxation so that they will have absolutely no way to be aggressive on any pretext. This is like the story of the fox who said, 'It's only with a thousand tricks that I manage to escape from the dog. It would be best for me not to see him and for him not to see me.' In this case too it would be better for provincial administrators not to be able to write a draft for even a cent against the peasants." To this end he said, "A competent clerk should go to every province, make a detailed census, village by village, and then fix the *qubchur* equally in accordance with

the numbers without trying to create an excess. He should make it so that the peasants are well off and happy."

He also ordered that an investigation be made of all *enchü* properties, endowments, and lords' estates that had been held without dispute for the past thirty years. They should be recorded with the names of the owners and entered into the registry of deeds so that if anyone lost a title or someone else wanted to usurp the property, they could refer to the registry and proceed in accordance with what had been registered. **[1032]** In this way no one will have an opportunity to falsify or usurp. As ordered, the clerks went to the provinces. Despite the fact that honest and trustworthy men are few and far between, they strove their utmost to record the tax rolls of the provinces and bring them back.

After that he ordered that no malik, basqaq, or bitigchi ever place pen to paper to write a billet or draft. If any billet was written, the governor who had allowed it would be executed and the clerk who wrote it would have his hand cut off so that other clerks would see him and learn a lesson. One clerk for every province was appointed to be in attendance in the Supreme Divan here, and at the beginning of the year that clerk would write tax bills by name and in detail in accordance with the tax rolls, village by village. **[A463]** The deputies of the Supreme Divan would add their attestations, and the bills would be authenticated by being stamped with the gold seal and sent to the provinces for the peasants to remit to the agent appointed in every province in two installments plus a five per cent commission for the treasury.[1] The agent would pay out part in cash to holders of billets authenticated by the gold seal and send the rest to the imperial treasury, where it, together with the treasury commission, would be submitted to the treasurers. If exceptionally a tax collector or headman brought an amount to the agent, a cash treasury commission of five and a half per cent would be paid.[2] Otherwise tax collectors would bring cash amounts and turn them over, along with the treasury commission, to the treasurers. He ordered that since they would take cash in the provinces, under no circumstances would it be permitted that so much as one dinar's worth of goods be brought, and if anyone brought goods, he would have to take them to the market, sell them, and remit in cash. Amounts of stipends, salaries, and fixed expenses allowed in every place would all be paid in cash in full—not a cent less—so that all people would increase their prayers for the well-being of the empire. With detailed tax bills endorsed with the gold seal and taken to the provinces from here, all peasants in villages would know how much their taxes were and they would not have to give a cent more than that. They would also have the written record of the tax rolls stating how much and in what manner their obligations were.

When the edict was promulgated that provincial governors could not write billets, the malik of Rodrawar, a dependency of Hamadan, thought it was just like past edicts and allowed a clerk to write several billets on the province. An order was given for him to be executed and for the clerk's hand to be cut off. When he received news that an emissary was coming for that purpose, he fled. Three years later he died in the place to which he had taken flight. **[1033]** The clerk was caught after a time in Nihawand, and his hand was cut off.

[1] Reading, with JT_{AZ}'s MSS PB, *bá dah ním* ('plus five per cent') for JT_{AZ}'s and JT_K's *bá dah u ním*.

[2] The formula given is *dah u dáng ním u sad dínárrá nímdínár*, which should be a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ on $10\frac{1}{6}$, or an insignificant fraction short of 5%, plus half a dinar on a hundred dinars, or $\frac{1}{2}$%.

In Hamadan a greengrocer gave his partner a draft against villagers to settle a balance due in the amount of two maunds of sumac. He was arrested **[A464]** and ordered executed. After much intercession he was given a hundred twenty lashes and fined a thousand dinars.

Recently some elephants were brought from India. When they got to Hamadan it was winter and no fodder could be found. The governors said, "We'll have to requisition some from the gardens." When this reached the imperial hearing he said, "We have budgeted for provisions and fodder for the elephants. How can they take it from people's gardens? If it's available, let them buy it; if not, why do they think they can requisition it? This time we will overlook it, but if they do any such thing again, we will have them executed."

In short, in recent years, no one throughout the realm has been or is able now to give a draft for so much as a maund of straw or a grain of gold. Billet writing has been completely eliminated.

Last year it was learned that since governors can no longer put surcharges on the fixed taxes of villages, headmen and village elders were levying surcharges among themselves any way they wanted. An order was implemented by which village headmen would record the established amount that had been registered in the tax rolls along with the names of the peasants and sent a copy to the divan so that henceforth they would not be able to levy surcharges. When every one of the peasants would know his amount exactly, he would not give anything extra. They would also not be able to make demands on strangers or other persons whose names were not in the rolls. For this reason all peasants are busy [praying for] the fortune of the Sultan of Islam. Runaways came home without anyone's going in search of them, and now they won't sell for a thousand dinars houses that used to be worth a hundred. Provincial funds have more cash than the mint, and they are brought to the treasury two or three times a year without excuse or complaint, as is witnessed by all.

In recent years not a fraction of gold, a measure of provisions, a load of straw, a sheep, a maund of wine, or a chicken has been charged to any province in the name of surcharges, *nemäri* [supplementary tax], *yam* [post tax], *savuri* [donation tax], *tuzghu* [provisions tax], *alafa* [supplies tax], *alufa* [fodder tax], or anything else. **[A465]** God has so blessed the taxes that, no matter how much the emperor has disbursed to the military in recent years or ordered given for requests, gifts, or expenses of whomever—and all in cash from the treasury—at no time has it happened that the treasury **[1034]** has been devoid of gold or fabric.

It is clear from ancient and modern registers that in no era or time has so much cash and fabric as the Padishah of Islam spends or gives away in a year ever been spent by others over a period of five years, and still the treasury is full of gold and fabric.

Even though previously administrators never gave anyone anything from provincial funds, when they made their reckoning of billets and drafts at the end of the year they were swamped by them, not to mention the additional expenses the administrator had to deal with. Now, thanks to the emperor's kindness and good tactics, the realm has been made to flourish, administrators in the provinces have extra money from the harvests, and much of the previous year's grain remains in the storehouses so that it is not necessary to dole it out to the people. Every year when the grain ripens it does not have to be sold in haste. Whereas previously grain was used up in prepayments before it ripened, at the present time the divan always has a one-year harvest in the storehouse and funds in the treasury.

"Now that I have ordered these measures,

I have tied governors' hands in the matter of writing billets, and I have made the peasants' taxes known in detail," the Padishah of Islam said. "Now that these rules have become fixed and habitual, it has become quite simple to pay what they owe, and they pay it willingly. Now one should think how to make these rules firm, stable, and continuous so that, despite untoward events that happen in the world, no breach of them occur. Under no circumstances should anyone have an opportunity to issue so many billets from the Supreme Divan that provincial funds get eaten up by demands, and deputies and viziers of the age should not be negligent in their overseership by allowing governors to issue billets. [A466] Never again should assistants do as they want and unleash tyranny against the peasants. The peasants should not suffer and have no opportunity for questions and answers. All the praiseworthy benefit that has accrued from taking so much trouble should not be lost again. The world should not be devastated once more, and treasury funds and soldiers' wages should not be consumed. Since fortune has smiled upon us and God has entrusted the running of the realm to us and given us the strength to do so, we must strive mightily and not to allow negligence or oversight, and we must place these guidelines and rules on such a firm basis that it will be impossible to change or alter them." Therefore he issued to the entire realm a single decree, copies of which were to be recorded in the registers and rule books of every province, [1035] and it was to be done so that the order was clear to all. The text is as follows.

Text of the edict proclaiming that provincial taxes be determined in detail by the Supreme Divan and forwarded and that maliks and governors of provinces never write billets.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
Decree of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan.

Be it known to basqaqs, maliks, deputies, administrators, judges, sayyids, imams, comptrollers, lords, grandees, headmen, elders, and all subjects and peoples of cities and provinces from the River Oxus to the borders of Syria and Franks' territory that our entire attention and thought during these few days of the imperial era has been concentrated—in accordance with the Koranic text, **God commandeth justice and the doing of good**,[1] and in accordance with the command to **judge therefore between men with truth**[2] [A467]—upon the elimination of all types of injustice, aggression, force, and cruelty to which tyrants have become habituated by claiming, **We found our fathers practising a religion; and we are guided in their footsteps**.[3] They have turned the blood and property of Muslims into their own livelihood and morsels. We said, "We shall promulgate an edict so that henceforth no person will repeat his avarice and dishonesty and so that the kingdom and fiscal affairs will be so regulated and ordered that the benefit will accrue both now and later to the generality of God's people and it will result in their welfare and ease." In accordance with the saying, "He who establishes a good custom receives not only a reward for that but also the reward of anyone who follows it," we will receive a good name both in this world and in the next, for we know surely that since "an hour of justice is better than seventy years of worship," no better benefit can be imagined, and nothing can provide better provisions for the afterlife than this.

Now the people of the world know that, with God's help, we have made our motto the Prophet's dictum that "the most beloved and nearest of all people to God is a just ruler, and the most despicable is a cruel ruler." To the extent we have been able, we have redressed some of the injustice and aggression. [1036] A detailed account of that has been addressed separately, but one provision is the fixing and establishment of taxes of the realm and the abolition of extraordinary appraisals, imposts, all varieties of administrative fees, and the abrogation of

[1]Kor. 16:90.
[2]Kor. 38:26.
[3]Kor. 43:22.

the *ulagh* and *alufa* for tax collectors and envoys sent into every province to collect taxes, as well as all sorts of intimidation, ruination, and waste of money.

To that end, clerks have been dispatched throughout the realm to record in detail every province, region, and village and to fix the tax and amounts due so that all people may thereby find rest and be thankful and content. Hitherto ruffians and tyrants used to extract many times the amount of taxes in the name of expenses, fees, and many other pretexts too numerous to mention in detail, [A468] and mostly they themselves and their evil agents and captains carried it off so that not only did the divan and treasury benefit nothing, but it also caused damage, ruination of the land, and the loss of money. The goal of those who undertook to collect divan funds by fief and auction was only to gain control, to do as they wanted, and to take many times the amount of taxation entrusted to them; they performed none of their responsibilities, and therefore when there was a need for the work of the military, the protection of the frontiers, or the necessities of the land, there were no funds in the treasury. Of necessity there was recourse to confiscation, *nemäri* [supplementary tax], and extraordinary impositions on the generality of the people, and thereby the land, province, and subjects were shaken and suffered hardship, and the military was left destitute and weakened.

Now, with God's help, it has been possible to make a detailed record of all villages in the empire and a tax roll, village by village. This has never been done in any era, and never before have registers or copies thereof been assembled. The taxes of those villages have been fixed and established. Although no one can ever insure absolute equality as it ought to be—sometimes on account of lack of knowledge, and sometimes because of self-interest and greed, and few are those in whom these evil traits are not found—nonetheless, insofar as possible tax rolls have been made. When they were brought to our presence, if an enormous difference was found or a grievous error against anyone had been made, it was reported and the deputies of the Supreme Divan redressed it. Most divan villages were given to agents who were judges, farmers, or landlords, and stipulations to be in effect in perpetuity were confirmed by the divan device, embossed with our gold seal, and given so that they might administer and remit what is due to the divan annually. When all the various sorts of injustice, aggression, [1037] imposts, and divan fees that used to pertain were eliminated, if prior to now there was a slight difference or error in equality, it was so insignificant in relation to the former injustices and excesses that no one fought over it. [A469] Now all people are thankful and content, and they give praise in comfort. They have been delivered from extraordinary exactions and impositions and divan fees and charges, the number of which was great.

In order to put a stop to the practice of persons who were not God-fearing, who were irreligious and could not see the consequences of their actions, i.e. using drafts, billets, unwarranted control, blameworthy thoughts, and all sorts of chicanery to get hold of the people's money and blood, we have commanded that provincial governors and officials not write drafts or billets against the detailed and fixed taxes established for every village in the tax rolls. Thereby a stop will be put to their many thugs and captains, who outnumber by far the tax-paying peasants, and whose livelihood has come from the helpless peasants' blood and property. **If the fly snatch anything from them, they cannot recover the same.**[1] They will be deprived of that illicit livelihood, and of necessity they will have to find a licit means of making a living, like trade, farming, raising flowers, or other sorts of beneficial work, and instead of evil habits they will take up good trades and a licit means of earning their daily bread. Two or three years after they have exchanged their bad habits for good, they will forget their former bad habits and customs, and the world will acquire a new guise. In accordance with the dictum "to wean from what one is used to is difficult," the more it was contemplated, the more it was realized that redress, which could not be accomplished by the sword, blows, torture, and prison, could be accomplished only by this means.

[1] Kor. 22:73.

Provincial administrators and their thugs have grown accustomed to reporting to the Supreme Divan many times the actual assessment of any village the ruler gives as a stipend, allowance, fief, alms, or charity to anyone, or puts in endowment, or any place that is under the protection of any of the *khatuns*, princes, or amirs if the divan taxes are not paid or if, by chance, the village becomes ruined. [A470] They enter this in their balance sheets and then abscond with the funds. Since the deputies of the divan do not know what the base tax of the assessments of any village is in detail, how can they know how much it is? Naturally they listen to the words of the administrator and persons who have vested interests. They accept the administrator's false testimony and abscond with the proceeds. By this means they have made off with huge amounts of cash. From now on, since the established rates of every place have been registered in the tax rolls of the Supreme Divan, no one will be able to commit such fraud. [1038] Also, it will be simple and easy for rulers of the time and their deputies to effect these things, and no one in their time will be able to tyrannize others. Inasmuch as the extent of the benefits of detailed tax rolls and the fixing of taxes is clear and obvious to the intelligent and wise, it is not necessary to explain them at length. Now that success has been achieved and we have had some experience, the tax roll of every locale has become a reality, and by that means detailed tax bills with the gold seal have been written by the Supreme Divan, the fruits are obvious: the subjects are at rest, and the provinces flourish. The sense of the text has been achieved: **Thou seest the earth sometimes dried up and barren: but when we send down rain thereon, it is put in motion, and swelleth, and produceth every kind of luxuriant vegetables.**[1] Thugs are no longer able to commandeer a cent of money or a maund of goods. The peasants of every village and locale are aware of how much their fixed taxes are, and anyone who takes more than that from them does so contrary to imperial decree and without the permission of the divan. The subjects do not obey the orders of tyrants, and they remit only the amount that has been established according to the bills with the gold seal. The total in cash is paid to the storehouse, the military, or the treasury.

At this time we have thought that, since the goal in these arrangements is not only the welfare of the people but also to store up heavenly reward, the harder we strive to lay firm foundations and the stronger they are, the more the reward will be. [A471]

We have appointed a clerk in the Supreme Divan to write tax bills for each province. Once written, the bills will be stamped with the divan's devices and sealed with our gold seal. To make the devices and affix the seal much time and leisure are required, however; and it is possible that with the vicissitudes of time and the unavoidable affairs of kingdom, frontiers, disturbances, and troubles of which the world of generation and corruption can never be devoid, the writing of so many detailed bills, stamping them with devices, and affixing the seal may not be possible. Since delay and negligence will certainly take place, it necessarily follows that blanket bills will be written against provinces, and once again thugs will find a way to issue billets and stretch forth their hands shamelessly. In the same old way the world will be devastated, and treasury funds will be trampled underfoot as before. Payment of allowable expenses of the provinces too, like improvements, salaries, stipends, allowances, alms, etc., will be delayed on the pretext that treasury funds are never delivered, and there will be other excuses and fabricated stories exactly as before. [1039] They will continue like this year after year, and everyone will be deprived. Our rule, which was put into effect after so much effort over such a long time, and which gave so much relief to the people of the world, will fall into abeyance. The helpless subjects will be dominated by men emboldened to lust for injustice, and once again things will be beyond reform as funds are depleted and consumed and honesty disappears, as it was before. Such a situation will not suit the rulers of the time, the army, or the subjects.

To prevent this situation, it has occurred to us to have a detailed tax roll made village by village and locale by locale. All the provincial books will be

[1]Kor. 22:5.

gathered in the library attached to the dome, khanaqah, and charitable institution we have built in Tabriz. There they will be entrusted to custodians, to whom we have given salaries so that they may protect and preserve them, and we have endowed it as mentioned in the deed of endowment. We have also written a document of anathema so that no one will render it null. Any problem that occurs henceforth can be referred there, [A472] and if anyone's contract or deed is lost, they can issue a copy from there.

We have placed one copy of the tax rolls in the Supreme Divan and one in every province and put copies of contracts into the hands of judges, lords, and subjects and commanded that they write the provisions of the tax rolls in every village and locale. They can inscribe them on a stone or a bronze plaque, whichever they want, or, if they desire, they can incise it in plaster. This they shall place at the village gate, mosque, or minaret, whichever they want. In Christian and Jewish villages it should be at the door of the place of worship or at the village gate, as they desire. Nomads should erect a stele in whatever place they think best.

As for provinces, let them make copies of the established tax roll with our gold seal, without addition or subtraction, in the presence of judges, sayyids, imams, and city grandees; and let no subject of any village or locale liable to taxes and imposts in those provinces fail to remit within twenty days, in complete accordance with the tax roll as mentioned. Let the copy be set up firmly with plaster and spikes in various locales so that it will remain for many years and no one will change or alter it.

Villages that have been designated as cash-paying will remit in cash; those that have been designated as kind-paying will remit in kind. Each of these types will necessarily be paid by the due date established. [1040]

Likewise, customs imposts are being fixed. Let them be inscribed on a plaque in accordance with the rates as written on the back of this edict in order that it may be known in what manner every rate of the various taxes that have been registered and fixed in various provinces should be written, what the due date of every one is, and in what manner the collection of each will be. Every rate must be written on the plaque exactly as in the text [A473] so that the cash amount may be collected on the seasonal due date by the headmen and peasants of every village and brought to the town square. It is established that the tax collector will pitch a tent in the town square, and from the beginning of the due date until the date given as grace period cash amounts should be brought five times a day either in full or in part to the treasurer we have appointed in every province and turned over to him. Under no circumstances will the tax collector take from any village anything else in the name of provisions, service fees, or anything else. Under no circumstances will any billet or tax gatherer be sent to any village or province by the divan.

If headmen and peasants are negligent and do not remit by the due date established, the tax collector will seize them and take a fine in the amount of one dinar for every hundred dinars of the base tax; and any person who has failed will receive seventy lashes so that this rule and regulation will remain firm, and its benefit will encompass common and elite alike, and so that the people of the world will no longer be subjected, on account of the negligence and ignorance of a few persons, to the cruelty of irreligious thugs who do not fear God.

Now, the due dates of cash taxes and harvests that have been fixed and established in accordance with the tax rolls in perpetuity, as has been described, are as follows.

Due dates for cash taxes of every province whose rates are various: let the rate of the type that has been registered be written on a plaque in every village; let them remit accordingly.

Qubchur and imposts of village-dwelling peasants who customarily remit twice a year:

• Of the annual imposts of every village, half is to be paid within the first twenty days after new year's day. [1041]

• The other half is to be paid within twenty days from the time the sun enters Libra. [A474]

Qubchur and assessments of nomads, who customarily remit once at the beginning of the year:

• The poll tax and other taxes that were established long ago as cash taxes are to be paid once

within twenty days from new year's day.

• Poll tax and cash taxes in some places have been so established that they will be paid at the time of summer harvest—like Baghdad, etc.

• Customs fees have been recorded on the back in a manner suitable to every province individually. Let them be written on a plaque and placed at the gate of every place subject to customs so that they can be paid by installment. Let no one create any innovation, and let assignors of fiefs not take more than the fees on a pretext that the customs have been increased, and let them not establish any new custom.

Due dates and manner of collection and remittance for all types of harvest levies, in both cold and warm climates, for both winter and summer crops, and from some locales that have no summer crop, are as follows:

Provinces with warm climates and with both winter and summer crops:

• Winter crops of wheat, barley, &c.—that which is established for the village, except for special agreement, will be transported at the beginning of the month of ___ on own animals to the storehouse assigned to the area and turned over to the receiving agent; maximum grace period twenty days.

• Summer crops of produce outside of special agreement will be transported in accordance with the register in the month of ___ [1042] on own animals to the storehouse assigned to the area and submitted to the receiving agent; maximum grace period forty days.

Places in provinces with cold climates with summer crops and those without summer crops: [A475]

• Winter crops—in accordance with the register, after special considerations, the established amount in full will be transported in the month of ___ by own animals to the storehouse assigned to the area; maximum grace period, twenty days.

• Summer crops—in accordance with the register, after special considerations, amount in full to be transported to the storehouse assigned to the area; maximum grace period twenty days.

Likewise, in every province that has been given to *khatuns*, princes, and amirs or entrusted in fief to soldiers, or which we have given to fund letters of credit, salaries, allowances, accounts, rewards, stipends, alms, and endowments under the control of anyone, in the same manner in accordance with the tax rolls a plaque will be placed in every village so that the aforementioned administrators may not take at their whim more than the tax obligations to the divan, and so that the people of that place may not suffer, for it is necessary that the emperor's justice should reach everyone in every place, like the light of the sun.

Like the sun in the belly of the sky, whose light covers the earth from east to west.

Since the main purpose in this imperial age is the welfare of the people, organization of the army, preservation of the borders, increasing treasury revenues, and eliminating workers of corruption, thieves, and ruffians, these goals have been achieved so that many times the revenue that used to come to our fathers' treasuries is raised, and there is no necessity for confiscation. Assuredly the points that have been mentioned are appropriate to all just rulers and suitable for the consideration of all honest, compassionate, and competent officers, ministers of state, viziers, and deputies of any age or era, as God has said, **Therein is an instructive example unto those who are endued with understanding. It is not a new invented fiction: but a confirmation of that which was before it, and a direction and mercy unto people who believe,**[1] and if they transgress, it will necessitate their disgrace and punishment. **And whoever coveteth any beyond these, they are transgressors,**[2] for this was done for the general good. [A476] The people generally have relief thereby, and taxes were fixed. If any unjust person allows any change or alteration, let him fear the outcries and condemnation of the people, [1043] for no hell more painful than that can be imagined. **They who act unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated.**[3] Let them not commit this. **Clothe not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth against your own knowledge.**[4] Consequently, anyone who changes or alters will

[1]Kor. 12:111.
[2]Kor. 23:7.
[3]Kor. 26:227.
[4]Kor. 2:42.

suffer the curse of the creator and creation. **He who shall change it after he hath heard it, surely the sin thereof shall be on those who change it, for God is he who heareth and knoweth.**[1]

To this effect we have sent an edict to all the realm. This edict we have sent to the province of ___ in order that every rate of tax and transaction in that province may be written on a plaque in accord with what has been fixed and recorded on the back of this edict. Let this be done soon, and anyone who fails will be indicted.

Written during the middle ten days of Rajab in the year three and seven hundred [February 17–26, 1304] in Öljäitü Buynuq at Hula'an Müran; and praise be to God, Lord of the Universe, and prayers and salutations upon the best of his creation, Muhammad and his family. ❖

As for provinces whose taxes and divan imposts consisted of harvests and cash taxes, most of the taxes were raised by extraordinary assessments and levies. They were subjected to the whims of governors, tax agents, and fiscal administrators who had made innovative customs and rules in every age and appointed many workers under various guises. Most years they demanded taxes in advance, and when prices were established it was very difficult for the peasants and farmers to make up the difference. The various sorts of tyrannies were more than could be counted.

When the abuse had reached epic proportions in Baghdad and Shiraz, two of the largest provinces, [the emperor] ordered redress and reform and set the taxes according to the tax rolls. He gave villages in perpetuity to tenants and fief-holders in such a way that the taxes, which formerly had not arrived at all, now come in many times over what is stipulated; all landlords, owners, and peasants are at ease and thankful; governors have completely ceased to demand unwarranted exactions; [A477] and the tyranny of villains has been totally eliminated. The sorts of breaches that were in the administration and the methods of redress have each and every one been addressed in detail in the edict that was written for the provinces. Since it is clear, obvious, and well known to all, one may be brief.

May God cause this ruler who promotes justice to enjoy life and fortune for ever and ever, and may the rewards for these good acts reach his regal days, which would cause Dara, Ardavan, Ardashir, and Anoshirvan to be jealous. [1044] ~

Story Seventeen: He protects and shepherds the peasantry and eliminates their subjection to injustice and harassment.

Since the various forms of injustice and aggression to which the subjects were exposed have been mentioned in previous sections, and the harassments of every sort to which they were subjected have been explained, we need not repeat. One can realize by analogy that mud clods and street sweepings had more worth in the eyes of governors and others than did the subjects, and dust in the street was not subjected to the humiliation the peasants were subjected to.

In his perfect justice the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan got to the bottom of the affair and ordered redress. Thanks to his equity, all obtained repose, as has been mentioned. That to which this chapter pertains is that every time he witnessed or heard a report of any of the courtiers or soldiers intimidating or annoying a peasant or taking anything, he immediately ordered the perpetrator to be forced, by beating with sticks and cudgels, to return it. In this way it would serve as an example to all the people in the world.

Every time he mounts to go hunting and comes to the outskirts of a village, he commands that sheep, chickens, and sup-

[1] Kor. 2:181.

plies needed for personal consumption be purchased at full price. [A478] He likewise orders that anything from Mongol flocks and herds worth one dinar be bought for two or three dinars. His purpose in this is so that when others see it, they may realize their own limits and restrain themselves from practicing violence and excess by following his excellent example.

Every time his exalted mind imagines that one of the amirs or soldiers has used force or excess in a province, he has minor amirs indicted and beaten and grand amirs put on trial and admonished. One day he said, "I am not partial to the Tajiks. If it were in my interests to pillage them all, no one would be more able to do it than I, and we would pillage together; but if henceforth you expect to requisition supplies and meals, I will reprimand you severely. Just think—if you use violence on the peasants and take their cattle and grain or let your horses graze in their fields, what you will do next? When you beat or hurt their wives and children, just think how dear our own wives and children are to us. Their children are just like that to them; they too are human beings like us. Since God has entrusted them to us, and we will be made to answer for them, what reply will we make when we mistreat them? We are all satiated, and we lack nothing: why should such treatment be necessary? What greatness or valor does one acquire by mistreating one's own subject? [1045] None. But one will answer for the shame, and there will be no success in anything one attempts. The difference between an obedient subject and a rebellious one should be obvious: obedient subjects should have no cause to fear us, and rebels should fear us. Why shouldn't we let our obedient subjects rest in peace? Why should they be in torment from us? Of course, their curses and imprecations will be answered, and one should consider that well. I constantly give you this advice, but you will not be warned."

Because of these pieces of advice the harassment that used to be inflicted has decreased a thousand fold, and the subjects of the realm have increased their prayers for the state. May those prayers be answered. [A479] ~

Story Eighteen: He repeals the *ulagh* and does away with a superfluity of envoys in the realm.

Although the dispatching of messengers and envoys in all directions is necessary for rulers, and matters of state depend upon them, it has become a habit to send them to inform of well being, to deliver gifts and presents, and to tend to frontier business and state secrets. Obviously there is a need to dispatch envoys several times a year on such matters, but previously it had gradually reached a point that all the *khatuns*, princes, officers of the *ordu*, commanders of ten thousand, thousand, and hundred, *shahnas* of provinces, falconers, leopard keepers, equerries, arms bearers, provisioners, and other classes assigned to any function whatsoever would send an envoy into the provinces on any business great or small and to the Mongol *khaylkhanas* on any matter. It had become customary for people of the provinces to give their sons as *enchüs* or as *ortaqs* to *khatuns*, princes, and amirs, and in return for them they would receive a little something. Such people had vast property and possessions as well as numerous lawsuits, for each of which they took an envoy to conduct their business, fairly or unfairly. Their adversaries were driven to desperation by so much harassment and expense that they had no choice but to get protection from others. They would hire an envoy to take retaliation on the others, who would bring still more envoys. On account of those people, envoys were constantly coming and going, and the protectors would also send envoys

one after another out of zeal and fanaticism and in all seriousness.

There was another group. **[1046]** When someone died and his heirs did not get along with each other, each of the heirs, in hopes of getting more of the inheritance, would get a patron to send envoys to attack the other heirs. Since such envoys had lifelong employment, other people took after them until it became a career for the generality of the population.

Another group consisted of village headmen. **[A480]** Each of them would acquire a different patron, and on account of disputes over the office of headman envoys would be brought into the provinces.

Another group sent envoys on the pretext of obtaining *tansuq*s in a certain province, but their expenses were many times what they would bring back. *Idächis* sent so many envoys into the provinces to collect funds for supplies, provisions, tribute, etc. that the divans were filled with them. Officers of armaments, horse, hawks, etc. likewise. It got to the point that envoys used force on caravans and travelers. Even if there had been five thousand horses at every post station they wouldn't have sufficed for their transport. They would have taken all the Mongol herds at summer and winter pastures. Caravans and travelers coming from Cathay, Hindustan, and other places near and distant, as well as amirs, basqaqs, maliks, bitigchis, judges, sayyids, imams, and petitioners who went back and forth to the *ordu*—all these they would force to dismount, take their horses, and leave them stranded on the road—and sometimes in dreadful places. It had gotten so bad that thieves and robbers disguised themselves as envoys. Coming onto the road, they would say they were envoys and commandeer travelers' horses, and then they would seize them, tie them up, and plunder their baggage. Often envoys commandeered horses from other envoys, claiming that their business was more important. It got to the point that whoever had more swords and power would commandeer the other's mounts. When thieves learned of this, they rarely told envoys much about themselves, but they would commandeer their mounts by force and plunder them, **[A481]** taking their patents and badges too. Thus most thieves practiced highway robbery, armed with badges, patents, and bands of grooms. Falsely claiming to be envoys, they would strike caravans and real envoys and take their animals and baggage.

Envoys were not content with their allowances for mounts and supplies: anyone they came across they would strip clean and press until they had taken large amounts of money. **[1047]** Their grooms took any of the people's clothing and turbans they saw. They intentionally took too many pack animals and then sold them off. Anything they saw in villages they would commandeer by force. If they passed by ten villages and *khaylkhana*s a day, they would take from them all many times the provisions allowed by custom and the law. Since it was more than they could consume, they sold the surplus. As they were constantly engaged in transactions to sell provisions, the result was that merchants ceased to come from Cathay and India.

From the description given it is possible to realize how many thousands of envoys came and went every year, how many mounts and how much provisions they took, and how many people they robbed, attacked, and mistreated. Since the peasants were in their clutches satisfying their demands for provisions and other requests, and by night they had to guard their horses and baggage, it is a wonder they ever managed to farm for the people's sustenance—it can only be attributed to God's blessing that his creatures were not deprived of their daily bread altogether.

When most of those so-called envoys who wandered aimlessly came to a place, they would say they were sons or brothers of great lords traveling on some urgent mission. Those who manned the post stations, governors, and village headmen knew full well that it was a bald-faced lie. [A482] If a real envoy happened to travel on important business, he had very little standing in the people's eyes because they assumed he was like the others. Thus envoys had lost all respect and become the worst creatures in everyone's opinion. Since by mistake even real envoys had no standing, they did not receive mounts at the post stations, or the mounts they were given were emaciated. Since travelers and nomads had grown fearful, they avoided traveled paths and made their homes in the hills.

For all these reasons, when an envoy went on state business, no matter how sensitive it was, it took him two or three times as long as it should have. Naturally this led to breakdowns, and the keepers of relay stations had to be constantly investigated because the post horses were so skinny. Even though five hundred horses were maintained at every station, there were never two horses fat enough for an express courier to mount. Aside from this, in cities where huge sums of money were released for the post and envoys' expenses, provincial governors took other taxes on that pretext from the peasants, some of which they spent and some of which they embezzled. [1048] In all provinces the customs tax, which is the one tax paid most in cash throughout the realm, had been earmarked for envoys' expenses, but it did not suffice even for their transport. Governors would charge provisions to the customs tax and then abscond. Since there wasn't enough, the customs official would also disappear. The envoys were left to squabble among themselves, and the one who finally came out on top would take the funds. This usually being determined by the preponderance of one's followers, they all tried to gather as many liege men as they could and recruited them from among their friends and relatives. It got to the point that an envoy the emperor or great amirs wouldn't have recognized would take two or three hundred horsemen with him on the most trifling business. Those who were more well known would take anywhere from five hundred to a thousand. [A483] Sometimes nearly two hundred seats would be placed in a city divan for envoys. Governors would say, "Let me take care of the one whose business is the most urgent." The envoys would fight among themselves, and when one of them won, the governors would be saved from the rest by being under the winner's patronage. They would put him off, occasionally paying him some little service, and thus spend their time until, at the end of the year, all the envoys would return without having accomplished their tasks but having piled up huge expenses. The varieties of abuses committed because of the envoys were too many to describe.

The Padishah of Islam realized in his perfect justice that these things had to be reformed, so he promulgated an order, saying that such a large-scale affair, to which the population in general had become habituated, could not be eliminated at once but would have to be dealt with gradually and with deliberation. Reform was begun, and the first year he said, "We must establish a separate post system for express couriers to use on important state matters and border business. No one else may ride those horses so that those envoys may be distinguished from the others and so that they may quickly reach their destinations." An edict was issued for post stations to be established on major highways at three-league intervals, and three fattened horses were to be kept there. In some locales that

were not so urgent, there could be fewer horses. He also ordered that those post horses not be given to anyone unless there was a letter in the emperor's handwriting and with the emperor's own gold seal.

Every post station was entrusted to a great amir, and to defray their expenses designated territories were put under their control in such a way that there was more than enough revenue to meet their expenses, and thus they would have no excuses [for abuse]. **[1049]** He said, "I am giving you excess funds so that there will be no shortcoming. You will spend the surplus on your own needs, for every day an informant rises up to claim that your expenditures are more than your expenses, which makes your job irksome, or else you have to give the money to someone else, and the post is left in the lurch. **[A484]** Since you are great amirs, excess funds are not being withheld, but you must perform your jobs in an orderly fashion."

Since it was necessary for officers of the borderlands to send envoys via the post to report on conditions, the emperor gave each of them several letters with his own customary device and *tamgha* seal for them to give to envoys. Some were valid for two horses, and some were valid for three or four horses. The keepers of relay stations were ordered not to give mounts without authorization.

Then he said, "The point of an express courier is for him to get where he is going fast. Even if a courier is the son of a lord, he will mount at most four horses."

He also said, "If the matter is extremely urgent, let a letter be written and stamped with the seal to be sent by post riders. Let it be written at the top of the letter, 'From X place to Y place.' " He gave every officer along the border a horseman seal to stamp on such letters. Since the keepers of relay stations know the roads, and since there is a relay station every three leagues, when various *ulaghchi*s ride fast, they can cover sixty leagues in a day and night. Urgent news can travel from Khurasan to Tabriz in three or four days, whereas if an envoy goes it takes him more than six days.

He also arranged for there to be two messengers at every post station so that if there was interprovincial business a messenger seal could be stamped at the top of a letter with the superscription "sent from X place." After testing it was learned that by changing mounts messengers could cover thirty leagues in a day and night. Thus any news there was could arrive in a short time.

Later he said, "Bodyguards and attendants at our court who attend us day and night in the heat and cold on hunts and in battle provide their own mounts and provisions. Why should persons who go on business have to travel at state expense, requisition provisions, and claim expenses from surtaxes when they arrive in the provinces?" Since this was reasonable, an imperial decree was issued to this effect. After it had been applied for a period of time, the post stations of the *tümän*s fell into abeyance, and the money that had been spent on them came to the treasury. **[A485]** When the envoys the emperor dispatched had no right to *ulagh*, how could others claim it?

He also ordered that, other than servants of the court, no one should dispatch envoys. Therefore others' envoys ceased to exist.

An order was given that if anyone hired an envoy on personal business in a province or any other place, he was not to be given supplies, **[1050]** and the governors of that place were to arrest him and imprison him. This being so, persons who used to requisition envoys for personal business abandoned the practice.

Then he said, "We will give envoys who go to the provinces a provisions allowance from the treasury sufficient for their round-trip so that they will not have to requisition

supplies in any locale. When they arrive at their destination they will be fed from a special surtax." Thus any envoy who was assigned to a province was given cash from the treasury to cover his provisions on the way. This became known in all provinces and locales, and when envoys dispatched by the emperor did not have the right to requisition supplies, why should people give them to others? Therefore, during the last two years throughout the realm supplies of mounts and fodder for envoys have been eliminated in cities, villages, and *khaylkhanas*. Indeed, no one in the realm sees an envoy, for those who travel on the pony express are traversing vast distances day and night and do not dare even to stop for a small meal. From the provinces thirty envoys, more or less, are dispatched, but since they have no right to requisition provisions along the way, no one distinguishes them from other travelers. Because of such all-pervasive justice, the generality of the people rest in peace.

Mongols and nomads relax in their *yurts*, merchants and travelers ply the roads in safety, the inhabitants of cities and villages engage in improving the land and agriculture in comfort, and everyone, along with their wives and children, pray for the emperor's fortune from the bottom of their hearts. May their prayers be answered!

He also ordered that if occasionally it was necessary to sell horses or donkeys for certain people to reach a province, [A486] they should pay the full price, and the animals would then be theirs. Under no circumstances was the word *ulagh* to be uttered.

Prior to this, falconers and leopard keepers brought their falcons and leopards from the provinces via the *ulagh*. The emperor ordered that [they should pay for transport, and any] animals that remained after arrival would be theirs.

By means of these arrangements the land flourished and acquired a new splendor. The funds that had been earmarked for post stations and envoys' expenses and the money that had been taken by force now comes into the treasury, and what used to be taken from the subjects and squandered now remains with its owners. May God cause the blessings of this justice to reach the emperor's time. ~

Story Nineteen: He eliminates thieves and highway robbers and protects the roads of the realm from their predation.

It is well known to all how great the lawless ascendancy of highway robbers and thieves was previously. [1051] In addition to their ranks' being swollen with Mongols, Tajiks, Märtäds, Kurds, Lur, Shul, and Syrians, run-away slaves also joined them, and urban rabble went to them. Some villagers and country folk also acted in concert with them, serving as guides. They had spies in all cities to inform them when various people set forth. Those who had long practiced highway robbery had gained a reputation for their trade, and if they were occasionally caught, they would be protected by certain groups, who would say, "How can such a champion be killed? He should be patronized." This caused other thieves to grow even bolder and more audacious. Although the ancient Yasaq required that when a robber attacked, all caravan people, envoys, and travelers should join together to repel the foe, during that period, those people did not help each other when robbers showed up. [A487] Mostly the thieves knew every detail of the people they were attacking and would say, "We have nothing to do with those who don't have anything or with those who have only a little." Such people would stand aside while the thieves robbed and killed the others. If they robbed in the vicinity of a post station, village, or town, where it should have been possible to defend against them, not only

would the inhabitants refuse to help but it also got so bad that robbers had friends and accomplices among every group of nomads and villagers. Many people knew about it, but they would not reveal it; and even if it was occasionally discovered, it would not be reported to the emperor. Thanks to the connivance of village headmen and certain village elders who were acquainted with and friendly to the robbers, their needs were taken care of in all seasons of the year. Many of them went to those people's houses as guests, and when there was fear they would flee to them. They also had acquaintances in cities who fenced their goods, and often they would pass a convivial month or two with them, spending their ill-gotten gains on each other. The robbers' domination had reached a point that an amir's house would be attacked at night and pillaged.

Patrolmen and highway guards did nothing more than take whatever they wanted from wayfarers. They would stop caravans and hold them, claiming, "There are thieves and stolen property in your midst," **[1052]** until the robbers could be informed and set out. They never went after thieves themselves, and wayfarers never had so much trepidation of thieves as they had for patrolmen and guards, for loss to thieves happened only occasionally, but they fell into patrolmen's clutches twice at every locale. Woe betide the caravan that chose distant and difficult roads **[A488]** to escape the exactions of patrolmen and road guards!

Realizing that it was necessary to redress this situation, the Padishah of Islam first ordered that anyone who was separated from his companions when robbers attacked and did not participate with the others in defending themselves would be considered a criminal and held liable for the blood and property of his comrades.

Next he ordered that in any locale, be it *khaylkhana* or village, in the vicinity of which an act of robbery took place, the responsibility for pursuing and apprehending the thieves would fall upon the inhabitants, more especially since they were probably the ones who had informed the robbers in the first place. Whether night or day, they would have to pursue the thieves on horseback or on foot until they found them.

Next he ordered that if it was discovered that anyone—Mongol or Muslim—in a *khaylkhana*, village, or city had colluded with thieves, that person would be executed without remorse. To this task was assigned Amir Inqul, a confidant at court who was renowned for not looking at faces or hearts and having absolutely no pity. He captured many of the robbers and executed most of them, although some were brought in under restraint. The informant who guided Amir Inqul and knew those people was made a *tarkhan*. An edict was issued for him to continue his investigations, and since the emperor was pleased that Amir Inqul had executed those people, he awarded him all their property and animals and said, "Anyone who steals so much as a *chilbur* [halter] will be executed." Therefore there was such fear of execution in the realm that after that no one dared to be an accomplice to thieves. When the thieves realized that no one was going to help them or give them supplies or shelter, they robbed less, and a certain amount of security reigned. **[A489]**

After that, he ordered that patrolmen should be stationed on roads that were unsafe in any locale throughout the realm. As a toll they might take half an *aqcha* for every four donkeys carrying loads in caravans and half an *aqcha* for every two camels; under no circumstances might they take more. For animals that were not loaded and for those that carried foodstuffs and grain they should take nothing. **[1053]**

If a robbery occurred, the patrolman nearest to the location would have to capture the thief; otherwise he would be responsible for the amount stolen. Written pledges to this effect were taken from all the patrolmen, and they were put under the jurisdiction of Amir Boralghi, the son of the Amir Junqur who had been chief officer of the highway patrol during Arghun Khan's reign. The emperor ordered him to turn every highway over to a trustworthy person in order to insure that the patrolmen did not stay in places that were safe and easy while neglecting unsafe locales. They should also not sit around more than necessary. He also ordered that they should take all precautions, and in necessary places they should erect steles of stone and plaster and plaques on which should be inscribed the number of patrolmen for that locale and the pertinent stipulations of the law. This was so that they would not sit outside of those places and so that no more than the assigned number would be there and no more than the fixed amount of tolls would be taken. Such plaques were called Plaques of Justice. Prior to this, anyone from the *khaylkhanas* who so desired could sit on the roads and take tolls, claiming to be highway guards. Now, however, since it is written on the plaques that anyone who sits outside of stipulated locales will be considered a robber, no one, Mongol or Tajik, can sit anywhere else. **[A490]** During the two years this law has been effect fewer robberies have been committed in the realm, and when robberies do happen from time to time, the thieves are apprehended with their loot and executed. For this reason most of those people have abandoned their trade, and safety on the roads has been achieved.

He also ordered that any caravan or wayfarer intending to take a highway near a village or *khaylkhana* should first ask the headmen whether there are any thieves about or not. If they say there are, travelers should stop in the *khaylkhana* or village, and they should not be prevented from doing so. If they say there are no thieves, and travelers who stop in the wilderness are attacked, the responsibility will fall upon the headmen. This decree was not put in effect in the vicinity of cities, for in those locales they are released from responsibility.

When the roads were organized according to the foregoing, and detail lists of the names of patrolmen and their officers were given to Amir Boralghi, there were nearly ten thousand men—which would form a full military division—engaged in this task. It has been ordered that they do no other work but only protect the lives and property of travelers so that all may come and go at leisure and pray with all sincerity for the emperor's continued fortune. May their prayers be answered. **[1054]** ~

Story Twenty: He reforms the gold and silver standard better than it has ever been.

It is well known that, from ancient times until the present, in no reign has there been coinage throughout the realm in the name of the ruler who held all the territory, especially in eras during which this realm was in the hands of several rulers or sultans. The gold and silver standard has always varied from locale to locale. In several lands where they tried to standardize coinage, no matter how many orders were given, things never proceeded according to command and they were never able to regulate it. **[A491]** There is no doubt that one of the prerogatives of rulers is to have the *khutba* and coinage in their names, as up until now in Anatolia, Fars, Kirman, Georgia, and Mardin coinage has been struck in the names of the kings and sultans of those places, but the coins were of different standards.

In several places during the reigns of

Arghun Khan and Gaikhatu it was decreed that silver coins should be struck at a standard of 9:10 silver. That was the nominal standard, but [it was actually] never more than 7:10 or 8:10. The *aqchas* of Anatolia, which were relatively better than those of other places, degenerated to the point that not more than two out of ten dinars had the standard amount of silver—all the rest were copper.

Often Mongol envoys or Tajik *bitigchis* were ordered into the provinces to investigate the adulteration of coins, and they piled up great expenses, took bribes, and never brought a single criminal to trial. They had absolutely no shame in striking and putting into circulation such *aqchas*, which looked altogether like copper and had no more than a trace of silver. Since they were used by number, it was common practice to clip the edges of *aqchas*. And since the standards in the provinces were different, merchants perforce [ceased to] deal in goods, and wherever they went they would purchase gold and silver coins that had a better standard than that of their destination, for they made more profit thereby, and for that reason commercial goods were in short supply in most places.

It got to the point that coins were taken for less than their nominal worth; otherwise they would not be accepted. Now, if one has to bear a loss of more than ten dinars—and sometimes even twenty dinars—to buy something in a province for a hundred dinars, there is nothing more difficult than such a confiscation. If people who are not merchants have to lose two or three dinars on every ten or twelve dinars of the money they have to purchase what they need—and if they have to suffer a great deal of harassment in addition before the coins will be accepted, especially in villages and nomads' *khaylkhanas*, where they don't know anything about the standard, [1055] they will hesitate to accept them because they will wonder which one is better.

Gold and silver are beneficial to the extent that they enable people to buy what they need and to acquire quickly something they want. When gold and silver coinage degenerates to the point that it is a cause for argument and trouble, [A492] and no one will accept it when it is used for payment, it is contrary to the natural state of the world.

To redress this situation the Padishah of Islam had the following idea. First, he ordered that coins should be made in a fashion of his own design, and a device that would be impossible to forge should be put on them. He also ordered that throughout the realm gold and silver coins should be struck in every place with the names of God and the Apostle, and his own name should also be on them. Even in Georgia, where coins had never had God's and the Apostle's names, they would necessarily be so struck, for there was to be no other legal currency. Even until now they strike coins like that despite the fact that they are in rebellion, for otherwise their coins would not be accepted anywhere.

In accordance with the foregoing, throughout the realm the minting of gold and silver in one type of coin has been established. With regard to the standard, he said, "If we permit the slightest deviation from the official gold and silver standard, as is the case with the Caliphal, Egyptian, and North African coinage, they will use that permission to lessen it by a lot and they will use all sorts of tricks and chicanery to make the adulteration look like something else. Our inspectors do not have the necessary knowledge to detect it, or else they will take bribes to overlook it. The best course of action is for them to beat the official gold standard until it can be wrought into sheets and for the official silver standard to be repeatedly refined until it can be dissolved in quicksilver. Thereby,

if an iota of adulteration is present it will show up in the color and softness. If it is heated in a flame it will immediately be obvious, and anybody will be able to judge its worth.

Since he wanted the entire realm to have a standard of this sort, and since places varied greatly in their standards, he said, "If this order is carried out all at once, the generality of the people will suffer loss and cry out. It would be better, since previously every dirhem was struck as four *dangs*,[1] and without there being any good reason for doing so, they made half-and-half-*dangs*,[2] **[A493]** now let them strike true half-mithcals, and the adulterated halves and half-*dangs* will be worth half-mithcals of the official silver standard.[3] When the purchasing power of gold and silver is according to its standard, anyone who has adulterated half-and-half-*dangs* he spends as one-dirhems will let them be unadulterated and turned into half-mithcals so he can spend them as one-dirhems. When all necessary steps were taken and things turned out nearly as desired, and since there was not much loss involved, people willingly exchanged the three and a half mithcals of [adulterated] silver they had for three mithcals of officially minted silver coinage. **[1056]**

He ordered an investigation made to determine the worth of the official gold standard and ordered it struck and evaluated so that there be no difference. He also ordered the Hormuz gold piece, which no one could distinguish from miscellaneous other gold coins of lesser standard, evaluated a bit higher. His goal in this was that when moneychangers realized that there was profit to be made in melting them down, they would buy them and turn them into gold. Since they did realize the benefit, within a year no one saw a less-than-standard gold mithcal anywhere in the realm.

Prior to this, red gold was rare in the markets, and if anyone brought any into the market there would be hundreds of buyers. It is well known that during the days of the Mongols many fabrics of thread and weave in which gold was wasted were kept. Such things were also commercial goods for India, where they were taken. For these reasons gold became scarce. At the present so much gold circulates in the hands of villagers in the markets that there is no end to it. All transactions are done in it, and throughout the realm there is no gold or silver left that has not been minted into coins.

An order was promulgated that anyone in whose hands adulterated gold or silver was seen would be considered a criminal and, unlike olden times, he would not be told, "Point out the person who gave you these." In those times there were many types of adulterated coins, **[A494]** but now it has been ordered that no one conclude a transaction in anything other than standard gold and silver. Anyone who doesn't know how should show his coins to someone else to test. This being the case, no forger makes counterfeit coins because he knows that no one will accept them, for everyone takes precautions.

During the period such a great thing has been enacted in the realm, it has not been necessary to kill anyone. The law has been enforced throughout the realm so that there is nothing but standard coins.

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[1] Four *dangs* is the Persian expression for two thirds. Apparently, the former practice was to strike dirhems as two thirds of a mithcal. At the time, fractions could not be expressed with a numerator other than one.

[2] "Half-and-half-*dang*" $= \frac{1}{2} + \frac{0.5}{6} = \frac{7}{12}$, or $\frac{1}{12}$ short of $\frac{2}{3}$ (four *dangs*).

[3] I.e., after the restoration of the currency, 1 silver dinar of 3 mithcals (13.6 grams) of silver = 6 dirhems of $\frac{1}{2}$-mithcal of silver each. See I. P. Petrushevsky, "The Socio-Economic Condition of Iran under the Il-Khans," *The Cambridge History of Iran* 5:495.

The emperor also ordered that minted coins be spent by weight, three mithcals to the dinar, so that no one would clip them. When coinage was standardized throughout the realm, the people rested in peace, and merchants, who had turned their goods into cash, now transport all sorts of goods into every province. They profit thereby, and all the people share in the benefits. The name of the Padishah of Islam has spread for goodness, and the *khutba* and coinage of the realm are in his blessed name.

He ordered that hundred-mithcal gold medallions be struck, and he had his name struck on coins in the scripts of all provinces so that when they were read in all places they would realize that it was his minting. Koranic verses and the names of the Twelve Imams are also engraved on that coin, [1057] and it is such an extremely beautiful coin that no one who gets one ever wants to part with it.

"When we order a reward for someone's valor," he said, "let us give him one of those medallions."

Such mighty deeds, which no caliph or past sultan has ever achieved, have been done by the Padishah of Islam, and they have insured the repose of the people. May God reward him eternally! [A495] ~

Story Twenty-One: He corrects monetary and scale weights and fixes the yard, the standard grain measure, the *qafiz*, and the *taghar*.

Previously the weights of gold, the load, the yard, grain measures, the *qafiz*, and the *taghar* varied in the realm. Even now there are differences among various regions within a single province. For that reason there was much abuse in prices, and merchants purchased fewer commodities because when they took the currency of one place to another they made a profit merely because of the difference of weight. There was a slump in commodities in some provinces while in others they were not to be found. In every village there were two or three different *qafiz* measures: the smaller was used in transactions with strangers and the larger was used in transactions among the natives. A stranger, whether he knew what was happening or not, had no choice but to acquiesce. Villagers would bear false witness for each other that the *qafiz* was true, and the *taghar*s they gave to the army and as *savuri*, which should have been one hundred maunds on the scale, were actually only seventy, sixty, or even less. The powerful got the extra amount through beatings, and on that account the people were constantly in quarrels and disputes.

The Padishah of Islam said, "The entire realm is under our command. What is the necessity for this variance? Let us order it regulated so that it will be equal in all places. Let us make it such that there will be no different weights in the markets, provinces, and villages so that they will not be able to rob each other." After consideration, he issued an edict containing provisions for reform, and it is as follows. **[1058, A496]**

Text of the edict the emperor decreed on the gold and silver standard in the best way.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Decree of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan.

Be it known to shahnas, maliks, bitigchis, deputies, judges, sayyids, imams, sadrs, grandees, those in authority, the eminent, residents in general, travelers, and merchants of the realm that our regal mind is entirely focused upon the welfare of our subjects, justice and honesty among them, and the fundamentals of charity. We desire to eliminate the tyranny, injustice, innovations, and dishonesty that have spread among the people over long periods of time and thereby to do away with the complaints, quarrels, useless suits, fights, and contention that are rife among the general population. We desire to unburden them of all sorts of fraud and injustice so that they may be freed in this world from sedition

and strife and in the next world from torment and hell fire.

Lately, when we have been investigating fiscal affairs and the interests of the people and creating guidelines for every job, it has become apparent that in the markets of the *ordu* and cities everyone makes weights of stone, mud, iron, &c. in his own best interests, increasing or decreasing the weights at any time however they wish, and they buy and sell using those weights, deceiving the poor and causing them loss. This situation does not suit our world-adorning mind and is highly displeasing to us. Therefore we have commanded that throughout the realm, from the River Oxus to Egypt, weights of gold and silver, standard loads, grain measures, and the yard be corrected. Let them all be made of iron and authenticated with our seal and device, which we have established ourselves. Let them be followed throughout the realm, and let no one transgress. The details are as follows. [A497]

First, the weight of gold and silver must be equal and standardized in all part of the realm against the standard weight of Tabriz so that no one will add to or subtract from it or practice injustice on the people. Coins will not be transported from province to province because of a difference in weight, and the official standard of gold and silver will be equal throughout the territory.

Weights too will be standardized, and to this end we have appointed masters Fakhruddin and Baha'uddin Khurasani to make gold and silver stones of octagonal shape. [1059] They will assign two trusted men on their behalf in every province, and one trustworthy individual will be dispatched by the cadi of that province to the presence of the *muhtasib*. The arrangements for standardization are as follows. Anyone in any province who needs a weight stone will have one made from iron in the shape of the gold stones in accordance with the octagonal models made and stamped by Fakhruddin and Baha'uddin Khurasani, and then he will go before the four trustworthy individuals just named, who will have been appointed in every province, for them to insure that the standard is correct, stamp it with a seal, and turn it over to him. No one else, be he who he may, may make that seal or put it on a stone. Anyone who does make such a seal and puts it on a weight will be a criminal and liable to execution.

Next, the names of all to whom sealed weights are given must be recorded in registers to keep others from being able to forge at will. Every month all weights in general use are to be inspected and compared. If anyone adds to or subtracts from weights, or if anyone places a seal of his own volition, or if anyone buys or sells using a weight that does not have the seal and stamp, or if anyone forges a weight, he will be arrested and taken before the *shahna* to be executed according to the command of the edict.

Next, weights of loads will be arranged similarly, but it is established that in every locale in which weights are less than the Tabriz standard, weights will be adjusted to the Tabriz standard.[1] [A498] Those that have hitherto been more than the Tabriz standard will be likewise adjusted. However, all weights must be made of iron in an octagonal shape in accordance with the model, inspected, and sealed; and let all those responsible carry out these arrangements. Load weights from ten maunds to one dirhem are to be made in the following eleven sizes: ten-maund, five-maund, two-maund, one-maund, half-maund, quarter-maund, eighth-maund, ten-dirhem, five-dirhem, two-dirhem, and one-dirhem. For heavy loads of one piece, *tamghachi*s of cities must make reliable scales on which they can weigh them so that there be neither extra nor shortfall in weight.

Next, because in every province the grain measure, the *qafiz*, the *jarib*, and the wheat and barley *taghar* conventionally vary, [1060] and because the grain measure is added to and subtracted from, and because every person makes grain measures however he wants and these are difficult to reconcile, and not every person understands this—it is particularly a cause for debate with peasants when Mongol garrisons, merchants, and strangers go to provinces to

[1]The Tabriz standard to which weights were made to conform is the "little maund," also known as the "canonical maund" *(man-i shar'i)*. It is equivalent to 833 grams. The dirhem weight is 3.2 grams. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 18.

collect and purchase divan supplies, and they give more to anyone who is dominant or powerful, which causes loss and trouble and creates argument among the people of the world—for these reasons, we have decreed that in all parts of the realm the grain measure will be made equal to the standard Tabriz ten-maund, each maund of which consists of two hundred sixty dirhems.[1] Ten such measures will equal one *taghar*.[2] Other than the grain measure and *taghar* mentioned, no other measure or convention will be in use among the people. This is to insure that transactions and reckonings be correct and there be no defrauding of each other. When a *taghar* is given it will be delivered by that measure so that there be no extra or shortfall. Since grains like wheat, barley, rice, chickpeas, beans, sesame, millet, etc. are lighter or heavier in comparison with each other, a separate measure to equal ten maunds is to be made for each of these grains. [A499] Let it be written on all four sides of the measure what grain it is for. This task will be entrusted by the judicial authority to the same agent assigned to inspect weights for gold, silver, and loads, and let him and the *muhtasib* inspect the grain measure and place their own seals on the sides so that there be no fraud or difference. Let them carry out an inspection in every city and province once a month. Anyone found in possession of a measure fabricated without a seal will be arrested and turned over to the *shahna* to be proclaimed a criminal, to have his hand cut off, and to be fined.

Henceforth, for no reason or cause whatsoever will there be any grain measure, *qafiz*, or *jarib* other than the ten-maund grain measure and the hundred-maund *taghar* in any part of the empire, from the River Oxus to Egypt. Any that exist will not be valid. Let no other measures be made. If it is desired to make half measures of five maunds, there is no objection, provided that twenty half-measures equal one *taghar*.

Next, measures of syrup, vinegar, and oil must be designated separately, every measure equivalent to ten Tabriz maunds. If so desired, half measures may be made provided they be equal to five Tabriz maunds. Syrup casks brought for meals in the *ordu* and as donations will be five measures, or fifty maunds. Those brought for banquets will be four measures, or forty maunds. [1061]

Next, all yard measures by which fabric is measured must be adjusted to the Tabriz standard—except for the yard of Anatolia, which differs greatly.[3] Let the seal that masters Fakhruddin and Baha'uddin Khurasani have made, a model of which has been given, be placed on both ends of yard measures, and let the above-mentioned authorities in all cities record them as described. Anyone who changes or alters them will be a criminal and liable to execution.

May God cause the blessings of such justice and equity to reach the emperor's time. [A500] ~

Story Twenty-Two: He regularizes the giving of edicts and badges of office to people.

Concerning edicts, he ordered that anything that has to be said should be said at the right moment and in times of sobriety. Even when he has been drinking wine, although no one can obtain permission to speak improprieties by way of chicanery, and it is not possible for him to utter any inexcusable word or to do anything in haste, he ordered that when he was in that condition nothing be said in such regards. He also ordered that after a request was made, a draft edict would be made by amirs who had the best interests of the state in mind. They should not write edicts at anyone's request for anything unwarranted. There are many matters on which reference must be made to registers for place names and

[1] 1 grain measure *(kila)* = 10 Tabrizi maunds = 8.33 kg. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 42.

[2] 1 *taghar* = 10 *kilas* = 100 Tabrizi maunds = 83.3 kg.

[3] It is difficult to know which linear measure is meant here. The *gaz* is both the yard (equivalent to around 95 cm) and the ell (equivalent to the canonical ell of 49.875 cm).

amounts: precaution should be taken before preparing drafts for such things. Then, together with the Mongol *bitigchis* they should read them out word for word and then present them to the emperor so that if a correction is necessary it can be made by the imperial pen or the imperial word. After that, a fair copy may be made and shown to the emperor. Thereafter they can stamp it with the read seal and say, "It is X edict for X person, presented to the emperor on X day, and read on X day for approval for the seal."

Formerly the keys to the great seals were kept by *bitigchis*, but now they are in the imperial satchel. When needed they are given so that the *bitigchis* together may use the seals and return them. There are also four amirs appointed from four *gäzigs*; each one has been given a separate black seal so that when an edict is sealed they can place their seals on the reverse in order that no one deny his knowledge of it.

Once again the edict is shown to the viziers and divan chiefs so that they can insure that no mistake has been made. They also place divan seals on the back and turn it over to the individual. [1062] A *bitigchi* has been appointed to record word for word in a register the text of every edict sealed in red. [A501] He also makes note of the day it was sealed, who wrote it, and when it was presented to the emperor. At the end of every year a new register is begun so that there will be a register for each year. This is to prevent confusion and to keep anyone from denying that an edict was presented, written, or sealed. Furthermore, if an decree has been given to someone and someone else finds it and wants to obtain an order contrary to it, reference can be made to the register to ascertain the original situation and so prevent a contradictory application from being made. If complaint is made of a patent-holder, it can be ascertained from the register whether or not he has overstepped his bounds, and either he or his detractors can be reprimanded. Thus all affairs will always be in order, and unwarranted complaints will be prevented.

He also ordered that the sealers take nothing from anyone for stamping the seal—and the truth is that relative to the greed that was practiced previously, they have taken very little.

For every important affair a separate seal has been designated. For awarding governorship to important sultans, amirs, and maliks and for important fiscal affairs of state there is the great jade seal; for judges, imams, and shaykhs there is another, also of jade but slightly smaller; for affairs of middling importance there is a large seal of gold; down from that is one of jade; and for ordering mounting and dismounting of troops there is a special seal of gold with the regular inscription and design but around it is a picture of a bow, a cudgel, and a sword. It is ordered that immediately upon seeing that seal, a soldier will neither mount nor dismount at the order of an amir or any other person—except for scouts who tend to border affairs, and except for a common soldier who mounts or dismounts at an officer's order to reconnoiter the way. A small gold seal has been made for sealing treasury and provincial bills and receipts, commercial papers, and state correspondence dealing with transactions, water, and land. After the divan *bitigchis* have written them with approval and devices are affixed, a summary in Mongolian script will be written on the back so that they can be sealed.

At the present time whenever many bills and letters have piled up, [A502] they are presented, the keys are taken, and the viziers and deputies of the divan stamp them with the seal in the emperor's presence, while others record them in the registers that are also kept in the same box. This is so that it may be clear at what time and by what person they were sealed. [1063]

With such elaborate arrangements how can there be any opportunity left for anyone to write a voucher for a fraction of a coin without imperial approval?

After these rules and regulations were put into effect, the emperor said, "There are too many affairs of state and requests from the people for all drafts to be read aloud. We must think up some other method to insure that the people's business not be delayed and those in need not suffer. When they make a separate draft for every piece of business, of course the *bitigchis* cannot remember everything as they should. The next time, a mistake is made in the wording, and a difference appears in decrees written for the same sort of thing."

To rectify this, he ordered all various types of business and requests the people might make to be recorded, and a comprehensive draft for each type made that would contain all the stipulations and fine points of that type. When they were all written he summoned the amirs and said, "Decrees that are issued are commanded by me and approved by you. Since no one should be able to [misinterpret them] on account of inconstancy or vacillation, we will read the drafts together. We will all think about them deeply and say what we think. Then we will correct them so that no fine point of precaution will have been neglected. They will then conform to our mind and yours. We will make them models, and henceforth we will decide all cases and issue all commands accordingly so that all affairs may run along one path and one *yosun* [custom], and there will be no disparity in what we say. We must consult and correct them with all caution so that you all agree. After that, they will be read once again in your presence, and if any minor point strikes you, we will consult and correct it. **[A503]** Only then will it be finally decided."

According to his command, after correction all the drafts were written in a register, and it was named the Roll of Orders. Then he said, "Henceforth orders will be copied from these drafts without addition or subtraction. If occasionally a case comes up that is not mentioned, a draft should be made and presented. If occasionally something extra has to be added for a person, place, or exigency of situation or time, let the additional words be written separately and submitted."

Since there had never been such a rule in any era, he said, "The gates are closed to the argument and contention that used to arise over differences in wording. **[1064]** The perplexity people with petitions used to experience in finding the right moment for presentation has been eliminated. The people rest at ease. Everyone has confidence in the matter of edicts. Respect for edicts resides in hearts. The demands and harsh words of corrupt and officious people who used to get decrees saying whatever they wanted are over. The limits of elite and common, governor and governed, tyrant and tyrannized are recognized." The benefits of this rule is more than can be described.

As for the matter of handing out badges, he ordered that a large round badge with a lion's head be made for sultans, shahnas, and maliks. The name of the individual should also be written on it and recorded in a register. It could be retained as long as the person served at his post, but after leaving office it would have to be turned in, for a badge was to be for a particular province and used for many years. Under no circumstances was it to be given to anyone for another territory. Previously, if twenty governors were sent to a province over twenty years, the custom was to give each one a badge, and after leaving office each one would consider the badge his own and use it to dispatch people anywhere on personal business.

For shahnas and maliks of middle rank a

smaller badge was designated with a special device and the name of the individual concerned written on it. The former practice of giving letters for badges to be struck in the provinces was outlawed. A special goldsmith was assigned to be in attendance in the *ordu* to make badges. When a badge was awarded, a stamp made of steel with a design no one could easily fabricate was used to imprint the device permanently on the badge, using a mallet in the emperor's presence. **[A504]** This was so that forged badges could be discovered by means of the design. The same round badge was designated for use by envoys traveling on state mounts. On it was written "Treasury Badge," and the envoy's name was recorded in a register. Upon return it would be turned in. Envoys who traveled by express post had a long badge with a moon-shaped device at the top; they were given and turned in similarly. Since it was necessary for officers on the frontiers to dispatch envoys via the express post, their commanders were issued five badges made of copper and similarly stamped. Officers of middle rank were issued three badges to give to express envoys. Previously every prince, *khatun*, and amir had a variety of badges they used to dispatch people to the provinces on any business they wanted.

It is obvious to all what the effects of this arrangement have been **[1065]** and what ease the people have acquired. May God cause the blessings of this justice and equity to reach everyone during the regal days of the padishah! ~

Story Twenty-Three: He takes back duplicate patents and badges of office held by people.

It is natural in the world that in the reign of every emperor a group of people who suit his manners and customs be promoted to the fore and the fiscal administration of the realm and provinces be assigned to them. Following the manner of that emperor, they execute his orders by justice or by force and give his decrees and edicts to the people. When the rule goes to another, he will naturally want to transfer those jobs to people who follow his manners and customs and to give orders in a manner that suits the nature of his reign, for every era is different.

Prior to now, during the era of the Padishah of Islam's fathers and forefathers, it was seen that every time an emperor wanted to collect old edicts and badges that were held by people, whether properly or improperly, **[A505]** he would dispatch to all parts of the empire great envoys armed with harshly-worded edicts commanding that anyone who hid or retained one in secret would be criminal. Those envoys piled up such expenses on the road and in the provinces that they were beyond reckoning, and they arrested, beat, and abused everybody, whether they had edicts or not. An owner of an edict would spend huge amounts to get his edict given back to him, even though it was of no use to him, in order to preserve his honor and not appear disgraced before the people, for such edicts represented honor and respect. Badges were the same. Envoys constantly roamed about the world using them as pretexts to get money; and they didn't bring back one out of a hundred patents. Furthermore, during those years people would bring in an old edict and get the *bitigchis* to give them another strengthening and expanding their powers. Although invalid patents were taken back, many differing and conflicting patents were given to everyone, for at that time edicts were given in the following manner. Ordinary people would become protégés of an amir and get an edict saying anything they wanted. Due to the differing interests of disputants and the obsession of their protectors, so many conflicting edicts were constantly being issued that it is beyond description. **[1066]** Thus they

spent their days, and when the original litigants and their amirs passed away, their sons occupied themselves in the same fashion, each one with fifty conflicting edicts in hand so that if they had ever gone to court, ten days would not have sufficed to explain the situation or to figure out the edicts year by year. If the situation had finally been understood, it would have turned out that all the edicts were baseless and invalid, having been written out of obsession or obtained by bribery or issued without the emperor's order or approval.

It also often happened that the great amirs would agree and present a certain edict for approval for someone. The draft would be written with *yasamishi* [according to rule], but that person would find a few words that would change totally the import of the decree the amirs had agreed upon when it came out. **[A506]** By trickery he would manage to get the change incorporated into the draft, or else he would give something nice to the scribe to write it that way. Then he would use the decree as a means to confound the affair.

It also sometimes happened that the minor clerks would lie in wait for a chance to give people whatever edicts they wanted without the great amirs' approval. If they gave one person an edict by order of the emperor, when another person showed up of the same description and trade, they would use it as a excuse to give the second person an edict like the first. Therein lay the cause for the thousand conflicting cases over which a hundred thousand arguments and disputes had arisen among the people. Since every litigant had a decree, no matter how badly judges wanted to render a final decision on a case, it was so involved and complicated and there were so many edicts and badges in everyone's hands that they absolutely could not reach a verdict. It got to the point that every year many people killed each other over lawsuits. Aside from the fact that it was impossible to collect all the duplicate edicts and badges, every year huge sums of money were given to people by the terms of edicts.

Now that the Padishah of Islam has contemplated how to redress these abuses, he has commanded that edicts be sent to all parts of the empire, all with one wording as follows:

Let basqaqs, maliks, and provincial governors have all old and new edicts and badges that are in the hands of people brought in, and let them under no circumstances consider them valid, for we have rendered them all null and void. As for edicts we ourselves have given and those that were issued during the first three years when we were still making arrangements for the army and eliminating the devastation and unrest that had occurred, **[1067]** we could not then deal with particular matters, and it was necessary to extend the validity of former decrees to placate the people so that matters would run smoothly. For those reasons Nawroz, Sadruddin, and other deputies issued decrees to people according to their own whim and desire. [A507] All such decrees are null and void. Now that we ourselves are occupied with regularizing and putting into order the affairs of the realm, we have ordered that edicts must be presented and drafts read to us before they can be given to people. Anything issued after this date will be considered valid.

Furthermore, our own edicts and those of our predecessors will not be valid until they are all brought to court, and those that are worthwhile will be validated. Doubtless, many edicts of former rulers are good and worthwhile for us to validate so that families may retain their power, dignity, and honor. How can we allow ourselves to revoke them? When the designated seal has been stamped on the back, we will return them for their owners to keep, and they will be reconfirmed.

Henceforth we shall strike badges in a different shape. Anyone who possesses a badge must bring it in within six month so that we can give a new badge to any who merits one. After six months anyone caught possessing an old badge will be arrested and

convicted, and his badge will be taken from him. ❖

When he ordered thus, everyone realized that they had to bring in their edicts and have them renewed. Those that merited were validated, and those that did not were taken back. In this manner truth was distinguished from falsehood, and men of honor were saved from the shame of association with the vile.

Since old edicts, particularly the duplicate ones, had no validity, even if people still kept them, they could not show them, for not only would they not have been taken into consideration, but the owner would have been convicted. The same applied to badges.

When this order was promulgated, all edicts and badges disappeared. Some got renewed ones instead, and others could not show them any more. Now that this has become generally known, no one will ever consider them valid at any time, for people realize that if they had any validity, they would be shown during the age of such a just ruler. This procedure should be that of all rulers, amirs, and governors at any time.

If gold or silver badges remain in people's possession, and they know that if they show them they will not be given a new one in exchange, **[A508]** all who are far-sighted will either turn them in or melt them down and spend the proceeds.

Certainly it will soon reach a point that not one of all the badges that were illegitimately received for any and all pretexts and reasons over the last seventy years will be left. **[1068]** The Padishah of Islam thus effected such a great thing through a small tactic he implemented in his perspicacity. May God make his shadow of justice extend forever! ~

Story Twenty-Four: He enfeoffs villages in every province to the Mongol army.

Prior to now the generality of Mongol soldiers did not have wages, clothing allowances,[1] fiefs, or provisions. Some great officers received an amount for provisions, but most did not. Formerly, when [the Mongols'] customs were still in effect, for the entire army an annual *qubchur* of horses, sheep, cattle, felt, skins, etc. was reserved for the *ordus* and soldiers that had been impoverished. After that, in the reign of the padishah, troops that were nearer were given a small amount of provisions. The Padishah of Islam increased the amount gradually, but since the provisions were charged to the provinces and the administrators were too wily to give it, the Mongols attacked them and terrorized the provinces over their demands for provisions and piled up expenses involved in collecting for mounts, supplies, and fodder. Aside from the harassment of governors and administrators, the peasants, upon whom the provisioning fell, were at their wits' end. Even so, the increase in provisions did not reach the soldiers—some on account of the mispayments of the administrators, some on account of the fact that the *bökä'üls* took bribes and neglected their jobs, some on account of the fact that the provisions clerks did not pay on time—the soldiers were incapable of collecting, **[A509]**so the *idächis* bought things for themselves at half price. The soldiers always had vouchers in their hands and were in disputes and quarrels with the *idächis*.

The situation was constantly reported to the great annoyance of the emperor. Finally most of them were broke and took up old claims—many still had billets they had received.

After witnessing this situation for four or five years, the emperor ordered that in every province, storehouses from winter

[1]The allowance is called *jámagí*, which suggests that, at least originally, it had something to do with clothing (*jáma*).

and summer pastures should be filled at the time of the harvest, turned over to the provincial *shahna*, and paid in cash from the stores upon demand. He also ordered the *bökä'üls* not to take bribes or ask for provisions and fodder. By this means payments were made and some were given cash money from the treasury, so in the last three or four years no one could say that even one maund of provisions was owing to the divan." [1069]

Thereafter, around the beginning of the year 703, it occurred to the emperor that, despite all the provisions assigned to the army, not more than two out of ten individuals received anything. "I want our bounty to be for all," he thought. "Furthermore, when the soldiers mount on expedition, they cause trouble for the provinces, and every one of them, rightly or wrongly, says, 'I have nothing, and I am owed back wages. Because of cold, disease, and other catastrophes our animals are dead.' Every moment it is necessary to collect money and give it to them, for the world is never free of untoward events. Sometimes it is impossible to collect money in haste, and one always has to be scheming and thinking up ways to provide the soldiers' wages and supplies. The best course of action would be for us to give them in fief all those parts of the realm the army crosses, where their summer and winter pastures are, and those territories in which they are constantly causing trouble by usurping villages and capturing peasants. We will apportion them by units of thousands for them to control and consider their own. Their eyes and hearts will be satiated, and since in this era most of the soldiers have a desire to own land and farm, when they get land in fief, they will have what they want. [A510] It will no longer be necessary for the treasury to expend for their supplies because every one will get his own supplies and livelihood from his own land. They can also make improvements with their own slaves, grooms, oxen, and seed. When they have straw and barley in order, even if there is a *yut*,[1] every one will be able to tether two or three horses and keep them fattened so that when it is necessary they can mount more quickly. Most of the failure of our army is attributable to the death of animals that are not watered or fed. When we give territory in fief to the soldiers, and when we also put territory in fief for the necessary post system, for the *ash* of the princes and ladies, and for other necessary outlays, we will have fewer expenses and there will be fewer petitioners and applicants.

"The few provinces remaining, across which the army does not tread or in which they do not dwell, will be for our personal expenses. They can be maintained without difficulty, and the taxes realized from them will suffice. In this manner the important tasks of the army and others will be well regulated, and henceforth they will remain organized on this principle. The benefits will encompass all rulers, amirs, viziers, soldiers, and peasants."

Having contemplated this plan, he gave an order, and from the River Oxus to the borders of Egypt fiefs were assigned to the generality of the army within two or three months. [1070] An edict was promulgated, the text of which will be included in this section so that readers may be informed of the points that were included.

Text of the edict giving fiefs to the Mongol army.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, and through the power of God and the auspices of the Mohammedan nation. [A511]

Decree of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan.

Be it known to mothers, grandsons, *khatuns*, sons,

[1]The *yut* is a catastrophic livestock blight. It occurs when snow melts and then refreezes, or when frost freezes hard, effectively rendering the underlying pasturage unavailable to grazing animals. The phenomenon is called жут in Kazakh and Kyrgyz.

daughters, sons-in-law, commanders of *tümäns*, *hazaras*, *sadas*, and *dahas*, sultans, maliks, *bitigchis*, and the generality of the population of all provinces from the River Oxus to the borders of Egypt that through the might of God our great ancestor Genghis Khan was singled out at creation for divine assistance and inspiration. He never deviated a hair's breadth from his Yasaq, and no human creature ever dared to twist his neck at his order or step outside the path of honesty. Consequently by this means he conquered and liberated the face of the earth from east to west with his Mongol soldiers and inscribed the pages of time with his eternally glorious name. In expanding the scope and breadth of his kingdom he endured every sort of hardship and ordeal, and he bequeathed his *ulus* and realms directly to his sons and *urugh*. Our good fathers and forefathers entrusted that kingdom under the same arrangement and rule to their sons, and thereafter a good name was left on the register of time by each of their sons who kept the Yasaq and custom of the kingdom in order and did *chidamishi* [mastered] well the discharging of the labor of keeping the world. Those who did not preserve the *ulus* and practiced tyranny and aggression left behind a bad name.

What we leave behind is indicative of us. Gaze after us therefore upon what we leave.

The truth of this assertion is abundantly clear to us, and we realize that eternal and everlasting life in this world is impossible. The only benefit imaginable from this world is to store up a good name. [1071] We think, therefore, that during these few days in which it is our turn to rule we should strive to store up a good name and provide the totality of the *ulus* entrusted to us with ease and comfort so that we may inscribe on the pages of the world a good mention and reward, [A512] for that is what constitutes eternal and everlasting life, and so that our renown for justice may remain eternally on the face of time. May God grant us success through his kindness and succor us with his help.

Now it is obvious to all that prior to this, in the time of our good fathers, the Mongol *ulus* was called upon to endure every sort of demand and hardship, like *qubchur* on livestock, keeping large post stations, carrying the burden of the strict Yasaq, and *qalans*, all of which we have eliminated totally in this age. Most of them were deprived of provisions and supplies, but despite those burdens they fought valiantly and served wholeheartedly, content to endure the hardship of long treks. Even until now—and of this there is no doubt—the Mongol army has not obtained much wealth or possessions. During this age, when God has granted us the *ulus* and realm our fathers ruled and awarded us their throne of world rule, our whole regal mind is concentrated upon regulating and putting into order all the affairs and interests of the *ulus* so that the Mongol *chärig* henceforth, so long as they multiply and reproduce, will in no way suffer *yadamishi* [impoverishment] and will pass their days in comfort and ease. After us, when it is someone else's turn, let us turn the kingdom and the army over in a way that they have no cause for complaint, and let them rest on a foundation that will insure stability in the realm and *ulus*, an eternal good name, and an increase of prayers for well-being.

It is known to all that of the entire Mongol *chärig* from the River Oxus to the borders of Egypt, some used to be given provisions, and some were given bonuses on rare occasion, but mostly they were deprived and had no share. [A513] Now we have commanded that the whole Mongol army be included in imperial kindness and gifts so that none be deprived of good things and so that when they perform valiantly and mount on expeditions they will have power, strength, and ability to preserve the realm, for the stability and order of affairs of the state depend upon them. Therefore, we have ordered that villages with water and land in the kingdom, places that are near to and suitable for them, *enchü* [royal demesnes] [1072] and *dalai* [state property], farms both flourishing and in ruins as recorded in the registers and tax rolls be selected *(ilghamishi)* and assigned as fief and turned over to every *hazara* and put under their control.

Now ___ has been assigned to ___ *hazara* as will be detailed. The conditions and stipulations of the fiefs relating to each division will be as follows.

First, places that belong to *enchü* or the divan: all

peasants who have been subjects of such places and tilled the soil as of old will continue so to till. They will give a portion correctly to the *chärig* and remit taxes, *qubchur*, and divan assessments as advised according to the details that have been mentioned—no more, no less. Furthermore, troopers will not form a connection to or interfere in the share of the property or lands of landowners, lords, or endowments. Taxes, *qubchur*, and divan assessments of those places will be remitted correctly in accordance with the registers of the tax rolls and the details that have been mentioned.

Next, let them not plow[1] the pasture lands of divan villages, farms, and locales that are in ruins and included in their *yurts*. Let them plant other lands with their own bondsmen, slaves, oxen, and seed, and let them harvest their crops. If the owner of a ruined place appears and stakes a claim of ownership or endowment administration, [A514] and if it has been under his control for a long time and his right can be proven in accordance with the law, and if the troopers have farmed there with their own bondsmen and slaves, they will remit to the owner one tenth of the total and take the rest in partnership with their farmers.

Next, peasants of both flourishing and ruined villages given to them who have been classed as runaways for thirty years or more and who have not been included in the census and tax rolls of other provinces, no matter with whom they are, will be returned. If they are harboring peasants of other provinces, let them return them too. Under no circumstances will they harbor peasants of other provinces and locales, and let them not form a connection with ___[2] claiming that they are peasants of distant provinces. Under no circumstances may they collect them or protect them. Let them not allow them in their villages. Let the men of the *chärig* not take peasants of villages that have been given to them from the village of their *huja'ur* [origin] to other villages by saying, "Both farms and villages are our fiefs, and they are our peasants." Let peasants of every village till the soil in their own locales. Let them not say, "The peasants of these locales have been given in fief to us: they are our bondsmen." Soldiers have no more authority over peasants than [1073] to keep them farming their own villages and to take from them correctly the share of taxes and divan assessments. They may not force a peasant to do any labor other than farming in his own place. A peasant who cannot or will not till the soil cannot be forced to farm if he has remitted the tax established in the register. Let them not apply force, and let them treat them like their own sons *(asaramishi)*.

Next, let the men of the *chärig* neither form a connection to nor till the soil in villages in the vicinity of their villages. Let them not *qorimishi* [deny] the water and land on account of its being *yurt*, [A515] and let them not deprive anyone of a sufficient amount of pasture to graze his oxen, sheep, and donkeys.

Next, inasmuch as we have awarded them the locales mentioned as fiefs, intending thereby to insure the welfare of the generality of the people, to acquire a good name, and to maintain the Yasaq and justice, and inasmuch as they are happy and glad of this favor and gift, and inasmuch as the commanders of units of thousand, hundred, and ten and *chärig* have given many pledges that they will strive to the best of their ability to implement justice and honesty and not engage henceforth in maltreatment and aggression or bring force to bear, and that they will not undertake any of the sorts of injustice previously practiced, it is therefore incumbent that they keep their word and not demand anything in the name of *tuzghu*, *alufa*, *taghar*, &c.

Next, it is established that under no circumstances will billets be written from the divan against fiefs, and they will not be subjected to any sort of remittances. As established, each individual of the *chärig* will remit to the royal storehouse fifty Tabrizi maunds; aside from that, nothing will be demanded of them under any circumstances.

Next, we have ordered that at the present time,

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[1]Reading, with JT_K's and JT_{AZ}'s variant in LI, نشکافند for JT_{AZ}'s بشکافند. The following stipulation to plant other lands seems to mean that pasture lands, even those of ruined villages, should not be plowed.

[2]Unknown word in the text, براتی; there are several variants, but none helps.

when these fiefs consisting of water and land, both flourishing and in ruins, as detailed, are being distributed among the *hazaras*, a group of experts from the province will appear before the *bitigchi* N.___, who has been assigned. They will divided the territory into ten sections by casting lots. Thereafter they will be divided among the *sadas* and *dahas* by casting lots. This *bitigchi*, to whom we have awarded the title assessor, will record the portion of each *sada* and *daha* by name in a register and stipulate whether it is improved or unimproved. He will keep the register, one copy of which will be sent to the Supreme Divan, one copy of which will be entrusted to the commander of the *hazara*, and he will give registers of the *sadas* to the officers. Thereafter the assessor *bitigchi* will conduct an inspection every year and record the name of every person who shown industry in farming and of every person who has exhibited shortcoming, and he will record the improvements or lack thereof of each portion and present it to us so that [1074] we may single out for reward those who have shown industry and indict those who have exhibited shortcomings or wrought devastation. [A516] The fiefs we have bestowed may not be sold or given away. They may not be given to *anda* [blood brother], *quda* [ally], *aqa* [elder brother], *ini* [younger brother], or relatives, or as prenuptial agreement or *qaling* [bridal gift]. Anyone who commits such an act will be proclaimed criminal, and he will die. In accordance with the Prophet's dictum and in accordance with a separate edict proclaimed previously, prenuptial agreements have been fixed at nineteen and a half dinars.

Next, let all know that these fiefs are given to the men of a *chärig* that are included in *qalän* and who serve with valor. When anyone of them dies, one of his sons or brothers will be designated as his successor, and the deceased's fiefs will be given to him and so recorded. If he has no family, let it be given to his oldest slave. If he has no slave, let it be given to the individual in the *sada* who is considered worthy. If anyone in the *sada* or *daha* violates the Yasaq, let the officers of the *hazara* or *sada* indict him and give his fief to another who can serve with valor, and let it be recorded under his name. Let the register be presented annually. We have commanded that if the men of a *chärig* demand any taxes, *qubchur*, &c. more than what is recorded in the tax rolls, the assessor will disallow it. If they take anything by force, the assessor will not keep it hidden but will write the name of the perpetrator and present it to us.

Next, when this *chärig* is reviewed for expedition, in accordance with the edict, the *bitigchi* N.___ will record participants by name a register. First it will be shown to the commander of the *sada*, then to the commander of the *hazara*, then to the commander of the division. After being checked and presented, it will be shown to the commander of the *chärig* of the *qol*. It is established that since *hazara* commanders' fiefs are fixed and established, they will not interfere in the fiefs of the *chärig*. So also have we given the assessor an assignage in a different province; therefore let him not write billets against the *chärig*'s fiefs.

Inasmuch we have thus commanded and awarded *chärigs* fiefs as mentioned above, if the men of the *chärig* take anything more from the peasants than what is recorded in detail in the registers of the tax rolls, [A517] or if they protect a peasant we have not given to the *chärig* or peasants of other provinces and allow them in, or if they transgress upon places of water and land that are in the vicinity of their villages, or if they *qorimishi* [fence off] agricultural lands or pasture lands for oxen, sheep, or donkeys, or if they do not remit their number or tribute every year and fall into arrears, or make excuses, or send another to the *chärig* instead of themselves, [1075] they too will be considered criminal.

N.___, who has been assigned as *bitigchi* of this *hazara*, will record well all the divisions included in this edict, and he will write the names of locales that are included therein and of every person who makes improvements in the *yurts*, with a separate account of those that are completely abandoned. This he will bring to the divan to be recorded in the registers and added to the total.

This edict we have given in the ___ *hazara* so that henceforth the order may be considered eternally applicable. Let no change or alteration be made

thereto. He who shall change it after he hath heard it, surely the sin thereof shall be on those who change it, for God is he who heareth and knoweth.[1]

Edict written in the month of ___ in the year ___ in ___ place.

Story Twenty-Five: How he organized a separate royal troop.

Previously the Mongol army was smaller than it is now. The Padishah of Islam increased the number of Mongol and Tajik soldiers through his strategy and competence and said, "The frontiers and borders of our realm, Khurasan, Fars, Kirman, Baghdad, Diyarbekir, Anatolia, and Derbent, are extremely far from each other. Despite the fact that separate troops have been stationed in all those places as *sübä*,[2] when need arises, if they go from one end to another, [A518] it takes them a long time to get there because of the vast distances. Due to the fact that they are hungry and naked, and their animals get emaciated and die, they are of absolutely no use.

Therefore the emperor ordered that in every family in which there were two sons, brothers, or *kötälchi*s, one or two would be designated as extra. Of all these he created a separate troop and dispatched them in all directions as auxiliaries to attend others. To maintain passes and difficult places on the frontier where one could go on foot he assigned Tajik troops; and he gave them all allowances and fiefs. Prior to this the Tajik troops used to be assigned allowances, but there was no order, and their commanders used to take their allowances on various pretexts and so there were never any soldiers. Now the emperor has ordered them to be assigned to units of a thousand and hundred, and their names and descriptions are written in registers. There is a review every three months, and their weapons and supplies are inspected [to insure that] both horsemen and foot soldiers are in accordance with the rules and regulations that were implemented in the edict. **[1076]**

He organized the Mongol troops in a similar fashion, and edicts granting them fiefs were written. There is no necessary for repetition.

Enough soldiers were assigned to every border to suffice for that place. Of the soldiers who have *yurt*s and homes in the provinces, those who were nearer to a frontier were ordered to form a *gäjigä* [rear guard] when need arose. He also saw to it that no soldier on one side of the empire would have to go help the other side. Over and above custom he organized another troop to be in attendance like the *gäzigtäns* [bodyguards]. He also won over the amirs by ordering that one or two of every amir's brothers or sons who were not in the military rolls would be appointed so that every *hazara* was increased by one or two hundred individuals. Within one year they were all present and accounted for. The Padishah of Islam gave them bonuses, allowances, and fiefs. They, and the *hazara* of the *qol*, which gradually came to number two or three thousand, and the *gäzigtäns* are in attendance.

For the past many years there has been contention and strife among the *urugh*s of Jochi, Chaghatai, and Ögödäi, i.e. the cousins of the Padishah. Their troops have constantly plundered each other's *aghruq*s and carried off each other's sons as bondsmen and sold them to merchants. Many of them have also been compelled by poverty to sell their children. This got the Padishah's zeal up, and he said, "Most of the Mongol tribes stem from the great commanders who fought with valor in Genghis Khan's time. Now the offspring of those commanders enjoy honor with the

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[1] Kor. 2:181.

[2] Reading سوبه *(sübä)* for JT_{AZ}'s سوسه and MS L's variant سوبيه. For *sübä (~ sibä)*, see note to text p. 658.

Qa'an and other rulers. How can they sell their relatives in bondage to Tajiks? How can they fall into poverty? To maintain their rights and to protect their honor something must be done to remedy this situation. If things continue like this, the awe of the Mongol army, which reached the apex, will be broken, and they will sink low in the eyes of Tajiks. Mostly too they are taken by enemies into other territories."

He therefore ordered that however many boys were brought from the Mongols were to be purchased for the court. They were to be bought at full price in cash to acquire a good name and heavenly reward. A royal troop of *käbtä'üls* [night watchmen] of them was to be in attendance. Over the last two years he has purchased many of them and assigned them a living allowance and provisions. To fund them he has set aside the territories of Maragha. He awarded Bolad Chingsang the command of that troop and assigned commanders of units of thousand and hundred from among the court elite. Nearly a division was assembled. By rule, as many as are brought in are purchased to complete a division and more. All having been made royal *käbtä'üls* and *enchü*, they are in attendance. **[1077]**

In no era has there been such a finely organized and regulated army as there is now. All have been assigned fiefs, and every frontier is guarded and protected by a separate troop that needs no one else's assistance. Fiscal affairs are in order, and the people enjoy comfort and ease that increases day by day. May God cause the shadow of the Padishah of Islam's justice to last for ever and ever! ~

Story Twenty-Six: He forbids giving money for lucre and abominable monetary transactions.

When the Padishah of Islam spread the shadow of his justice and contemplated the best interests of common folk and elite alike, he realized that paying usury and various illegal transactions were injurious to the commonweal, particularly in those days, when so many had stepped off the highway of equity and indulged in illegal transactions.

"To remedy this is an obligation," he said, "lest the onus of injurious illegality become epidemic." To this effect he issued an edict that no one was to undertake any such blameworthy, illegal action. Since the vast benefits that accrue from this wisdom are apparent to all the sons of this age, if they come in this book all will know that they are absolutely true, and those of generations yet to come will become aware that the Padishah of Islam's wisdom included the elimination of several major abuses. Therefore, certain of these abuses will be recorded so that everyone in the world may know what corruption and dishonesty are engendered by the commission of only one illegal deed.

First, in the time of Abaqa Khan, who, as everyone knows, was a just emperor during whose reign the people rested secure and the administration of the Yasaq and criminal justice system of his father Hülägü Khan, who was truly the star-blessed monarch of the age, was maintained, and there were the amirs, ministers, and viziers of his father as well as some who came to power during his reign. At that time some *ortaqs* [merchants] invested their capital in a few sets of armor—breastplates, horse armor, weaponry, and the like—and some **[A521]** thoroughbred horses and brought them to Abaqa Khan's court. Through the influence of the officers of the armories and stables they received a price that assured them a profit. When others saw how much profit they had made, they too followed in their footsteps. Finally things got so bad that people who had no capital borrowed money on interest and spent it, **[1078]** thinking they would repay the loan with the

profit and build up capital for themselves. The custom became that they would take to the divan receipts from the armory officers and stable masters for the goods they sold. There they would receive vouchers, and then they would go to demand payment. Many lowly people and persons who had not a thing in God's world acquired great riches, repaid their loans, and joined the ranks of the wealthy. Suddenly they rode Arabian horses, wore kingly garments, possessed beautiful slave boys, and were surrounded by many bodyguards. They traveled with fully loaded camels and horses as they passed through the streets, cities, and markets. The people, amazed by them, asked, "How did they manage to get all this in such a short time?" When they learned how they got so rich, other beggars and bankrupts developed an irresistible urge to emulate them in that type of trade. Several thousand bankrupts, Muslims and Jews alike, hucksters and *chärchis* [peddlers]—that is, people who used to sell cumin, coriander, and gewgaws from sacks slung over their shoulders—weavers, and those who had never possessed two pennies to rub together—indeed who had never had enough to eat—took up the trade by borrowing money. What they borrowed they spent not on weapons and horses, but on their own clothing and finery or on bribing officers and getting receipts, for example, for "a thousand items of perfect weaponry and several horses." They would present the receipt to the clerks, [A522] who would take as much "hush money" as they thought they could get away with and write out requisitions and billets against cash money in taxes from the provinces.

When some of these people succeeded in becoming wealthy, they lent money to others on interest, and many others took up the trade and, greedy for success, gave the lenders every dirhem and dinar, all their tools and clothing, and every animate and inanimate possession they owned. Things got so bad that, whereas formerly these beggars had been satisfied with ten *tümäns*, which is equivalent to a hundred thousand dinars, they were no longer satisfied with a hundred *tümäns*. The swindlers, who styled themselves *bazargans* [merchants] and *mesäschis* [arms dealers], employed any creature who knew the least bit of Mongolian script and had them write receipts however they wanted and forge the device of any officer they desired. These they would take to the clerks, to whom they would of course give a few dinars on every *tümän*, and the clerks would write requisitions and billets. [1079] Indeed, the *tümän* became so ludicrous in their view that they called it a "chickpea."

After that, they took their claims to the divan and presented them to Abaqa Khan's court. They had so many vouchers and receipts that if all the gold and silver in the kingdoms of the world had been amassed and everything hidden in mines had been added to it, it wouldn't have sufficed.

The amazing thing is that if we imagine a thousand men stacking their full arms somewhere, it would make a pile as high as a mountain and wouldn't fit in a hundred storehouses. Ten thousand horses can scarcely fit in a field; how then could two or three hundred thousand men with arms and several hundred thousand horses? Their claims amounted to many times that much, and they had requisitions and vouchers in their hands!

Abaqa Khan was far too regally lofty-minded and magnificent to worry where all these horses and weapons were, [A523] to what soldiers they had been distributed, in what storehouse they had been deposited, or in what meadow they were tethered. The officers and ministers who knew the truth had been content with a little hush money and were too corrupt to want to do anything about it. Each of the swindlers had

also attached himself to an officer or lady, to whom they gave some paltry bribes and with whom they curried favor by giving them a sheep or a flask of wine.

When things had gone beyond all bounds, the Sahib-Sa'id Khwaja Shamsuddin Sahib-Divan demanded a reckoning. He assembled the swindlers and said, "The amount of money you demand does not exist in the whole world. I know that you have had no expenses other than a few bribes. Now I will be a partner to you: I will get from the emperor two hundred dinars on the thousand, and it will be divided equally between us." Since they had not spent half a dinar for every thousand they demanded, that satisfied them. He also obtained the officers' consent and said, "Of every ten *tümäns* the emperor releases I will save eight and write vouchers for two against the provinces for the merchants to collect." This was approved. Then he took their requisitions and wrote a voucher for two of every ten *tümäns* against expected tax revenues. Since half belonged to him, he gave their half share in goods that were not worth a quarter and got cash in return.

As for those who had lent the swindlers money for interest, no matter how hard the swindlers requested more loans and promised to repay them in full when what they were owed was released, they had long refused to give them anything because they had despaired of both their interest and their capital. **[1080]** When the transaction with the Sahib-Divan was completed and it became known that the arms-dealing money had been paid, the agents rejoiced and gave them all the cash and goods they had for interest. The swindlers were so avaricious and bold that once again they sat in their houses and wrote out receipts they presented to the Mongol clerks or forged requisitions and vouchers. When the Sahib-Divan learned of this, he was dumbfounded.

One of that group was a Jew, a huckster who had taken refuge in the *ordus* during Hülägü Khan's time. **[A524]** He gathered a group of Mongols, took them to threaten the Sahib-Divan, and demanded payment for his deals.

"How much are you owed?" he was asked. He showed five million dinars' worth of requisitions and vouchers. Astonished, the Sahib-Divan asked, "Do you have a house in Tabriz?"

"I do," he replied.

"Is it large or small?"

"Small," he said.

"If they take five million dinars of gold and dump it on the roof of your house, will it fit or not?" he asked.

He admitted that it would not. Such was the iniquity of these people. Even the Sahib-Divan was helpless in the face of such cases and unable to effect reform.

Day by day people spent everything they had on this thing, and if they did not have anything they borrowed to the point of impoverishment and spent their days in hopes of getting the tens of thousands stipulated in their vouchers. After a time, when the money did not reach the merchants, the lenders lost hope and stopped helping them with loans and money to cover their expenses.

"We keep nothing hidden from you," the swindlers told the lenders. "Since we owe you for various favors, we won't withhold money from you. We have requisitions and vouchers that have been validated for much money assigned against the tax collection of the empire. We'll own them jointly, and we'll each hire an envoy from a lady and a prince so that we can get our money and give you your share." When the lenders saw the requisitions and vouchers offered them in joint ownership, which spoke so eloquently of amounts many times the amounts of the loans, they fell prey to their own avarice and made arrangements to

supply what those people needed. When more was needed, they borrowed and sold their property. Most of them went with them to the provinces, where they took up the trade. In the end they got nothing and were left bankrupt and in debt, having lost their homes.

After the reign of the padishah [Abaqa Khan], during the reigns of Ahmad, Arghun Khan, and Gaikhatu, these people were still after their money, and every one got an envoy from the ladies, princes, and amirs; having accepted trifling emoluments, they went to the provinces, where the cash of the realm was consumed in covering their provisions and expenses. [1081] Provincial governors also, hoping that they would give in cash to the treasury thirty or forty dinars for goods that were not worth ten, [A525] gave them jewel- and pearl-studded belts and other goods at high prices. This suited them very well, for if they got nothing more than rocks and pottery in return for this transaction, they got it free. They therefore sold the gems for low prices or pawned them for paltry sums. As a result, the value of gems plummeted and the gem market crashed. With this, they could not realize enough to cover the expenses and promises to the envoys. In the end, the swindler merchants and their backers were left hungry and naked, and they were unable to transact enough business to derive their daily sustenance. The money of the treasuries was being lost, and no one could do anything to stop it.

When it came the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's turn to rule and he ordered that money was not to be given on interest, these people's trade was halted and there was nothing they could do about it. In recent years all those people with all those requisitions and vouchers have disappeared. They have stopped engaging in those transactions, which never had any real basis, and no one remembers it any longer. Those who caused the bubble have all returned to their former trades, and the distinction between a wealthy man and a beggar and between an ignoble and a noble was restored. All classes are content and pray for the success of the Padishah of Islam.

What has been described is only one example of the damage done by giving usury. Another is the following.

Most of the people who gave money for interest during those times were Mongols and Uyghurs. Of course, how can people who are slated for ill fortune prosper when they give money for interest? In the end they were unable to pay, and their wives and children suffered humiliation when they were put in bondage. Thanks to the justice of the Padishah of Islam that humiliation was lifted from the people of Islam.

Another instance is as follows. The really great damage was that during those times the maliks and administrators of the provinces who were upright and honorable people were unable to remit the amount of provincial taxes due, [A526] and so they avoided taking that job. When swindling beggars saw that they could exchange ten years of poverty-stricken life for ten days of kingly luxury, they borrowed money on interest, paid it in bribes, and got the governorships of provinces, thereby attaining the ranks of maliks and sultans. [Such a person] would get a province by taking a heavy *muqata'a* [assignage] upon himself, and since they had to have cash for expenditures for the *ordu*, [1082] to pay for slave boys, animals, fine clothing, and luxuries, naturally they borrowed on interest. Lenders, knowing that they were putting their money at great risk, wouldn't give anything unless they thought they could make a large profit. Hence [the borrowers] could only get one dinar for three or four dinars, and when they went to the provinces, the income of the local treasury would never suffice to repay their loans. It became necessary then

to take many times the amount due from the peasants, and so many thousands of God-fearing, tax-paying men were intimidated and tortured. Even when the divan chiefs knew of a governor's mischief, they could do nothing to prevent it because money was needed, the governor was squandering everything, and he had compromised them with bribes. He was just one person in bankruptcy, but there were many poor subjects who allowed this to happen and pretended not to notice. As soon as he got any money, he had to give bribes to the *shahna* and *bitigchi*s of the province so that they wouldn't stand in his way. If they hadn't taken [bribes], it would not have been possible to stave them off. With all this, no cash ever reached the treasury. If occasionally some goods were brought in, they did not cover a quarter of the worth. For that reason the soldiers suffered from destitution, and year by year so did the province as they continued to take. The great lords at court chose never to accept employment because it would have involved their being underlings to those no-count bankrupts. The wise have said that the seeds for the destruction of a nation are sown when men who are worthy of jobs are dismissed and the unworthy are put to work. [A527] This is how things were for a long time.

When Sadr Chawi became vizier, the situation of borrowing on interest had become so bad that it would be impossible to describe. (However, now that it has been mentioned, a short report is necessary. Since the generality of the people of the day saw it, it cannot be called a fabrication, and therefore let future readers not think it farfetched.) During Sadruddin's time the *muqati'*s [assignors of fiefs] of the provinces were the stingiest men of the age. Since they knew it was his habit to "sell a cow for a calf,"[1] a *muqati'* borrowed large amounts of cash on interest and gave it in bribes. A *muqati'* would buy for twenty dinars something worth ten dinars and then sell to Sadruddin for thirty; and he would accept. After that he would say, "The divan needs cash." The *muqati'*, of course, would say, "Here they give money for interest, and the amount that I gave in bribes I raised only through a thousand tricks." [1083]

"You won't lose anything," he would say. "Sell to us for however much you buy for." When that person would hand in his bill, the base price plus the markup would be calculated into the total. A dealer would purchase something for thirty dinars and then sell it to [Sadruddin] for forty, immediately making a profit of ten dinars. Since Sadruddin was always strapped for cash, his deputies would say, "It is worth ten dinars, but nobody will buy it for more than six." [After selling the item for its real worth,] they would pocket the four dinars difference. In sum, of the original forty dinars, he got not more than six, and it was the divan's money he was wasting.

One of these dealers bought several thousand sheep for [Sadruddin's] personal property from a merchant at the rate of five dinars a head with a grace period of two months. When payment time came there was no money, and most of the sheep had become lean. He ordered all the sheep sold at a low price to pay the two months' interest, and the principle was extended for another two months. Naturally, with such transactions the tax money of the realm was lost and nothing was brought into the treasury. Not a cent of any grant Gaikhatu made to a noble ever reached anyone, and fixed provisions, salaries, and expense ac-

[1]The expression used here, *gáve bi gose (=gosála) firokhtan*, 'to sell a cow for a calf,' apparently means to pad expenses, to represent a purchase as costing more than it actually did—a practice not unknown to modern bureaucracies.

counts were the same. [A528] It was for this very reason that the military turned against Gaikhatu, and this is why Sadruddin was constantly bankrupt. After he died the people were left with thousands upon thousands of grievances. How many houses full of wealth and luxury were emptied by him!? Generally sultans and maliks who governed provinces and who came to the *ordu* fell into debt in this manner, borrowing from thousands of Muslims and Mongols whose property was lost. Some of those people died with law suits around their necks, and others lost everything they had by engaging in this scheme, as everyone saw and heard, so everyone knows that it is no exaggeration. Actually, the example given is only a drop in the bucket.

It would be difficult for any monarch, no matter how just, harsh, or mighty he was, to rectify such a situation, which, with the passage of time, had firmly established itself in the minds of commoner and elite since, for the reasons mentioned, all the princes, ladies, amirs, viziers, clerks, grandees, and retainers were either beholden to the swindlers, having accepted bribes from them, or in partnership with them. However, the Padishah of Islam, with his wisdom, competence, and intelligence, contemplated the situation and realized that the underlying cause for all this corruption was commerce in money for lucre. [1084] If he forbade it, both the prophetic law would be strengthened and the people would be led from the brink of error to the highway of right guidance, and with the banning of usury many great abuses would be eliminated.

After having that thought, he issued an imperial decree in Sha'ban 698 [May 1299] that no one in the realm was to buy or sell on usury. Most of the people, who were addicted to it, decried the ban, and some of the nobles who had the opportunity said, "It will put a stop to all commercial transactions."

"We are ordering it in order to put a stop to all despicable transactions," the emperor replied.

Some self-interested ignorant men said, [A529] "The treasury always needs cash. If loans are not made to the governors of provinces, they will be unable to remit taxes."

The emperor and his viziers said, "Here we do not need money from any governor or administrator." And he gave a strict command, saying, "We will not allow anyone who lends money at interest to a divan agent to get back any of the principle or the interest."

He also repeatedly told the ladies, princes, and amirs not to lend money to those people on any account. He also had the following announced, "If any of you lends money to those people, we will not allow you to make any claim against them in life or their estates in death, for we do not demand money from you in advance, and if you squander the divan's money, your own properties will be forfeited to pay for it."

Another time it was reported to him that some needy people had urgent requests for loans to transact business. "Why does someone who does not have the money to cover his travel expenses come here?" he asked. "What use is he to us, and what use are we to him? He should stay at home instead of coming here."

When reports of various sorts were made to him, he said, "Do God and the Apostle know what is best for the world, or do we? Of course, one must say they do. God and his Apostle have commanded thus, and we will not listen to any contrary talk."

From that time on, no one who wanted money on interest was given any, and if a cheat tried to bring force he was stopped by the edict. At present, thank God, because no one lends money at interest, the abuses that had occurred have been eliminated,

commercial transactions have been regularized, and equity prevails among the people. Most taxes reach the treasury in cash, and it is not permitted to remit in kind. [1085] The value of jewels and gems has been restabilized, and no one who has any money gives it to a swindler who will trick him out of it. The people earn their livelihoods according to the law, and blessing prevails. [A530] Most of the people occupy themselves with agriculture, trade, and beneficial crafts. By this means the world flourishes anew. This situation is appreciated by the people of this age, who witnessed the abuses of the past. How will those who will come into existence in the future and will not have witnessed those abuses be able to imagine the beneficial effect of this order?

During the time this edict has been in effect, some of those in whose hearts the love of usury remained have lent certain goods at exorbitant prices, falsely claiming that it was a commercial transaction and sale and not usury. In the end the debtors came to the divan to report how the goods had been given and to say that money was being demanded. The emperor flew into a rage and said, "If they do not give up these tricks and misrepresentations, I will command that no matter what anyone borrows, under no circumstances will he pay back either the principle or the interest. If people have money, why should they lend it? They should buy property to develop and plant or engage in trade." The people took fright, and usury and inequitable transactions diminished. Very soon the result will be that they will disappear altogether.

May God grant this emperor success in eradicating all despicable customs and in laying the foundations of the religious law. ~

Story Twenty-Seven: He forbids unlimited prenuptial agreements.

The Padishah of Islam said, "The divine wisdom in legislating marriage is so that human beings may reproduce and multiply. Therefore the law says that if a person divorces, whether in seriousness or in jest, whether willingly or in anger, it takes effect immediately, for if there is no accord between a wife and a husband, [A531] it is better for them to be apart. Otherwise disagreement leads to anger and wrath, and to live together in anger is the habit of beasts. In any case, it leads to hatred, and when there is hatred it is impossible to beget children. For these reasons the way for divorce is open without any restraints. When a woman has been married under a large prenuptial agreement, no one can divorce her for fear of having to pay so much, and no matter how much husband and wife are in irreconcilable disagreement, they are forced to live together, [1086] and this is contrary both to the divine law and to reason, for, as has been previously stated, divine wisdom necessitates that if a person is hesitant in his love for or ability to get along with a woman, he should be able to separate himself from her without any debate or constraint.

"People also have children, and child support is incumbent upon fathers. They also have to pay taxes, and some of them have to go into the military. When a father's property is exhausted by a woman's prenuptial agreement, where is the child support and tax money to come from?

"For the foregoing reasons, and because the Prophet recommended a modest prenuptial agreement, they should be very modest. It has been carefully calculated, so that no alms would be necessary, that all prenuptial agreements should be fixed at nineteen and a half dinars, for there is no sin in having a small prenuptial agreement. On the one hand, a person who loves his wife cannot be separated from her by any amount of force, while on the other it would be better for those who cannot agree

to separate as quickly as possible and be rid of each other. This is in the interests of both, for it is known from experience that there are some women whose husbands do not love them, but when they get divorced, others marry them and love them. Therefore this carries benefit to both parties."

Therefore he issued an edict to this effect. [A532] ~

Story Twenty-Eight: He builds baths and mosques in all the villages of the realm.

There is no dispute over the fact that people need baths and mosques. In some provinces of the realm neither had been built in the villages. Prior to this Muslim rulers had not made arrangements, and of course in a place where people do not perform their prayers in congregation and do not make ablutions or keep themselves clean as they ought, their standing as Muslims will be reduced. The emperor commanded and issued an edict to the effect that throughout the realm mosques and baths be constructed in villages, and those who did not build them would be considered criminals. After nearly two years they had built them everywhere in the empire there had not been any.

At present a large profit is realized from the baths, and he ordered that the profits be spent on necessities and provisions for the mosques—repairs, furnishings, servants' expenditures. As soon as he ordered this good arrangement, such charity became current in many places in the empire, the motto of Islam appeared, and the people gained rest and repose. May God grant him a reward for such a blessing. [1087] ~

Story Twenty-Nine: People are forbidden to drink wine.

Most people in the empire were drinking wine and partaking of intoxicants, and people were getting into fights and quarrels in the marketplaces and public places on account of drunkenness. Some of these resulted in death and others in injury, and it was necessary to hold trials. In all religions and nations intoxicants are disapproved and forbidden. It is not necessary to recount the damage that results from this vileness; it is enough that wine has been called the "mother of abominations."[1]

To rectify the situation the Padishah of Islam said, "Even though the Legislator—peace be with him!—and all the other prophets have declared it forbidden, [A533] and the texts are eloquent on this point, people will not be constrained and will not give it up. Even if we forbid it absolutely, it will not go away. Now, I will order this much: anyone who comes into cities and marketplaces drunk will be arrested, stripped naked, and tied to a tree in the middle of the market so that people can pass by and revile him. Thereby he will be warned and constrained." According an edict was heralded *(tungqamishi)* to all parts of the empire, and at present no one dares to come into the street drunk, much less engage in drunken quarrels. The public spectacle of drinking and the fighting and quarreling of drunks have been eliminated in markets and public places.

He also ordered that no one should go for searches in people's houses lest their minions misbehave and people be harassed.

May God grant success to this religion-protecting monarch in continually issuing such orders. ~

Story Thirty: He regularizes stipends for the imperial table and wine for the Great Ordu.

Everybody knows that previously there was constant debate over arranging funds for provisions. The provisioner clerks were

[1] *Ummu'l-khabá'ith*, 'the mother of abominations,' the common Islamic appellation of wine and intoxicants.

constantly denouncing on each other, and most of the amirs' time had to be spent in investigating them. Certain people had made it a practice to pad the accounts of what was spent, and to the expenses connected to provisions they added things like tips and salaries, food for hawks and cheetahs, provisions and comestibles for envoys, emoluments for some of the princes and ladies, [1088] *qaratu* [household] necessities, implements for the kitchen, and the like. This resulted in an enormous sum, and to it they added provisions for banquets that never took place. They put the highest price to all the goods [A534] and assigned payment to the provinces. Since divan revenues were disorganized and in shambles at the same time, and the governors and administrators had no thought of giving anything to the divan, as has already been recounted, the fiscal situation of the provinces was in a great mess, and funds for provisions did not arrive on time. The *bitigchis* who went to collect for it took a lot of bribes to look the other way and left the affair in abeyance. The next time, when payment fell on another province, the envoys did the same thing. Over the course of a year so many envoys went to the provinces for provisions money that their expenses and provisions amounted to more than the amount they went to collect, so still no money was obtained. Although the expenditures for provisions were fixed, i.e. for each person who did a certain task, he and so many others would receive a daily allowance, when [the funds] did not arrive, the provisions officers borrowed at exorbitant interest. Sometimes they bought a hundred maunds of wine worth ten dinars for anywhere from twenty to forty dinars, whereas if they had planned well they could have gotten it for five. At that rate, even when funds arrived and there was a surplus, it wasn't enough—what then of the times when they had two-year-old vouchers in their hands? The greatest abuse lay in the fact that when envoys came to collect for provisions, provincial governors, thinking that provisioning was more sensitive and it should be dealt with first, neglected the business of other envoys. Of course, they didn't get that accomplished either, but other funds were neglected and fell short. By delaying the envoys, huge expenses were incurred uselessly. If the governor was dismissed from office at the end of the year, he would make excuses, claiming that the money was still due from the province or had been lost. If he was not dismissed from office, the divan chiefs would spend a long time making accounts, debating, and auditing in order to get their share and collect bribes.

The responsibility for all this mismanagement fell on the provisions officers, who were in constant quarrels with the divan, [A535] and the two sides put the blame on each other and denounced each other. Organized victuals were never provided ten days in succession. If one goes and checks the registers, amounts of money beyond description will be found to have been squandered. One can only imagine what provisioning was like under such an arrangement. Food and wine were transported with loathing, and there were even disputes about that too. When things did reach the *ordu* and there was an unexpected decampment, [1089] they were left on the ground. When the court set out for summer or winter quarters, more *savuris* [gifts] than provisions were loaded, and in the midst the provisions money got lost or carried off. At all times the provisions officers borrowed wine from wine sellers and sheep from butchers. It often happened that they didn't pay for them, and so those people chased after them, yelling and screaming, or went and knelt before the amirs, but that didn't do any good either. Many wine sellers and butchers were ruined. The instances of such mismanagement are beyond descrip-

tion: this is enough.

To redress this wrong the Padishah of Islam said, "The money for necessary daily provisions will be given in advance every six months from the treasury so that the goods needed can be purchased and what is produced in the provinces can be transported. If they can be bought more cheaply, let the difference remain in the treasury. Let no one have any expectations of pocketing the difference if he saves on the price of wine, sheep, or goods. These must be purchased more cheaply than the prices fixed in the registers. As for unnecessary expenses they used to collect for and the many banquets, let them not be spent, and let the surplus of the daily allotment, which will be much less, go to the treasury."

With these savings on provisions, within two years so much money had been amassed that they were able to buy five hundred camels and five hundred pack horses. They were turned over to caring camel drivers and stable masters to be always ready to transport wine and provisions. Of the amount that used to be spent every year to hire transportation, some went for fodder and other expenses for those animals. Wine, a hundred maunds of which used to be bought for thirty to forty dinars **[A536]** is purchased for less than five dinars. Wine, sheep, and other necessities are always ready. Even if they request many times the allotted amount, it is there and needs no debate. Formerly, because the provisions officers purchased wine from wine sellers, the rate was extremely high, but now the market is low. No envoy or tax collector goes to the provinces to demand sums for provisions, and hence neither do they incur expenses nor is the money used up. Cash comes into the treasury, and provisions and victuals are well arranged. Transportation is also better organized than it was during the reign of any monarch. Absolutely not more than a quarter of what used to be wasted is spent. If the expenses the envoys used to incur are taken into consideration, it wouldn't amount to a tenth. This reorganization is due to the efforts of the vizier of the realm, Khwaja Sa'duddin, **[1090]** and he does not allow a cent of this money to be wasted.

May God cause the shadow of this monarch of perfect intelligence to extend forever. ~

Story Thirty-One: He arranges funding for the board of the ladies and ordus.

During he time of Hülägü Khan and Abaqa Khan, funds for meals in the *ordus* and for the ladies was in accordance with Mongol custom, and not too much expenditure was involved here. When booty was brought from enemy territory, a part of it was given to them. Each [of the ladies] also had an *ortaq*, and they brought in something in the name of *asigh* [profit], or someone would present a gift. They also had some herds, and there were the profits from their increase. Funds for their meals and necessities came from those sources, and they were satisfied with that.

Toward the end of Abaqa Khan's time a small *ash* tax was instituted, and after that, during Arghun Khan's time, funds were earmarked for every *ordu*, with payment assigned to the provinces. **[A537]** When the ladies' envoys and pages went to collect, however, the governors would use the pretexts explained elsewhere to avoid paying. They would keep the agents occupied with collecting provisions allowances and taking promissories and bribes. Even if a bit was set aside for payment, it got squandered, and the administrators usually made off with the funds. When funding for board in the *ordus* reaches this point, one can realize what the arrangement was like.

During Gaikhatu's time it was the same. Great sums of money were lost between the provinces and the pages.

During the Padishah of Islam's regal reign a dispute broke out between the pages of the *ordus*. They informed on each other, and trials were held. Some of the money was still owing in the provinces, and some had been embezzled by the pages, for which crime some were chastised and others were dismissed from office.

After that, the emperor said, "It is not proper for taxes to be wasted or for provincial governors to embezzle them. Neither is board in the *ordus* insured nor do any funds reach the treasury or the army." Therefore he commanded that for every *ordu* certain locales of the provincial royal demesnes be designated, detached from the divan, and put under their supervision. The taxes would be determined by the divan and billed according to the tax rolls, and funds for the ladies' board, provisions, and necessities of wardrobe and mounts would be assured, as would be funds for supplies for the departments of potables and stables, *for* camels and pack horses, and for wages for maids, eunuchs, custodians, kitchen help, caravan drivers, muleteers, and other servants and retinue as necessary. **[1091]** Expenses would be paid from the total revenues, and any surplus would be put in that lady's treasury and kept there under the seal of the two amirs who were assigned to every *ordu*. It could not be spent except by order of the emperor's decree, so that each of the ladies would always have a treasury for use in an emergency.

He also said, "Those *enchü* properties will henceforth be the *enchü* and property of the sons of that lady." He endowed them to their male offspring, not the females. If a lady did not have a son, **[A538]** it became the property of the sons of the other ladies.

At present all the provinces and properties are in the hands of the ladies' deputies under the supervision of the divan. They have been improved, and much more income than before is realized. Funds for board in the *ordus* and necessary supplies are all insured, assured, and arrive on time. Funds for the ladies' treasuries are also designated. Recently, when there was a need for more funds for army supplies, he ordered them to give a thousand thousand dinars to the army from their treasuries. In this way it was paid, and the army was greatly helped. Never in any era has there been such an arrangement. God willing, it will last for ever. ~

Story Thirty-Two: He regulates the treasury and arranges its business and supplies.

Prior to now it was not customary for anyone to maintain written accounts of the Mongol emperors' treasuries or to keep track of additions and outlays. They used to appoint a few *khizanachis* [treasurers] to receive whatever was brought in. Together they placed things in the treasury and gave out what was expended. When nothing was left, they would say so. A few custodians also maintained the treasury, and they did the loading and unloading. The whole thing was so disorganized that there was not even a tent: they simply piled things in the open and covered them with felt. From this one can deduce what the situation was like.

When a treasure was brought in, it was also customary for the amirs and the treasurers' friends to go to the treasurers and request something as *bariqu* [gift], and the treasurers would give each one something, according to his rank. The *ba'urchis*, *sharabdars*, *farrashes*, and *akhtachis* also took edibles and potables, **[A539]** etc., and when they made requests the treasurers would consult together and give them something. **[1092]** Since the *farrashes* took care of the maintenance, all their requests were granted. The treasurers also gave each other *bariqu* and, after consultation, each one would take something home. In this manner four fifths of the treasury

was squandered every year, and only one fifth was spent as the emperor ordered. When provincial governors, having realized that this was the case, occasionally paid funds into the treasury, they would give a "service fee" and get receipts for twice the amount they gave. When very little money was brought to the treasury, and what was brought was kept in this manner, it is obvious what the emperor was able to disburse from it. It was always like this.

The highway patrols had been ordered to keep a look-out and arrest anyone who had taken clothing or anything else out of the treasury, but they only arrested one person every few years, and that only because of some other reason for which they had been lying in wait to get an indictment for that person. This did not happen more than two or three times during all the reigns but because of it they abandon gem-studded items and red gold.[1] It would take too long to explain the situation in full.

At this time the Padishah of Islam has regulated affairs to such an extent that various treasuries are kept separately. Anything that is jewel-studded is placed by his own imperial hand in a chest so that if any disbursement is made it will be obvious immediately. Every jot and tittle is recorded in a register by the vizier. The emperor himself closes the lock and seals it with his own seal, and one of the treasurers and a eunuch so appointed guard it, and it is their responsibility. No other person, neither treasurer nor custodian, has anything to do with it.

As for red gold and fabrics manufactured in the royal workshops or brought from distant territories as *tangsuq* [rare *objets*], they are recorded in detail by the vizier and given to the care of the same two individuals mentioned above. Unless the emperor gives unequivocal permission, they do not disburse anything at all. **[A540]**

For white gold and various fabrics that are constantly being disbursed, he assigned a different treasurer and eunuch, and they are responsible for them. The vizier totals them and records them in a register. He ordered that when anything is disbursed, the vizier must write a permission slip and present it for the emperor to sign his approval. The vizier's deputy records it in the register and gives it out. Without that approval, nothing is given to anyone. The first treasury is called *narin*, and the second is called *bidün*.

In order to avoid having to show permissions slips at all times, every month the vizier writes out a detailed list of what has been disbursed by command, **[1093]** and when there is time he sits in private with the emperor and presents them one by one for approval. Every six months or once a year the vizier conducts an inspection to see whether what has been deposited in the treasury is still there or not—as a precautionary measure lest, for any one of many reasons, treasury funds be depleted.

Prior to this, some nobles and friends requested loans from the treasury. Now an imperial decree has been issued that nothing be touched without imperial approval, and so such requests have ceased. He also ordered a special seal to be made with which every item of clothing brought into the treasury should be stamped immediately so that substitutions cannot be made. He also ordered that the many custodians who used to meddle in treasury affairs stick solely to being custodians and have nothing to do with the treasury, which is the responsibility of the four persons [named above], for whom it is also necessary to have an audit to square their accounts with approval slips. He also ordered that under no circumstances would there be weight stones in this treasury, but items would be sealed with the Stones of Justice when they were

[1] Arends translates: И из-за этого отказываются от драгоценностей и золотых денег!

received or disbursed. No one was to be allowed to give so much as a yard of *karbás* in place of money to a voucher holder, and they were not to cause a moment's delay in payment but to give cash money or clothing, whichever was assigned, at once. Goods should be turned over with the treasury seal.

[Treasury officials] were not to expect anything from anyone. **[A541]** For every one hundred dinars of funds brought in from the provinces, two dinars are stipulated as treasury fee. More than that they do not take.

He also established another treasury and appointed a eunuch for it. Of every ten dinars cash and of every ten articles of clothing brought into the treasury one dinar and one article is put aside and turned over to the eunuch to be placed in this treasury. [When the emperor] assigns payment of alms, they are brought from this treasury so that he can give them away with his own hand—or given away in his presence—to the deserving. Organization of this treasury is similar to what has been explained for the others. The armory treasury is similarly organized.

Never have the possessions of any landlord, moneychanger, or large-scale merchant renowned for the safekeeping of money been so well guarded or protected, much less the treasuries of kings. It is absolutely unimaginable that so much as a fraction of a coin could be embezzled.

At the time of going to summer or winter quarters, [the emperor] tends to the treasury himself for several days, and what he wants transported is put aside. Heavy loads are meticulously recorded by the vizier and placed in Tabriz under lock and seal. Whenever the emperor wants to know the situation of the treasury with regards to the quantity and quality of the base or expenditures, he asks the vizier, who has only to refer to his registers to be able to report immediately. **[1094]**

Since the Padishah of Islam is divinely assisted, and it also happens that not only is his vizier perfectly competent, perspicacious, knowledgeable, and skilled but also no one is more trustworthy than he, not a fraction of a coin or a yard of material can be lost, and no one can embezzle anything.

Thanks to the blessing of the order and correctness the Padishah of Islam has achieved, and thanks to such honesty and religiosity, so much cash flows out of the treasury that if it were a sea it would be exhausted. In no ancient or modern register that has been read has there been a mention of so much money and fabric as is given from there, and never has anyone been given so much from a king's treasury. May God cause these blessings to extend throughout his imperial days. **[A542]** ~

Story Thirty-Three: He organizes the arms workshops and armories.

Prior to now there were many *uẓes* [craftsmen] appointed in every city and province of the realm—bow makers, arrow makers, bowcase makers, sword makers, et al. There were also Mongol craftsmen. Each one presented one or two implements of his own manufacture, for which he would receive a salary and wages. They had been contracted to supply many weapons every year, and in return they would receive vouchers against the provinces. In some cities there were weapons-makers' workshops, and amounts of funding were stipulated. The weapons officers' deputies were in charge, but for every amount they released in payment not a twentieth of the goods was ever received. Some of this was due to the fact that several hundred troops of envoys went to the provinces to collect on the vouchers, and they cost as much or more as they collected in provisions, expenses, and transport, while the vouchers remained unpaid by the provincial adminis-

trators because of the various sorts of chicanery that has been mentioned previously. Some of the shortfall was also due to the greed and misappropriations of the deputies and weapons clerks. Some was on account of the plethora of officers who were in charge, each one of whom dipped into the funds in some way. When the craftsmen saw that this was the case, they failed to produce what they were supposed to, and whereas their days should have been spent working, they were inundated with disputes with each other, with bullies, and with denouncers. Their quarrels reached a point that the officers were dragged in and fell upon one another, and there were endless trials of craftsmen and lawsuits. This resulted in breaches in the running of fiscal operations, and when audits were made it was discovered that nothing was there. **[1095]** Every year three or four hundred thousand dinars had been charged against unpaid accounts, but it was not apparent what a cent had been paid for. In the end deputies and weapons clerks were executed on that account, and their families were ruined. Most of those who had indulged in this work went bankrupt, wound up in jeopardy, **[A543]** and lost their good names.

To redress this situation the Padishah of Islam ordered that the people of each and every craft in every city would indemnify each other. He also ordered that they be given nothing by way of provisions or salaries. He stipulated how many sets of every type of weapon should be delivered to the royal stores and how much was to be spent on each. "Although they are our craftsmen and bondsmen," he said, "whereas others sell in the market using their own capital, these people reckon using the capital of demons." He appointed a guardian at the head of every group to serve as guarantor. Every year he would receive a certain amount, insure that weapons were delivered according to contract, and obtain a receipt. To fund all weapons acquisition a separate province was assigned so that it would not be necessary to send envoys into all provinces to collect, while all they really did was pile up expenses. In this manner ten thousand full sets of weapons were contracted to be delivered finished every year. (Previously no one had ever seen as many as two thousand sets.) For imperial use fifty sets of the finest manufacture were assigned. Over and above that, many thousands of bows, arrows, and sets of chain mail were arranged to be kept in the treasury for use in time of need.

When a comparison was made, it was found that now not more than a half of what used to be spent on provisions and salaries for craftsmen was earmarked for arms. Thus the expenditures that used to be made in the provinces ceased completely.

Whereas previously there had never been any sign of arms, by means of this good arrangement every year they delivered what was contracted and obtained receipts. The fighting, quarrels, and trials of craftsmen ceased, and *bitigchis* who used to be executed on this account are now respected and have peace of mind. The officers who quarreled with each other on their account are all in agreement and friendly to each other.

When in recent years things had been so well regulated, the arms officers said, **[A544]** "Most of the types of implements the craftsmen make are available in the market and can be purchased more appropriately from there. Prior to this there were no craftsmen who knew how to make Mongol weapons, **[1096]** but now most of the craftsmen in the markets have learned. The craftsmen, who used to spend their whole days in arguments, fights, and lawsuits, receiving money for provisions and supplies and giving nothing in return, have now been relieved of that burden and necessarily

practice their trades. They make implements and weapons using their own capital and sell them in the markets. Therefore they make better types of weapons than they used to, and they are available in the markets. Wouldn't it be better for funding for weapons to be brought in cash? Instead of our having weapons made and giving them to the soldiers, we can distribute cash to them so that they can purchase cheaply weapons that suit them, and nothing will be wasted."

The Padishah of Islam approved of this proposal and commanded that several special types of weapons that were less available in the markets should be made on contract. The rest are purchased in cash. These measures have prevented the abuses mentioned above that were prevalent among craftsmen who made saddles, bridles, and paraphernalia for the royal stable. They were also prevalent among the craftsmen who made certain implements for the use of *shükürchis* [parasol bearers] and *idächis* [provisions officers], but they too have been redressed. At present all these things have been corrected and put in order.

Previously it was customary, if some small implement or thing valued at anywhere from fifty to around a hundred dinars was needed for the emperor's use, an envoy would go off on that insignificant errand, and his transport, provisions, expenses, and promissories would amount to five thousand dinars. Now a rule has been made that a treasurer will either purchase and obtain anything that is needed or give someone else cash to purchase the item. In this manner five hundred troops of envoys and tax collectors a year have been eliminated from the provinces, and instead of the five hundred thousand dinars [A545] that used to be spent on them—with a hundred thousand instances of trouble, distress, and ruination in the process—now not more than five thousand dinars is spent on the supplies themselves. The former custom has been completely and totally eliminated. Rules that have been approved and put into practice continue in effect. May the benefits of this reform continue for many long years, God willing. ~

Story Thirty-Four: His reorganization of imperial flocks and herds.

Formerly the camels and sheep of the *qan* [imperial herd/flock] in the realm were turned over to *qanchis* [imperial herdsmen and shepherds], but there was no accounting or regulation. [1097] When an investigation was made of all that had been entrusted to them in past times—which ought to have increased more than a hundred fold given the fine pasture lands and the many guards and shepherds who were exempt from taxes—not one was to be found. They made excuses, saying they had died in the cold or been lost.

"Let them see whether they have any camels and sheep of their own or not," the Padishah of Islam said. The matter was investigated, and it was reported that they had many.

"The animals of the *qan* were many times their own. How is it theirs didn't perish in the cold or in a *yut*, while those of the *qan* all perished?" It was obvious they were lying and had stolen them all and sold them.

An imperial decree was issued for a *tölämishi* [reparation] to be made, but it was not possible and they left it alone.

After that, the emperor ordered an experiment made. "Let them entrust camels and sheep to trustworthy people. Since they have good pasture lands and the *qanchis* are imperial slaves and *musallam* and exempt, what excuse can they make? Let it be established with them that these principles will stand. Let them give [payment] several times every year for the increase in such a way that even after [A546] losses the *qanchis* will realize a profit and gain. In

order that those who do not have pasture lands and are not imperial slaves will accept this for the others, let them give at a lesser rate so that they will not be able to make any excuses." It was so established, and pledges were taken from them. Year by year the increase grows greater and they deliver more.

He assigned load-bearing camels separately for transporting the treasury, baggage, and supplies for the *ordus*. They were entrusted separately to trustworthy men. Similar arrangements were made for the *sharabkhana* and the *hawayijkhana*. The regulation of this affair has, thank God, reached a degree of order that has never been achieved during the reign of any monarch, Mongol or Muslim. Never have there been so many camels for transporting the various departments. Since there are more than are needed, many are left in the herds and do not carry loads. They increase day by day. Arrangements for *palans* [pack saddles] and paraphernalia are extremely fine and good.

God willing, divine assistance of this state will continue forever. ~

Story Thirty-Five: His reorganization of the corps of falconers and leopard keepers.

Formerly falconers and leopard keepers[1] used to catch birds and animals in the provinces. It was stipulated every year where and in what places they could catch them, and when they caught them they would bring them here and turn them over to the falconer and leopard officers. [1098] They had allowances for provisions, supplies, and wages fixed in every province, but when they went to collect every year they took much more than that by beating people with sticks, and they also incurred expenses in excess of their allowances, while they brought in only a paltry few birds and animals via the post-horse system. In every city, post station, *khaylkhana*, and village they came to along the way they requisitioned many mounts, some of which they rode, some of which they used to carry their personal baggage, and some of which they gave to their companions. Many of the birds and animals they brought [A547] they gave to their friends and acquaintances or to just about anybody. For the sake of two or three falcons or leopards they would take two or three times what was allotted for their pay and supplies in the provinces, and they piled up expenses along the way for the animals' food. There was no limit to what they took by extraction and coercion from villages and wayfarers. They received payment for the number of animals according to their own calculations, and there was no stipulation as to manner, how many, or what. That being the case, they did not bring in many birds or animals. There was also no record kept of how many falcons were maintained. In any province where some wanderer caught a falcon in a field or bought one, he would want to use that as a pretext for obtaining an imperial decree making him a "gamekeeper" or *tarkhan*. They would use that distinction to mistreat the people and return with fixed allowances for provisions and supplies. Now what person would not choose such a job? Year after year the situation got worse. For every hundred peasants those people took under their protection, they mistreated a thousand.

Falconers and their officers who were in

[1] "Falconer" is the Turkish *qushchi*; the birds are called *jánavar*. Both terms are ambiguous: *qush* and *jánavar* (which means simply 'animal' in modern Persian) both essentially mean raptor, including all varieties of hawks and falcons. The word used in the text for "leopard keeper" is the Turkish *barschi*, and the animals are referred to by the Persian word *yúz*. Both terms are highly ambiguous: both *bars* and *yúz* can refer to a variety of large hunting felines such as leopards, panthers, and cheetahs.

attendance at court kept falcons, and some of them flew their falcons for the emperor. There were so many officers, so many tribes, so many troops, and such a crowd of grooms, donkey drivers, caravan leaders, and village rustics who were attached to them—and every one of them stuck a few feathers in his belt and hung an iron cudgel *(küräbäs)* from his waist. Every person they met would receive a few cudgel blows on the head as a taste of what was to come; then there would be words, and then they would snatch their turbans and hats. Some of them said, "It is not legal for just anyone to sew owl feathers on his hat"—on which pretext they would take the hat. Others did whatever they wanted without any pretext at all. [A548]

If anyone passed by the gamekeepers' tents or houses, woe betide him. [1099] If caravans, merchants, or others happened to pass near a village where there was an aviary or falconers, they would receive a fleecing that was no less than plunder. Every village they came to they would take food for themselves and for their animals—in addition to sheep and chickens. For their mounts they would take straw and barley. When they went to summer or winter pastures they would not be satisfied with that much but took from the village headmen along the way, over and above the provisions and supplies that were assigned, sheep, flour, barley, and whatever they needed. They would send all these things to the pastures using the people's requisitioned pack animals. By requisitioning so many pack animals and then selling them, they got enormous amounts of money. They were particularly greedy for fine donkeys, which they never gave back. Along the way they plundered everybody they saw. In order to increase their repute and make the people fear them, they shaved the beards of provincial headmen and elders on the slightest excuse, and everywhere there was a mischief-maker he went under their protection, doing anything he wanted to further their interests, rightly or wrongly, including beating governors, lords, and peasants. If occasionally one of their grooms was arrested by a *basqaq* or a governor, they would break a falcon's wing and then report that the *basqaq* or governor had created a ruckus and wounded the falcon. They would bear witness for each other. Of course, when monarchs hear that someone has created a ruckus and broken a falcon's wing, they get angry.

They would also make up stories, saying, "We had made a certain place a game preserve, but they went hunting there, or passed through, and scattered the birds." If anyone passed by the vicinity of that preserve, they would take his horse and clothing or large amounts of money as "service fees," and only with the greatest difficulty would he escape from their clutches. There are so many stories of their excesses that it would take much too long to tell them.

To redress this situation, the Padishah of Islam first had the idea that [A549] it was sufficient to have a thousand falcons and three hundred leopards brought from the provinces, so he told the falconer and leopard-keeper officers to stipulate the territories and persons they thought suitable and to write the names in detail. Aside from them there would be no other falconers in the provinces. Their wages were fixed at the number of falcons, trained or untrained, that they brought in, and they were to include supplies and food for home and travel, and transportation. Everything was fixed in detail so that no room for any pretext was left. Everyone was given a fixed amount in proportion to the portion of the thousand falcons and three hundred leopards that was his responsibility. [1100] An edict with the gold seal was given, and in it was stipulated that they were not to requisition pack animals, supplies, or provisions

along the way. It was sent to be heralded in all parts of the realm.

When the amount was calculated for falcons and leopards, provisions and supplies for the gamekeepers, food, transport, and necessities, it came to only half of what had been spent before, when they didn't bring in a third the number of birds and animals and expenses for transport, provisions, and food were two or three times as much. Whereas the mistreatment of peasants that had been practiced could scarcely have been reckoned, now a thousand falcons and three hundred leopards are brought in every year with no trouble.

Once it was known in the provinces that they were not allowed to requisition transport, provisions, or food, even if they tried to take any secretly or by force, they were not given any. How then could anyone who did not have the permission they had for taking supplies request more? Even if someone did request, they certainly wouldn't give him anything. It was necessary for them to turn over the number stipulated every year; otherwise, the balance would be charged against them and taken back.

Excess falconers and hunters disappeared of their own accord, and from the date of this decree on, no one was subjected to mistreatment by falconers or hunters, who were unable to make demands since they had all been included in the order. Those who had been under their protection were included in the *qalan*, and if anyone was determined to remain [in their service], [A550] that person's tax obligations were charged against theirs. There is absolutely no force or coercion, and those people have forgotten those methods and turned into reasonable, equitable human beings.

As for redress of the falconers attendant at court, the emperor ordered that their wages and food for the birds in their care be recorded in detail. Funding for them in cash would be given to their chief annually in full, and so they would not have recourse to any pretext. Whenever they would be dispersed and sent out for *qushlamishi* [bird catching] the number of falconers and falcons would be fixed, and the emperor would order royal horses given to them to carry their baggage in order to run and exercise the horses so they wouldn't remain jaded or "raw." With estimation of the time it would take for them to go and come in autumn and winter, vouchers for provisions with the gold seal would be issued against the tax remittances of those places. Since, aside from feed, there would be need for doves and chickens when the falcons were *bavli* [in training] or injured, provisions for chickens and doves for royal falcons would also be made in the vouchers as needed. They would be kept in cages, and for those that were to be taken somewhere vouchers would be likewise written in fixed number. **[1101]** Like this, there would be no excuse for mistreatment or misbehavior.

Once these orders were published in the realm and it became known that funds had been provided and established for their needs and that either cash would be given from the treasury or else vouchers with the gold seal would be issued, [the falconers and hunters] could no longer requisition anything extra from villages. Even if they did demand anything, since the people were aware [of the provisions of the imperial order], they wouldn't give them anything.

Initially it happened once or twice that when some falconer officers were going to the provinces, although fodder and provisions for their horses had been assigned by voucher with the gold seal and pledges had been taken that they would not take anything by force, news was received that they had taken too much. A high-ranking envoy was dispatched to indict them for their crime right there in the midst of the province and give each of them seventy-seven lashes. They all learned their lesson

and ceased acting like that. [A551]

At present rarely does a falconer or leopard keeper misbehave. Although no wolf is going to become a lamb, their great injustices have been curbed, and there is such total confidence in this justice that very soon the generality of the population will completely forget the meaning of the words injustice and aggression, God willing. ~

Story Thirty-Six: He commands certain measures throughout the realm.

Formerly administrators of provinces always reported that most provinces were in ruins, the peasants were poor, without means to cultivate with their own oxen and seed, irrigation and much land were neglected, and no one paid any attention to them or made a move to reform conditions. Furthermore, the various stores of seed that had been assigned and given from the divan in former times had been sold during periods of high grain prices to the detriment of both divan and peasants.

To redress the situation, the Padishah of Islam ordered that from every governor and fief-assignor a designated amount for the price of agents, seed, and agricultural necessities be subtracted from the governor's or fief-assignor's designated total, and a pledge would be taken from them that they would keep agents in the provinces at their tasks to increase agriculture. "It is indisputable," the emperor said, "that the benefit and profit to farms will be one in two or one in three, especially when there is a governor or administrator to have the better locales planted and to have more access to the means of agriculture and improvement. In order to encourage the people and so that the governor will have a surplus to spend, we will establish a rate of one to three so that they may remit a third or a fourth, and whatever extra is derived will be theirs. [1102] They will work as hard as possible at improvement in order to derive the maximum profit. When planting will have been done for two or three years and things go well, profit will come into the treasury according to the crop." [A552] It was registered in the tax rolls accordingly, and cash amounts were remitted.

Some left-over administrators who had become addicted to the things that have been mentioned in several places previously gave no thought whatsoever to the necessity of giving the divan's money back and considered it absolutely their own. The first year they squandered those funds, and at the end of the year, when demands were made for the base and profit, there was nothing anywhere. Their thought was, "What necessity is there? When they put the names of 'oxen' and 'seed' to it, [A553–55[1]] why should there be anything in the account?" They produced all sorts of excuses, claiming loss and heavenly and earthly catastrophes. No attention was paid to most of these excuses. Those who had property and possessions had them taken away in compensation, and some were held under arrest. Others still observed the measures and kept seed, and they raised an income and profit both for the divan and for themselves. It stands at present, and many people both peasants and others, are at ease on its account as they occupy themselves with improvement and planting.

As for locales in which the giving of seed was customary, and administrators had squandered or sold it either by chicanery or by mismanagement, and in which previously no one had redressed the situation, the emperor ordered that they all be given seed anew. By that means in Baghdad and Shiraz the taxes increased over the tax rolls by more than five hundred thousand dinars. The [stores of] seed one again were

[1]The text given in note that extends from p. A552 to p. A554 duplicates matter already given on pp. A459–64.

functioning, and the manifold benefits accrued to the peasants. Villages flourished once more, and prices became cheap. When the emperor assigned fiefs to the military, many of the locales they had improved by these measures were allocated to them. Had it not been for these measures he would have had to give them many territories and valuable land. Still, much remains under the control of the divan, and the income comes in. In no era we have seen or heard of has anyone ever implemented such a good arrangement or thought of such means for improvement and common good.

As for the beasts and birds he ordered entrusted to various persons, it was also established that the increase of flocks and herds would be one to three so that they too would benefit and build up a stock of capital. The beasts and birds of the general population are also safe from incursion from royal beasts and birds, and no one can ever aggress upon them or deprive anyone of pasture land. With all of this, the divan still benefits. Even when the imperial banners arrive in an area and some animals are needed for falconers and others, **[1103]** it is not necessary to take them from the peasants.

If a dove or a chicken is needed for a falcon or the kitchen, it is provided by the privy funds of the divan. This case is like the elimination of donkey requisitioning. **[A556]** Previously anyone who wanted took without compunction. Now if there is an emergency, compensation is taken from the divan through the agents. It is impossible to calculate how many donkeys used to be requisitioned from peasants, merchants, et al., and how many peasants got their heads, arms, and legs broken. The peasants were constantly going around looking for their animals, and some requisitioned mounts were taken away altogether and never given back. Some fell on the road and died, and the peasants were kept from farming and planting. Now that the Padishah of Islam has forbidden falconers to take people's doves and chickens, they are provided from the funds for the royal birds.

"The force of the Yasaq must be initiated in small things," he said, "and large things will necessarily follow. If we cannot forbid the taking of a dove, we certainly cannot forbid the taking of a sheep, and forbidding the taking of a cow would be even more impossible, and so on." An imperial decree was issued that everywhere there was a dovecote, hunters absolutely must not set traps in the area.

With the likes of these grand measures and the great compassion he shows for the people, and with the concern he has to eliminate the evil of tyrants and evildoers, the wisdom, perfect conduct, justice, and equity of this justice-nurturing emperor—may his reign last for ever and ever—are obvious. In later times the people of the world will marvel at these measures. May the prayers the entire population offers day and night for his prosperity be answered. ~

Story Thirty-Seven: His planning for the improvement of fallow lands.

It should be readily apparent from history and intelligent analogy that there has never been a realm more devastated than this one was recently, particularly places visited by the Mongol army. **[A557]** From the appearance of the human race no ruler has ever held as much territory as Genghis Khan and his *urugh* conquered and brought under their control, nor has anyone ever killed as many people as they did. As for the vast territories it is claimed that Alexander conquered, **[1104]** he took lands and continued on without stopping anywhere, and everywhere his reputation reached, the people quickly surrendered because of his awesomeness and might. He lived thirty-six years, and in his twenty-

fourth year he took the realm of Iran and killed Dara. For twelve years after that he ruled the world, and during his return home he died in Babylon. During those twelve years he took many realms, but since he was always on the move and never stopped, the people rebelled again after he left. Since he had no sons or progeny, the kingship did not descend in his family but went to petty kings, as can be found explained in history books. Genghis Khan was just the opposite, for he conquered with deliberation, all remained obedient, and his family not only maintained what they had but also took over and added many other realms they conquered, as is known. When provinces and great cities were being subjugated they killed so many people throughout the length and breadth of the provinces that few were left, like Balkh, Sheberghan, Taliqan, Merv, Sarakhs, Herat, Turkestan, Ray, Hamadan, Qum, Isfahan, Maragha, Ardebil, Barda, Ganja, Baghdad, Mosul, Arbela, and most provinces attached to these places. In some provinces that were on frontiers crossed by the armies, the people either were killed totally or fled, leaving the land fallow, like the provinces of Uyghuristan and others that formed the frontier between the Qa'an and Baidu, some areas between Derbent and Shirvan, some of the tribal areas of Diyarbekir like [A558] Harran, Urha, Saruj, Raqqa, and many cities on both sides of the Euphrates, all of which are fallow and unproductive. Places that have been devastated in other territories by killing, like the fallow lands of Baghdad, Azerbaijan, Turkistan, Iran, and Anatolia, and the ruined towns and villages that people can see are too many to be counted. If we make an estimate, not one tenth of the realm is productive—the rest is totally devastated. Until recently no one thought of making improvements. If rarely improvement of a place was initiated—like Hülägü Khan, Abaqa Khan, Arghun Khan, and Gaikhatu, who wanted to build palaces, make improvements, [1105] build a market or city, or make water channels in Ala Tagh, Urmia, Sughurluq, Sujas, Khuchan, Zanjan, and Saray-i-Mansuriyya in Arran—many territories became even more devastated thereby and untold amounts of money were spent, many peasants from other areas were encouraged to migrate, and not one of those places was actually made to flourish, as we can see. It is clear what the rate of devastation of the provinces would be if those projects had been completed.

God willed that Ghazan Khan revivify the land and propagate the religion of Islam, for God had entrusted such great charity, such a huge labor, to him from all eternity. Thank God, the propagation of Islam succeeded as has been detailed, and projects of improvement and royal charities have also been described separately. The regularization of fiscal affairs in the realm, maintenance of the subjects, and the spread of justice and equity—as have also been reported—these things are the main reasons for the flourishing of the provinces, as we can witness and examine. In cities that were devastated not five of ten houses were inhabited, [A559] and they were destroyed even though they were habitable.

Now, thanks to his all-encompassing justice, in every city more than a thousand houses are being built, and a house that was worth a hundred dinars is now worth a thousand or more. All this has been recorded before.

As for fallow lands, no one was inclined to improve them, and it was not possible for one person out of a thousand to make improvements with his own money. With his unfailing intellect and good strategy the Padishah of Islam ordered a reform by summoning the amirs, viziers, and ministers and saying, "These devastated territories and abandoned villages, which belonged to

our fathers, are now ours, and they are classified as state property, royal demesne, or someone's freehold property. From the reign of Hülägü Khan until now, it is possible that neither a load or a fraction of a coin has ever reached anybody from these places. If anyone wants to make improvements, he doesn't even begin for fear that it is state property or somebody's property or that it will be taken it back if improvements are made without permission, even after much hardship and great expenses have been endured. If we make it so that those fallow lands can be improved, and one portion goes to the owner if it is private property and another portion goes to the divan and the people who make the improvements, we can give it to them in such a way that they may have eternal security and keep it for their children and grandchildren, and since they will derive great profit, they will look after it better. When they realize what great benefit it has, **[1106]** they will eschew trade, the hardships of travel, and other transactions and be inclined at once to the improvement of land and agriculture, for all people are in search of profit. This being so, in a short time most of the devastation will be repaired, and the improvement of such ruined places will take place through the strength, money, and agreement of all people in the world. There is no other way. When fallow lands are made to flourish, grain will be cheap; and when expeditions are mounted for obligatory actions on the frontiers and borders, **[A560]** provisions will be readily available. Money will also flow into the treasury and increase. Lords and property owners will gain a new prestige and confidence, the peasants will enjoy peace of mind and ease, and we will have a heavenly reward and enjoy an eternal good name."

All those present were amazed by such a clever idea and subtle words, and after praising him they said, "No one in the world has ever had a better or more beneficial idea. Your forefathers laid waste, but you cause to flourish. There is a palpable difference intellectually, by common law, and by religious law between the one and the other. Others brought death, while you bring life. It is enough to say this; why should we say more?"

After that, he had contracts and edicts written with the following stipulations. State properties that were long untended and villages and farms that were not cultivated at the time of his accession would all be classified as fallow. He had contracts written and sealed with the gold seal saying that anyone who was desirous of making improvements could take such places in one of three categories.

In the first category were those that had water and irrigation canals and did not entail great expense or outlay of labor to be cultivated and irrigated, i.e. they did not need subterranean water channels, canals, or dams. Once improvement projects were begun, the first year they were cultivated nothing would go to the divan; in the second year one third of the divan rate would be given, and two thirds would go as a commission to the improver to repay his efforts; in the third year three quarters of the rate customary in each province would be paid to the divan, and one quarter would go to the improver as a commission. Over and above that, any money realized by the cultivator was his. **[A561]**

In the second category were lands that needed moderate improvement, where irrigation canals had to be repaired or dug. The stipulations were similar to what has been mentioned, except that in the third year two thirds of the rate would be paid to the divan, and one third would belong to the improver.

In the third category were those on which improvements were difficult—dams had to be made for irrigation, and the under-

ground water channels were ruined and had to be repaired. **[1107]** The terms were as has been mentioned, but only half the rate would go to the divan, the other half going to the improver as a commission. He stipulated that the rates would be labeled as *kharaj* [land tax], and everyone who made improvements would own the land, and it would belong to him and his children in perpetuity. If he so wished, he could sell it to another. Sale was permitted, and the divan would take the established amount of land tax from the purchaser.

He also stipulated that any fallow land water for which came from an improved village's canal, so long as the owner of the improved village wanted, they would not give it to another lest dispute erupt.

After that he said, "Since we have abolished *hazr*[1] and *muqasama* [payment of tax in crop shares] in the realm, the *divani* portion of fallow lands should also be fixed and set as determined by overseers in every province to be remitted as *kharaj* so that ruffians and tyrants not use *hazr*, *muqasama*, or *takhtir* [multiple assessment?] as a pretext against the peasants, and so that those harassments may be completely eradicated."

Since the emperor's realm was extremely broad and expansive, he expressed the idea that if every person desirous [of making improvements] were to come to the *ordu* to get a contract, some would choose not to come because of the long distances and expenses involved while others would not have the strength for the road, so he ordered that one or two reliable great men in each province be appointed. The original of the contract decree was given to them with a letter form, and they were empowered to give such a document to any volunteer with a copy of the contract decree written on the back so that it would be reckoned as an eternal decree to which no one could object, and thus the job could be easily accomplished in every province. When this manner was adopted, this rule became firm and the job was done. **[A562]** That divan was named the Bureau of Royal Demesnes, and until this time the deputies of that bureau have given many contracts to people, and vast improvements have been made and continue to increase day by day.

As for private property, he ordered that properties that had recently been inhabited could be improved by anyone who so wished. They should consult with their lords before making improvements. As for those that had long been fallow, anyone who wanted could make improvements without consultation. If an owner who could legally prove his ownership showed up, it remained established upon the improver; however, the amount to be remitted would be as has been mentioned in the divan section, but half would go to the owner and half to the divan. **[1108]** This rule was to be observed in a province in which formerly and now one tenth *hazr* is given to the divan. As for a province that was originally *hazr* and against which there was no *mál* or *hazr*, the whole of that portion would be given to the owner, who could not object, for it had the effect of a divani improver eternally and forever.

As for devastated places in Mongols' *yurts* that were improved, the same conditions applied as in the two categories of private and state property, but he ordered that since the Mongols were hoodlums, under no circumstances were improvements to be made using peasants of provinces, regardless of whether they were counted as belonging to another place or not, they were not to allow any peasant access to their lands, and they were to make improvements using their own bondsmen or slaves. Tajiks

[1]Arends translates this term as [податная] отценка [урожая]. *Hazr* means literally 'estimation,' and it was presumably an estimated tax on produce.

were likewise not to make improvements using peasants who were reckoned as belonging to other places. If they gathered peasants who were not reckoned as belonging to any village, that was acceptable.

In this manner he made binding contracts and took all possible precautions in the terms thereof. Most of those have not been included in this history, as they are recorded in the contracts. **[A563]** At present they are engaged in making improvements throughout the realm, and day by day it is on the increase. The people are bolstered by this, and the income of the Bureau of Royal Demesnes increases every year. Soon there will be few ruined places.

He also ordered that the fallow lands of every province should be recorded and brought to the divan so that when the fallow lands were given to people, an inspection could be made every two years to determine whether all improvements had been carried out or only part. If any imperial deputies cheated and hid some fallow land for themselves or went into partnership with anyone, and his tax apportion disappeared from the registers, it could be found out.

May God cause the blessing of such charitable works to flourish during the emperor's regal time. ~

Story Thirty-Eight: The building of envoy hostels throughout the realm and the forbidding of envoys to lodge in people's houses.

Prior to now there were always more than one hundred twenty envoys in every city quartered in the houses of citizens and lords. Many others too, over and above the envoys, were lodged in people's houses by the *shahna*s and maliks as a favor. The job of the *chärbi*s was **[1109]** to go before an envoy when he arrived in town and lead him to the house in which he was to stay, for which they would receive something. On such a day they would "sell off" two hundred houses, more or less.[1] In the end, they would quarter them in the houses of persons against whom they had a grudge to put fear into them. They would take rugs, bedding, *ghazghan*s [kettles], and other things from people's houses for the envoys. Usually either the envoys would expropriate those things or the *chärbi*s would not give them back, claiming that the envoys had taken them. **[A564]** Even if occasionally something was returned, after having been used by an envoy, what was it worth?

Every *basqaq* who went to a province would commandeer at least a hundred of the people's houses, and all these people stayed in the houses of lords and citizens. The writer of this book is aware that when Yesüdär's son Taghai was dismissed as *shahna* of Yazd and his people left, an inspection was made, and his retainers had been staying in seven-hundred-odd houses. Naturally, the envoys and *shahna*s always stayed in the best houses. It got to the point that no one could build a house, and those that were built were made to look like tombs and were called caravansaries or schools, but that did not do much good. Many people closed off the doors of their houses and made underground entrances that were difficult to maneuver, hoping that they wouldn't be chosen: they just cut through the walls and came in. The envoys would turn their horses over to the *chärbi*s, and they would send people to tear down the walls of people's gardens and put the horses there. The day one envoy left another would arrive because they came continuously. In the quarter in which an

[1] *Dar án roz kamábesh divíst khána báz mífrokhtand:* Arends translates literally: "в токой день продавали домов двести" (p. 324). The not so obvious meaning of the sentence must be that on a day an *elchi* arrived in town (with his retinue), the *chärbi* would assign some two hundred houses and collect his tip for each.

envoy was quartered the people would be subjected to torment and intimidation, for the slaves and liege men would go over the roofs and into the neighbors' houses and take anything they saw. They would shoot their pigeons and chickens with arrows, and it often happened that the people's children were struck by arrows. Any food, drink, or animal fodder they found they would snatch from anybody, no matter who he was. The people suffered such harassment, and no matter how much they complained, no amir, vizier, or governor came to their rescue.

One day an old man, a respectable elder, came to the divan and said, "Amirs, viziers, and governors, I am an old man with a young wife. My sons are away, **[1110]** and they have left their young wives in my house. I also have daughters. The envoys have been quartered in my house, and they are all good-looking, slender young men. **[A565]** They have been in my house for some time now. The women see them and cannot content themselves with me and my absent sons. We are in one house together with the envoys, but I cannot watch them day and night. This has happened to many people, as I see. If things continue like this, in a few years there will not be a single legitimate child in this city: all will be half Turk and *igdish* [half-breeds]." In this regard he told the following story:

"In the time of the Seljuq sultans the Nishapur vicinity was where the sultan resided. The amirs and Turks were quartered in the people's houses, and not in the manner they are now. One day a Turk stopped in a house where the owner's wife was a pure young woman. The Turk craved her and wanted to send the man away on some excuse. The man knew what was going on and refused to leave. The Turk beat the man and said, 'Take my horse and give it water.' The man wouldn't leave his wife; but there was no alternative. To his wife he said, 'I will stay in the house. You take the horse and give it water.' She took the horse and led it the edge of the river. As was the custom of young women, she was dressed in her finery and had adorned herself. By chance the sultan was passing, and his gaze fell upon her. He summoned her and asked, 'How is it that you, a young woman, are leading a horse to water?' She replied, 'Because of your injustice.' The sultan was amazed and asked about the situation. She recounted what had happened in detail. Her story affected the sultan, and his zeal was stirred. He said, 'Henceforth no one of the retinue will be quartered in Nishapur. Let all the amirs and Turks build houses for themselves in the vicinity.' That is why Shadyakh in Nishapur, which is now a city, was built." **[A566]** The old man wept as he told the story, but it had no effect on the amirs and viziers.

When the Padishah of Islam was organizing the realm, the first arrangement he made for envoys was that not one of the one hundred twenty envoys and their useless henchmen who used to go to the provinces for no reason was to go now unless they were sent on urgent state business. The envoys were to go by *yaraltu* [express courier] and fast post horses so they wouldn't see villages or cities. They were to stop only long enough to eat a hasty meal, **[1111]** change horses, or have an *ara-qati* [rest stop]. If rarely envoys go to collect taxes, an edict was promulgated that envoy hostels were to be built in cities, and furnishings, bedding, and supplies were to be arranged for their accommodations. A fixed amount was stipulated to be spent in building the envoy hostels. He also ordered *basqaq*s and their retainers to build or rent houses for themselves.

Thank God, those abuses have been eliminated, and the people rest in peace. The tallow fees have been forgotten, and no *chärbi* dares to demand a loaf of bread or maund

of straw from anyone. The name *chärbi* has even disappeared. The people build nice houses with peace of mind. They raise porticos, occupy themselves with building, and create fine gardens. Absolutely no one dares put an animal in the people's gardens. Houses that previously sold for a hundred dinars now sell for a thousand. All the absentees who had abandoned their homes and wandered from city to city for the last fifty years or more have voluntarily chosen to return to their former places. [A567] They pray for the Padishah of Islam's success with all sincerity: may their prayers be answered. ~

Story Thirty-Nine: He forbids muleteers, camel drivers, and messengers to impose upon people.

Previously, any great lord and grandee who went into the market to transact business or to take a bath would be surrounded by several muleteers who would say, "We need X amount of money to pay for beauties, wine, entertainers, bread, meat, and our other daily needs. You'll have to give it." If he didn't give it or made excuses, they would curse him, and in the end, they either got the money or beat him up. It often happened that if someone didn't have any money, he would have to borrow and then, having lost his money, honor, and dignity, couldn't leave the market.

These people stood around in gangs on street corners, and anyone who escaped the clutches of one gang would be snared by another, and the same thing would happen all over again. When he came across a gang of camel drivers, the same thing happened. If he ran into a gang of couriers or messengers, it was even worse. It sometimes happened that during the course of a day one person would get mixed up with all these gangs [1112] because they had made it their profession [A568] and sat at the heads of all the streets and marketplaces, waiting to snare their prey. They all had connections to the ladies, princes, and amirs, and even if someone had the power to resist them, he never thought it worthwhile to argue with them because [their patrons] would be offended, and they thought it was their privilege to have their muleteers, camel drivers, and couriers act like this.

On holidays like Nawroz and Künyanglamishi they decorated their animals and went around in gangs to the houses of the great. If the lord of the house showed his face, they got what they wanted by insisting, and then they reviled him and cursed him until they got more. Naturally, they both disgraced him and got something. If the lord of the house was not at home or didn't show his face out of fear, they carried off everything they could find and pawned it for gold with brothel keepers and wine sellers. When the owner went to redeem it, he would suffer thousands of curses and insults and then have to pay two or three times what had been given to get his stuff back. It often happened that they picked up items of clothing and either put them on themselves or clad whores in them and absolutely refused to give them back. Every year, for five or six days before and after the holidays, nobody dared walk the streets lest he fall prey to them and have done to him what they practiced. They also hung around shop doors, [A569] and because of their lawlessness the markets fell idle, sales taxes plummeted, and no one could do anything about it. The lords and grandees loved having their muleteers and camel drivers decorate their animals and put clothes on them so that they could get something from people. "Who gave you something and who didn't?" they would ask. This gave them the courage to be even bolder.

Indeed, the largest nuisance people suffered and the biggest tax they paid was this. When the people saw that they could take

money and clothing from others by force, by intimidation, and by opportuning, which is worse than by force, most of the people took up the practice of the muleteers, camel drivers, and couriers and went into cahoots with them. Around every muleteer gathered ten idlers and rapscallions. Things got so bad that it became quite problematic to stop the practice.

When the Padishah of Islam began to organize the country, he ordered that any muleteer, **[1113]** camel driver, or courier who asked anybody for anything would be executed. On holidays and new year's days, any time he heard the sound of camel bells, he would order the guards to beat them with cudgels. He also ordered it heralded that no one should give anything to muleteers, camel drivers, or couriers and that the people should beat them if they drove their animals around.

Thanks to his justice and punishment, that torturous nuisance was totally lifted from the people, and now none of them dares to ask anyone for even a morsel of bread. The people are free of such "trade," the memory of it has been erased from their minds, and the world is safe from their evil. [A570] May God cause the shadow of the world emperor's justice and equity to shade the heads of all people forever. ~

Story Forty: He forbids the practice of forcing young women to enter brothels.

In large cities prostitutes were constantly stationed next to mosques, *khanaqahs*, and people's houses. Because brothel owners could purchase girls who were brought in from various parts for better prices than others, most dealers were inclined to trade in people of that sort. Some of the girls who had stamina and resolve did not want to be sold to brothels, but they were sold forcibly and unwillingly and made to participate in vice.

The Padishah of Islam said, "Making brothels and harboring prostitutes is a really low and mean thing to do. To eliminate it is an obligation, but since from time immemorial certain interests have allowed neglect to run rampant in that area and it has become a general rule, it will not be possible to forbid it all at once. Gradual effort must be made so that it may be slowly eliminated. Now, women who are not inclined to that sort of activity and have been forced to do it should be rescued from the brink of disaster, for much effort is necessary to turn a deficient thing into a perfect one. It is clearly an injustice, very evil, and inappropriate to force into vice a woman who has no inclination in that direction." [A571]

Therefore he issued an edict saying that no girl who was not inclined to the brothels should be sold to such people. Any who were already in brothels and who so desired could come out without restraint, and they would be paid for at any price that was stipulated, taken from the brothels, and given to husbands of their own choosing. ~

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN TERMS

(in parentheses, after the definition, is given the text page number on which the first instance of the word appears; the "D" number refers to the listing in Doerfer's *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen)*

äbügän (ابوگان)	old man, grandfather; also in the sense of one who stands in the place of a grandfather (D§4)
aghruq~a'ughruq~a'uruq	camp for the old, young, womenfolk, and heavy baggage; during a military campaign, an *ordu* was set up for the military and a separate *aghruq* was made for the camp-followers; the *ordu* was fair game for the winner, but it was not considered chivalrous to attack and pillage an opponent's *aghruq*, although it certainly happened (D§496)
akhtachi ~ aqtachi	equerry, keeper of the royal stables (D§9)
alafa (علفه)	a "provisions" subsidy for emissaries' sustenance; *alafa* amounts, like the *alufa* below, were generally paid in drafts and vouchers redeemable at emissaries' destinations
älät (M)	sands
alufa (علوفه)	a "provisions" subsidy to provide fodder for emissaries' horses and pack animals; see *alafa* above
amasar (امساره)	pass (D§31)
amir (امیر)	officer, commander
amir-ordu	court minister, official in charge of administering a prince's *ordu*
amraq	dear (810, D§554)
anda (اندا)	sworn brother; often coupled with *quda* as *anda-quda*, a sworn ally (D§33)
aqa	elder brother; the term was used not only for an actual elder brother, but also in clan terminology, where the descendants of an elder brother acted as surrogate "elder brothers" to the descendants of the younger brothers (D§22)
aqa-eshik (T)	captain of the gate
aqcha (اقچه)	a silver coin
aral	island (279, D§11)
ara-qati	rest stop (1111, D§443)
ärgänä (M)	cliff (113, D§17, §640)
ärgi (ارگ)	cliff (174)
ärkä'ün	Christian, particularly Nestorian (D§15)
asaramishi	adopting, raising, or treating someone like one's own son (1073, D§20)
ash	literally, 'food,' the *ash* was the spread provided daily in the imperial *ordus* (D§481)

asigh — profit (1090, D§480)

atabeg — guardian and tutor to a princeling (D§415)

atäkä — = *atabeg*

a'ula (𐮀𐮃𐮜𐮍𐮀) — mountain

ayalghu (M) — melody, intonation (276, 671, D§72)

ayqaq (M) — informant, denouncer (526, D§649)

aznaur — a Georgian knight

bakhshi (𐮁𐮃𐮜𐮍) — Buddhist teacher (D§724)

balish (بالش) — bar, ingot; the Mongol unit of gold and silver currency in China

baraghun ~ bara'un ghar (𐮁𐮃𐮜𐮍𐮀𐮣 𐮀𐮣) — right hand, the right wing of the army (D§84)

bäri (𐮁𐮃𐮜) — daughter-in-law (77, D§76)

bärigän (𐮁𐮃𐮜𐮍) — the wife of an elder brother; by Mongolian custom, an elder brother's widow was married to a younger brother (D§88)

bariqu — type of gift or presentation (1092, D§77)

barschi — leopard-keeper, the court keeper of hunting leopards and cheetahs (D§686)

basqaq — prefect, a military official stationed in conquered territory whose primary responsibility was to pacify unruly territory and then to remit taxes and imposts (D§691)

ba'urchi (M) — originally cook, the term became a fairly high court position (D§82)

bavli — in training (1100, D§83)

bazargan (بازرگان) — merchant; the term refers exclusively to large-scale merchants, not to small-time tradespeople (1078)

beg (بیگ) — lord, person of noble rank, equivalent to the Arabo-Persian *amír*

bidün ~ bidü'ün — common, not pertaining personally to the ruler (1092, D§113)

bitigchi — secretary, scribe; a fairly high office in Ilkhanid Iran; persons referred to as *bitigchis* seem to have had a fair amount of power; they were not common petty clerks, who were called *kátib* or *nivísanda* (D§718)

boghtaq ~ boqtaq — Mongolian lady's headdress (D§89)

bökä'ül (M) — court taster; officer in charge of army provisions (D§755)

boldagh (𐮁𐮇𐮍𐮀𐮣) — hill (D§109)

bulagh ~ bulaq — spring (D§809)

bularghu (M) — lost property, ownerless property (D§92)

buljar (M) — ceremonial engagement meal (281, D§108)

bulqaq (𐮁𐮇𐮜𐮜𐮀) — disturbance, sedition, internal strife (D§768)

chana — sled (83, D§1129)

chao — paper money (for the disastrous experiment in issuing paper currency in Tabriz during Gaikhatu's reign, see text pp. 835ff..)

chapar — barricade (D§1034)

chärbi — quartermaster (1108f., D§176)

chärchi — peddler (1078, D§1075)

chärig — army, troop; war; this is the word that become *çeri* in Ottoman Turkish (as in *Yeniçeri*, 'New Troop,' the Janissaries); the term is sometimes used to refer to the army as a whole; other times it clearly refers to a division of the army; 'to mount on *chärig*' *(chärig bar-nishastan)* means to mount for a military expedition (D§1079)

chärigi, chärigchi — trooper (D§1080)

cha'ur — (547, D§1054)

chidamishi — ability, power to do something, mastery of a craft (D§188)

chilbur — halter (1052, D§181)

china (M) — wolf (145, D§191)

ching ( ) — strong (127, 307, D§190)

chöl — desert (279, D§1145)

daha (دهه) — a military unit of ten

daba'an () — pass

dalai ( ) — state property (1072, D§196)

dalaimishi — waving the hands and arms (285)

dang (دانگ) — one-sixth of anything; a coin weighing one-sixth of a mithcal

darasun () — rice wine (D§197)

echigä ( ) — father (203, D§63)

ekä ( ) — mother (D§66)

elchi — ambassador, envoy, emissary (D§656)

elchikhana — a hostel for quartering *elchis*

eljigen — donkey (126, D§68)

enchü — crown land, royal demesnes; slave (D§670)

er-akhta (T) — cavalry troops (D§638)

ev-oghlan (T) — normally a page; the term *ev-oghlan* (lit. "son of the house") later becomes a loan translation into Persian as *khánazád* and means one who is born into imperial service by virtue of having a father or mother in service (D§675–76)

farrash (فراش) — a person in charge of carpets and textiles (1092)

füjin — lady, from the Chinese 夫人 *fu-jen* (203, D§255)

gäjigä ( ) — rear guard (D§357)

gäzig — bodyguard corps (D§332, §1633)

gäzigtän — member of the bodyguard

ghoruq = *qoruq*

gürä'än ( ) — encampment circle (175, 243, D§341)

gürägän ( ) — son-in-law, title afforded anyone who married a princess of Genghisid blood; the term was later domesticated in Chaghatay Turkish as *kür(ä)gän*, in Persian as *gúrkán*, and modern Turkish as *gürkan* (225, D§340)

hazara (هزاره) — military unit of a thousand, equivalent to the Greek chiliad and the Turko-Mongolian *ming*; the officer in command of a *hazara* is called either *amír-i-hazára* or *mingbegi*

härigchi — glowing (89)

havayijkhana (حرایجخانه) — the imperial pantry, department of supplies (1097)

hazr (حزر) — an estimated tax on produce (1107)

hoi () — forest

hongqur — dun horse (94)

huja'ur (M) — fountain, place of origin

hula'an ( ) — red

huljamishi — oath of allegiance (631 D§50)

humay (همای) — a fabulous bird, whose shadow confers kingship

idächi — keeper of provisions (D§64)

igdish — mongrel, half-breed (1110, D§513)

ilghamishi — choose, select, especially of choosing troops for a specific purpose

inaq — advisor (200, D§668)

ini — younger brother (D§674)

iqta' (اقطاع) — a type of land tenure conditional upon some sort of service, usually military (as opposed to *mulk*, unconditioned freehold)

jäbä ~ jebä — armor, generally of the Turco-Mongolian padded and quilted sort (D§155)

jäbälämishi — to clad in armor (D§153)

jada — rain-making stone (D§157, §1833)

jadalmishi — = *jadamishi*

jadamishi — the rain-making ceremony (279, D§157)

jamagi (جامگی) — a military allowance or allotment; the name suggests that it was originally a clothing *(jáma)* allowance

jarib (جریب) — a measure of land area, normally equivalent to 1592 square meters (1059)

järgä ~ yärgä ( ) — circle, a circular hunting and expeditionary formation by which the prey or enemy was surrounded and gradually squeezed into the middle (D§161)

jasa'ul — = *yasa'ul*

ja'ut quri — a title given to Genghis Khan by a Chinese general (250)

jebä — = *jäbä*

jegün ~ je'ün ghar ( ) — left hand, the left wing of the army

jirghamishi — revelry (A164, D§160)

jubur (M) — valley (D§166)

juwangshai — generalissimus, commander-in-chief, from the Chinese 元帥 *yüan-shuai*

kä'är ( ) — steppe, plain (D§347)

käbtä'ül — member of the night guard, nightwatchman (cf. *turqaq)* (D§322)

kähär — = *kä'är*

karbas (کرباس) — an inexpensive type of cotton cloth (1093)

käshik — = *gäzig*

kä'ün~kävün~kö'ün — "son," prince

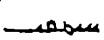
kavin ~ kabin (کاوین ، کابین) — pre-nuptial settlement; the amount, agreed upon before marriage, a prospective husband promises to pay his wife if and when he divorces her

käzig — = *gäzig*

khanaqah (خانقاه) — a dervish hotel

kharaj (خراج) — land tax

khatib (خطیب) — a mosque official whose principal duty is to pronounce the *khutba*; the *khatib* was often the sole representative of clerical officialdom in a village

khatun (خاتون) — lady of the highest rank; the word, apparently originally Sogdian, appears in Mongolian as  *qatun*; it was Persianized as *khátún* with an Arabicized plural, *khawátín*; the word appears in Ottoman Turkish as both *khatun* and *kadın*, 'married woman, wife.' (D§1159)

khaylkhana (خیلخانه) — a small settlement where horses from the Mongol herds were corralled

khidmati (خدمتی) — literally a 'service fee'; the common appellation for a bribe

khing (خنگ) — gray horse

khizanachi (خزانچی) — treasurer (1091)

khutba (خطبه) — the portion of the Friday congregational prayer in which the *khatíb* announces the name of the ruler; the *khutba* and coinage were the primary means by which de facto rule was proclaimed

khwaja (خواجه) — master (builder, trader, teacher, etc.)

kichämishi — taking trouble, going to pains to do something (D§350)

kiriyäs — originally Mongolian *kirü'ese*, a dismounting place (209, 249); later the word came to mean something like threshold and was part of a palace; the word passed into Persian as *kiryás* and means court or levee of a prince (D§330)

kögsä'ü (M) — hoarse (269, D§1678)

kötälchi — groom, equerry (D§325)

künyanglamishi — new year's day celebration (696, D§1690)

külüg (𐲋𐲤𐲗𐲍) — stalwart (224, D§1686)

küräbäs — an iron cudgel (1098)

liushou — the Chinese 留守 *liu-shou*, one who stays behind to guard (329)

mal (مال) — tax

mang(h)lai (𐲣𐲍𐲗𐲤𐲃) — vanguard, forward detachment (D§369)

maqsura (مقصوره) — an enclosed space in a mosque designed to protect the ruler during the public prayer (360)

märgän (𐲣𐲤𐲃𐲍) — archer (121, D§363)

mesäschi (𐲣𐲎𐲎𐲃) — arms dealer (1078, D§365)

möchälgä (𐲣𐲅𐲃𐲤𐲃) — a written pledge (569, D§370)

muhtasib (محتسب) — enforcer of public morals and inspector of weights and measures

mukabbir (مکبر) — a mosque official who pronounces the *Allahu akbar* at the Friday prayer

munqur, *munquraq* — large goblet (272)

muqasama (مقاسمه) — the land tax paid in kind by a share of crops

muqata'a (مقاطعه) — an assignage of land as fief by contract; the contractor agreed to remit a certain amount to the divan in taxes

muqati' (مقاطع) — assignor of fiefs and appanages; the *muqati'-i-mamalik* (مقاطع ممالك), an office under the Ilkhans in Iran, was the chief assignor of fiefs and appanages

müräm (𐲣𐲅𐲎𐲍) — river (D§373)

musallam — exempt, safe from imposition (1097)

mustawfi (مستوفی) — auditor general

mutasarrif (متصرف) — freeholder of property; one who is entitled to exercise absolute legal control over unencumbered property

narin — belonging or pertaining personally to the ruler (478, D§380)

na'ur (𐲘𐲍𐲅𐲍) — lake (D§381)

naqachu ~ *naghachu* (𐲘𐲃𐲎𐲍) — maternal uncle, mother's brother (D§383)

nemäri — surtax (1033, D§385)

nökär — liege man, a freeman who voluntarily joins a commander in a subordinate military capacity (D§388)

nuqula — Mongolian side- and forelocks (364, D§382)

oba — stele, memorial stone (874, D§36)

oghul — Turkish for son, it was used as a title for princes of the blood and follows the given name (D§502)

ökin () girl (189,D§48)

olja booty (D§27)

ölüg () fearless (124)

olum crossing, ford (176, D§55)

onqun () totem (37, D§59)

ordu camp (D§44, §452)

ortaq merchant, specifically a merchant who invests capital on behalf of a prince; partner (D§446)

osal () a battlefield strewn with cast-offs or left-behinds; sloppy (199, D§599)

örgäjüt ~ örgejigüd auxiliary gift (70, D§45)

örüglük safe passage (884, D§590)

ötägü boghol (M) "hereditary slave," those whose positions subordinate, or in service, to a ruler were passed down from generation to generation (48, D§40)

otchigin ( ) "lord of the hearth," title given to the youngest son by Mongolian custom (556, D§38)

padishah (پادشاه) autonomous ruler

paiza badge of office, laissez passer, credential (D§116)

qa'algha ( ) gate (D§265)

qabchal ( ) defile (284, D§264)

qabchiqa mountain pass (324, D§265)

qabturghai satchel (928, D§262)

qafiz a grain weight, normally taken to be around 10 kilograms

qahalqa = *qa'algha*

qalan a land and/or agricultural tax (1071, D§1503)

qalin ~ qaling bridal gift, a present sent by the groom to the bride prior to the wedding (1074, D§1407)

qan an imperial flock or herd (1096)

qanchi ~ ghanchi imperial shepherd or herdsman (1096, D§288)

qaratu household necessities (1088, D§273)

qaravul ( ) scout (D§276)

qasar wild beast (203, D§281)

qatuq sour milk, any sort of vegetable side dish (340, D§1373)

qauran file (D§300)

qiriltuq (M) stingy (143); jealous (182, 272, D§1467)

qiyan torrent (113, D§316)

qo'a pure (193, D§293)

qodali blunt arrow (193, D§297)

qol ~ ghol center of the army (304, D§307)

qonqu empress (from the Chinese *huang-hou)* (123, D§310)

qorchi quiverbearer (D§301)

qorghan fortress (D§1555)

qorimishi the act of declaring land *qoruq*, protected or off-limits (1073, D§1558)

qorqon ~ ghorqan (M) stream

qoruq~qoriq reservation, taboo; an area declared taboo or off-limits (D§1462)

qubchur — a tax, originally on cattle and livestock, later on nomads and peasants (D§266)

quda (قدا) — ally; often coupled with *anda* as *anda-quda*, a sworn ally (D§296)

qu'dud (قعدود) — the elder member of a collateral branch to a ruling house

qumiz ~ *qumuz* — kumiss (D§1529)

qumuzchi — kumiss server

qun (M) — escarpment, cliff (113, D§309)

quriltai (قوريلتاي) — convocation, jamboree (D§305)

qushchi — falconer, a court position (D§1564)

qushlamishi — bird-catching, specifically an expedition to gather falcons and hawks (1100)

sächän (سچن) — clever (152, D§207)

sada (صده) — military unit of a hundred, equivalent to the Roman century; the roughly one hundred soldiers under the command of a *yüzbashi* (centurion)

sadr (صدر) — a very high and extremely influential clerical office, the person in charge of administering *waqf*s, roughly "comptroller of endowments"

sama' (سماع) — a dervish session that includes music and/or singing

sardab (سرداب) — cistern, reservoir (933)

savuri — gift, donation (A353, 1057, D§211)

sawqat — gift (227, D§222)

shahna (شحنه) — official stationed in a territory that submits voluntarily; cf. *basqaq* (D§1326)

sharabdar (شرابدار) — officer in charge of the *sharabkhana* (1091)

sharabkhana (شرابخانه) — imperial storehouse of wine and other potables (1097)

sharil — a Buddhist relic (813, D§231)

shighaldash — feast companion, those who give reciprocal banquets (448, D§245)

shirä — "something like a stool" (644, D§244)

shükürchi — parasol bearer (D§235)

shüsün — provisions (D§238)

shüsünchi — chief of provisions, *Proviantmeister* (D§239)

sibä — barricade, palisade, defensive wall (658, D§227)

sokhtu — sausage (141, D§1250)

soyurghamishi — favor, reward (D§229)

sübä — = *sibä*

sükürchi — parasol bearer (200, D§235)

süsün — = *shüsün*

sutan adun — royal horses (160, D§10, §217)

sütüküsün — second in command, lieutenant (D§218)

ta'ahhud (تعهد) — literally, "promisory"

taghar — the weight by which army provisions were requisitioned or purchased; under Ghazan Khan's reform the *taghar* was fixed at 100 Tabrizi maunds, or 83.3 kg.; by extension, the term is often used to refer to army provisions peasants were expected, or demanded, to provide (D§905)

tägishmishi — interview with a ruler or prince at which the presentation of a gift is is obligatory; the act of going before a ruler to make obeisance and pledge allegiance (D§921)

t'ai-hou (太后) — mother of an emperor, dowager empress

taishi teacher, master, from the Chinese 太師 *t'ai-shih* (118, 404, D§249)

taksir (تکثیر) possibly, multiple assessment

tämächämishi contention, dispute, particularly a dispute over succession (449, D§129)

tamgha ( ) brand, device, "logo"; a customs and sales tax (D§933)

tamghachi the official in charge of collection of the *tamgha* tax (1059)

tamma garrison (54, D§130)

tanga Mongolian unit of currency (D§946)

tangsuq precious, dear; rare or precious *objets* (976, D§939)

tapishmishi confrontation (630, D§847)

taplamishi encounter, skirmish (285, D§847)

tapqur a type of tax (993, D§848)

targhamishi dispersal, breaking camp (594, D§125)

targhun ( ) fat (D§126)

targhun emä wife and children (M492)

tärkän lady of high rank (D§889)

tarkhan immune to prosecution, usually for up to nine offenses (D§879)

tölämishi refund, repayment (1097, D§980)

tona a three-feathered arrow (944, D§251)

tonluq dowry, maintenance stipend (746, D§990)

totqavul ~ totghavul highway patrol (D§124)

tümän ten thousand; military unit of ten thousand, equivalent to the Greek myriad (D§983)

tugh standard, insignia

tungqamishi announcement (1087, D§145)

tuqchi ~ tughchi standard bearer

turqaq day guard (cf. *käbtä'ül*)

tuzghu an offering of food (158, D§900)

uha bandit (118)

ulagh carriage duty, the peasants' obligation to provide mounts and pack animals for the post service and envoys (D§521)

ulaghchi a relay rider

uljamishi = *huljamishi*

ulus ( ) subjects, dependents, the "nation" (i.e. the people, not the geographical area) subject to a *khan* (D§54)

ündür ( ) heights (D§57)

ündür kumiss sack (89, 248)

urugh ( ) family, seed, progeny; the offspring of an individual: Genghis Khan's *urugh*, a constantly recurring phrase, refers to his lineal descendants (D§468)

usun ( ) water (D§47)

utu () center of a hunting ground (245, D§41)

uz artisan (792, D§593)

wan(g)shai (Chinese 萬帥 *wan-shuai*) commander of ten thousand (324, 334; cf. *juwangshai*

yadamishi impoverishment (1071, D§403)

yaghlamishi "thumb-greasing," a rite observed after a boy's first successful hunt (383, D§1800)

yalbarmishi prayer (679, D§1808)

yam post station, courier relay station (325, D§1812)

yaraltu express courier (1110, D§404)

yarashmishi reconciliation (880, D§1782)

yärgä = *järgä*

yarghuchi judge, presiding judge at an inquisition (D§1785)

yarligh an imperial decree (D§1848)

yasa ~ *yasaq* ordinance, decree; the Genghisid legal code based on Genghis Khan's ordinances (D§1794)

yasal ordinance (D§1791)

yasamishi ordering, organization, particularly military (1066, D§1794)

yasaq = *yasa*

yasa'ul sergeant (D§1863)

yasun (ᠶᠠᠰᠤᠨ) bone (D§405)

yäzäk vanguard (371, D§1861)

yengä the wife of an elder brother (equivalent to the Mongolian *bärigän*, q.v.) (D§1907)

yosun (ᠶᠣᠰᠤᠨ) custom (D§408)

yurt grazing territory; an appanage assigned to a prince (D§1914)

yurtchi (T) official in charge of a *yurt*, q.v. (D§1915)

yut livestock blight; the starvation of free-range livestock that occurs when snow melts and then refreezes, or when frost freezes hard, coating grazing land with ice; the phenomenon is known as жут in Kazakh and Kyrgyz (D§1911)

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MANUSCRIPTS, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE *JAMI'U'T-TAWARIKH*

JT_{AA} = *Cami al-tavarih*. Edited by Ahmed Ateş. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957.

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ℭ GENERAL INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES

(Chagh. = of Chaghatayid descent; Hül. = of Hülägüid descent; Joch. = of Jochid descent; Ög. = of Ögödäyid descent; Tol. = of Toluid descent. For the purposes of indexing, all Qutlughs and Qutluqs are indexed under Qutlugh. There will be some inevitable discrepencies between the text and the index, primarily due to the variation among *q*, ', and *gh*.)

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